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THE METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1857.

ART. I.—REMAINS OF SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

1. *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education, and University Reform; chiefly from the Edinburgh Review:* corrected, vindicated, enlarged, in Notes and Appendices, by Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart. 1852. Second edition, enlarged. 1 vol. 8vo. 1853.
2. *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D., now fully collected, with Selections from his unpublished Letters, Preface, Notes, and Supplementary Dissertations,* by Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart., Advocate, Master of Arts, (Oxford,) etc. Member of the Institute of France: of the Latin Society of Jena; and of many other literary bodies, Foreign and British. Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Text collated and revised; useful distinctions inserted; leading words and propositions marked out; allusions indicated; quotations filled up. Prefixed, Stewart's Account of the Life and Writings of Reid: with Notes by the Editor. Copious Indices subjoined. Third edition. Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. 1 vol. 8vo. 1852.
3. *An Essay on the New Analytic of Logical Forms, being that which gained the Prize proposed by Sir William Hamilton, in the year* 1846, *for the best Exposition of the new Doctrine propounded in his Lectures: with an Historical Appendix,* by THOMAS SPENCER BAYNES, Translator of the Port-Royal Logic. Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1 vol. 8vo. 1850.
4. *Sir William Hamilton and his Philosophy.* From the Princeton Review, October, 1855. (Republished in The Foreign and Evangelical Review, April, 1856. Edinburgh.)

THE recent death of Sir William Hamilton, the late illustrious Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh, has naturally stimulated the public curiosity in regard to himself and his career, and attracted renewed attention to the scheme of philosophy indicated, rather than contained, in his remarkable, but fragmentary remains.* We cannot gratify to any considerable ex-

* How fragmentary they are may be illustrated by the single fact, that his edition of Reid is not only unfinished, but is broken off in the middle of a Dissertation, in the middle of a paragraph, and even in the middle of a sentence.

tent the general solicitude to become acquainted with the biography of this distinguished teacher. We shall be compelled to confine our remarks principally to his writings, and to the new philosophy advocated by him, which will henceforth be identified with his name:

Φιλοσοφίαν καινὴν γὰρ οὗτος φιλοσοφεῖ.

The subject to which we are thus in some measure restricted, is of the greater and more permanent importance: the other would be the more interesting. Gladly would we have blended the interesting in large proportions with the instructive, and have traced the course of one pronounced to be, "A philosopher, who thinks like Aristotle; whose logic is as stern as that of St. Thomas, 'the lawgiver of the Church;' who rivals Muretus as a critic; whose erudition finds a parallel only in that of the younger Scaliger; whose subtlety of thought and polemical power remind us of the dauntless Prince of Verona, (the elder Scaliger;) whose penetrating analysis reaches deeper than that of Kant."* The story of the early associations, the education, the intellectual growth, the pursuits, the struggles, the achievements, the habits, the tastes, the opinions, and the conduct of such a man, would serve still higher purposes than the satisfaction of a liberal curiosity. It might nerve others to like efforts; it might point the way to those lofty realms,

"Where celestial Truth
Her awful light discloses, to bestow
A more majestic pomp on Beauty's frame;"

it might purify and elevate the motives and endeavors of those panting for new victories in the vast and arduous domain where he marched as a conqueror; it might teach to all that humanity of heart, that humbleness of faith, which not only adorns, but is inseparable from the highest order of intellectual capacity. This incitement is still for a brief period denied to us. We are assured, on the authority of the widow of the deceased, that the notices of her eminent husband, hitherto published, are inaccurate and unreliable. We must abstain from their use to avoid the repetition and confirmation of error. It is a pleasure, however, to be able to announce, that the hope relinquished by us will be soon realized by another. The memoranda and documents requisite for an authentic biography of Sir William Hamilton, will be placed in the hands of an American gentleman, qualified to extract the most valuable essence from such materials, by his reverential regard for the char-

* Wight's Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, Introd., p. 7.

acter, talents, and attainments of the great and good man who is gone, by his careful study of his philosophy, and by a much closer agreement with his doctrines than we venture to profess. He is himself distinguished for his legal eminence, his juridical reforms, his literary successes, and his philosophical inquiries. From his pen proceeded the singularly able appreciation of the Hamiltonian system, which graced the pages of the Princeton Review, and was republished in Edinburgh, with a commendatory preface by Dr. Cunningham. Fortunately, it reached the hands of the author reviewed in time to secure the expression of his approval. We are thus compelled to accept it as, in the main, an authoritative exposition of his philosophy; and we have accordingly introduced it into our rubric. From such a zealous, but judicious admirer of the private virtues, the exuberant learning, and the speculative dogmas of Sir William, such a biographical sketch may be confidently expected, as will render the example of the mighty dead most serviceable for the guidance and encouragement of the living. To this gentleman we are indebted for the few reliable details in regard to Sir William Hamilton's life, which we are enabled to introduce into these pages. Had further delay been expedient, these details might have been multiplied and extended; but it was not advisable to postpone the consideration of these philosophical fragments till fuller information could be procured, which was known to be unattainable for several months; nor would we consent to abuse kindness and generosity by an awkward and ungracious anticipation of the more extended biography.

A stroke of paralysis terminated the life and the labors of Sir William Hamilton on the 6th of May, 1855. He had been suffering for years from the effects of this fatal disease. He had been paralyzed on the right side, and so completely deprived of the use of his right hand, as to require the assistance of an affectionate family in his correspondence and literary compositions. After such a visitation, death was at all times imminent; and might descend at any moment without occasioning surprise. But when the last hour struck, it excited a profound sensation throughout Europe and America. Wherever philosophy was pursued, wherever learning received honor, wherever intellectual strength won admiration, wherever the conscientious exercise of such strength for noble purposes secured esteem, wherever the long and arduous discharge of the high function of shaping in advance the best thoughts of the coming generation attracted veneration, the sudden loss was deeply felt, and felt to be irreparable. For thirty-four years he had shed luster on the University of Edinburgh; for more than a quarter of a century his

reputation had been silently waxing great. He was little known to the literary multitude, for his studies were chiefly directed to abstract or erudite speculation, and were mainly addressed to those who cultivate the First Philosophy, the most chary of divinities. Among this "fit audience, though few," he enjoyed a lofty estimation. Wherever such were found, in the noisy scenes of Parisian disputation, on the classic banks of the Po, the Arno, and the Tiber, in the beclouded halls of the German Universities, in the sylvan retreats of America, his name was heard, and heard with respect as the name of one of the foremost thinkers of his time, of one who had revived in his own person the philosophical acumen, the logical precision, the untiring industry, and the traditionary glories of the forgotten Middle Age, and had combined with them the multifarious learning and the practical discernment of more recent generations.

The object of this widely-extended homage was suddenly snatched from the admiring regards of thousands, from the affectionate regards of his numerous disciples and friends, before his brilliant race seemed complete. One of the brightest stars in our intellectual firmament was extinguished while we were gazing on its increasing splendor, and gathering happy omens of benign influences yet to be vouchsafed to us. The tree was blighted before the fruit had ripened on its boughs, before the late, but rich bloom had fallen from them. Sir William died full of promise. His great task had been proclaimed, but it was left unachieved. As he had nearly filled the term allotted to human life by the Scripture and by sages, the apostrophe addressed by Virgil to the shade of Marcellus, is inapplicable to him:

> **"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra**
> **Esse sinent."**

But the lament may be addressed to his system of philosophy. It is foreshadowed, but it is unfulfilled. It germinated with vigorous and auspicious life; but its leaves are unexpanded, and its branches still undisclosed. What hand may cultivate it, and develop its inherent promise, now that the hand that planted, and fashioned, and nursed, and watered it, lies moldering in the dust? Will this be attempted by Professor Fraser, who has succeeded to the vacant throne in the University of Edinburgh?* Or is it destined to remain an unfinished monument of the past; inspiring, by its proportions and by its undeveloped manifestations of skill, dismay and

* Professor Fraser has recently, and probably as a specimen of his capabilities, issued a volume entitled "Essays in Philosophy." We have not seen the book, but trust they may prove philosophical essays.

despondency into the hearts of those who would resume the interrupted task? We wait for the revelations of the next few years, anticipating little from the evidences of metaphysical or logical ability already exhibited by the disciples and imitators of Sir William, whether acquiescent or dissentient.* In the meantime we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that a philosophy so marked in many of its features, and of such large apparent capabilities, should have been left by its author in such a disjointed and imperfect state, that it is difficult to detect, and hazardous to assert its real significance and its contemplated conclusion. We must acknowledge that we are not always certain of having apprehended the true import of its doctrine; but we accept the interpretations of the Princeton Reviewer, wherever these can elucidate an obscurity. The fragmentary form, however, of the scheme propounded, permits and has already tempted its more impatient admirers and assailants to disguise themselves in the quaint and often unintelligible phraseology which it has brought into a certain vogue; to impose their own special interpretations upon its dogmas, without chance of refutation; to combine them together in modes suitable to their comprehension; to imprison the broken, but glorious sunlight, which streams through the darkness of the original expression, in their own little bottles, for the purpose of forcing their own little metaphysical cucumbers in their own little Laputas; to contemplate a narrow coterie of acolytes, and claim "for party what was meant for mankind;" to talk about "the initiated;" and to indulge in the supercilious shibboleth, which indicates rather the disposition to appropriate as a privilege the honors of a mystic sect, than either the spirit or the qualifications to advance the cause of truth, to disseminate sound knowledge, or to press forward to new discoveries.† If Sir William Hamilton was right, as we believe him, and the long array of great men who preceded him, to have been, in regarding the common and instinctive convictions of men as the only sure basis for a healthy and available philosophy, he would have felt no sympathy with those who sought to monopolize for any select class or school doctrines designed for the common instruction and the common welfare. He would have indignantly repelled the pretense that any initiation, but sober reflection, was requisite for admission into the academy

* Of the gold-beating disciples, Baynes is probably the best; of discipular and imitative opponents, we hope to see nothing more feeble than Calderwood and Ferrier.

† Sir William is the modern Heraclitus. . . . τὸ Ηρακλείτου περὶ φύσεως, ὃς καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο σκοτεινὸς προσηγόρευται. Clem. Alexand., Strom. v, p. 676, ed. Venet.

of common sense. It is true that there may be a further initiation required; one not contemplated by either the teacher or his compiler, a new vocabulary, a lexicon of Hamiltonian Scotticisms, archaisms, neoterisms, and solecisms. The precise technical language which Sir William habitually employs; the laconic expression which he cultivates with more than Laconian partiality; his genius for symbols, verbal as well as graphical; his equal appetence for lexicological antiquities and novelties; and the closely vertebrated structure of his intricate sentences, in which conciseness of thought and utterance is obtained at all sacrifices, render his meaning often obscure, and the phraseology singularly awkward and pedantic. But the pedantry is in the form, not in the purpose; and the obscurity is accidental, not designed. He would have been mortified to suppose that these defects could be magnified into virtues; or that the idiosyncrasy of his expression could be tortured into the instrument of speculative sectarianism. If any adequate advantage can be derived from his philosophical fragments, *tentamina philosophiæ*, they must be employed like the grand *magisterium* of the Alchemists, to transmute the much larger volume of general speculation into gold, not inclosed like relics in wax, or hidden in the seclusion of a sect for limited and unfruitful adoration.

The grievous blemishes of Sir William Hamilton's style may be ascribed in part to his long postponement of philosophical publication. Great was the promise of his early years, and the maturity of his intellect may have been precocious, but his fruitage was late. He was not a late-learning man, (*ὀψιμαθής*,) but he was late blooming, (*ὀψιανθής*,) or at any rate late bearing, (*ὀψικαρπός*,) and, in consequence, contracted some of the habits of late-gotten learning. It is not easy to account otherwise for the peculiar phraseology affected by him. His literary taste was of wide range, his literary culture unusually extensive and diversified; and even if his pursuits had been confined, as they were far from being, to philosophy, his familiarity with Plato, and Cicero, and St. Augustine, and Leibnitz, might have offered graceful exemplars for his imitation. He was no exclusive in his philosophical studies; he had walked,

> "Through fair Lyceum's walks, the green retreats
> Of Academus, and the thymy vale,
> Where oft, enchanted with Socratic sounds,
> Ilissus pure devolved his tuneful stream
> In gentle murmurs."

He was not betrayed into this defect by his peripatetic predispositions, for his Aristotelian partialities are hypercritically discreet.

It was scarcely a conscious imitation of Kant, whom he resembles more closely than he would have willingly acknowledged. It was not any perverse example of his predecessors in Edinburgh, for the Scotch literati, and preëminently Hume, Stewart, and Brown, were finically precise in their affectation of elegant English, and betrayed their provincialism, as Livy's patavinity was shown,* as Theophrastus was detected by the market-woman of Athens, by being more Attic than the Athenians. It was not the demand for philosophical precision which necessitated the commission, the inveterate growth of this fault, for the technical innovations, often bewildering in themselves, are rendered almost nugatory by the quaintness of his ordinary vocabulary, and by his curious abuse of old, and indulgence of new figures of speech. The only explanation of these peculiarities must be sought in the circumstances of his career. Their assiduous cultivation might become perfectly intelligible, if we were in possession of the full details of his biography. Some light may, indeed, be afforded by the scant chronological record of his life which we are able to communicate.

Sir William Hamilton, Baronet, was born in Glasgow, in the year 1788. His birth thus preceded by eight years the death of Dr. Thomas Reid, whose writings he edited and annotated, and whose philosophy he proposed to enlarge. Sir William was an hereditary baronet, the representative of a long line of ancestry, and sprung from a cadet of the ducal house of Hamilton and Chastelherault. He was the twenty-fourth male representative of Sir John Fitz Gilbert de Hamilton, of Rossavon and Fingalton, who was the second son of Sir Gilbert de Hamilton, the founder of this noble family in Scotland. The first baronet of this line received his title in 1673, as an acknowledgment of the services rendered by his father to the royal cause at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, at the latter of which his kinsman, the Duke of Hamilton, commanded, and was mortally wounded. The baronetcy was granted by the patent in remainder to the heirs male general of the original grantee.

Such an illustrious lineage was thrown into the shade, but further ennobled by the vast learning and profound philosophical attainments of Sir William's mature years. The conjunction of such accomplishments with such accidents of birth revives the memories of

* . . . "Ipsam urbanitatem, quæ in certis vocibus et phrasibus consistit, ejusque affectationem non esse sine vitio, et olim plus urbanitatis extra urbem atque in provinciis sæpe fuisse, quam in ipsa urbe, ostendemus." Morhofius, De Patavinitate Liviana, cap. xiv. "Quare fit interdum, ut ipsos urbanos elegantia superent, qui melius sæpe et accuratius, velut advenæ, characterismos illos sermonis observant; ut interdum nimia urbanitatis affectatione se prodant."—*Ibid.*

Otho of Freysingen, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, Egidio di Colonna, the Picos di Mirandola, and Crichton. We must return to the Middle Ages, or to the period immediately ensuing, to find the temptations, the illusions, and the vanities of high aristocratic descent so completely disregarded in favor of the toilsome and protracted pursuit of learning.*

Sir William's early education appears to have been acquired in his native city, and the original training of his mind to have been received from the friends, the colleagues, and the successors of Reid. From the University of Glasgow, which, notwithstanding the occasional celebrity of its *professors* and *alumni*, has never attained higher eminence than belongs to a second-rate English Grammar School, he proceeded to the most ancient College of Baliol, at Oxford.† Here he distinguished himself above all his cotemporaries, and succeeded in taking the highest honors, the rare honor of the Double-first Class. Since the days of Roger Bacon, and probably from an earlier period, the study of Aristotle, though often unprofitably pursued, has never been intermitted at Oxford, and a considerable acquaintance with the *Organon*, and with the forms at least of the Peripatetic Logic, has usually been required for the attainment of the honors of the First Class. Here Sir William imbibed that partiality for Aristotle, which could scarcely have been drawn from the atmosphere of Scotland, or from the friends of Reid, a man, whose Brief Account of Aristotle's Logic displays an entire want of comprehension, not to say appreciation, of either the Logic or the Philosophy, the aims or the career of the Stagirite.‡ The variety and extent of Sir William's acquirements in classical and philosophical learning, his familiarity with, and his appreciation of, the writings and doctrines of Aristotle, and his commentators, ancient and mediæval, and his remarkable general knowledge, are still proudly remembered at Oxford, where an affectionate tradition most tenaciously preserves the memory of distinguished disciples.

* Cavendish, one of the great names in chemistry, is a recent example. But science is neither philosophy nor learning, as Sir William shows. Discuss., p. 243, vide Kant, Crit. du Jugement, I, p. 256. So Aristotle, ἔστι δὲ σοφία τις καὶ ἡ φυσική, ἀλλ' οὐ πρώτη. Metaph. III, c. iii, p. 1005, b. 1, 2, and Leibnitz, Ep. x. ad Thomasium. Op. Win., iv. Ps. i, p. 31. Ed. Dutens.

† Sir William speaks with the most affectionate remembrance of "the happiest of the happy years of youth," spent in this college. Discuss. pp. 750, 751, note.

‡ Sir William ascribes to Baliol his logical and philosophical tastes. He speaks of "the numerous errors . . . with which Reid's treatise is deformed." Reid's Works, p. 681, note. Reid admits that he never read the entire work which he professed to abridge. St. Hilaire's criticism is not too severe. De La Log. I, pp. 147, 148; II, p. 83.

In the title page to his edition of Reid, Sir William Hamilton has prefixed his professional designation, as Advocate, to the long list of his literary and philosophical honors. It was not till 1813 that he was admitted to the Scotch Bar. His practice never became extensive; but he received the appointment of H. M. Solicitor of Teinds, etc. We are too ignorant of the language of Scotch law, and the organization of the Scotch courts, to be able to estimate the character or the importance of this royal commission.

His tastes, and the eminence acquired by his learning, did not permit him to linger out his life in the dusty obscurity of the Scotch forum; but his connection with the Edinburgh Bar, and the enforced employment of the intolerable jargon of Caledonian jurisprudence, may have unconsciously instigated the adoption of his own singular phraseology.* He may thus have been induced to "redargue" rather than to refute; to prefer "educts" to products, "deliverances" to statements, and "reclamation" to challenge or denial.

In 1820, the chair of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh became vacant by the death of Dr. Thomas Brown. Sir William Hamilton was among the candidates nominated to succeed him. His most formidable opponent was John Wilson, poet and *littérateur*, the celebrated editor of Blackwood's Magazine, then in the zenith of its glory. Wilson was elected. An Edinburgh Town Council, the electoral body, like any other municipal corporation, is guided by singular principles in its estimation of the comparative qualifications of those who are compelled to solicit its favors.† Its choice, however, in this case, was not altogether infelicitous, though dictated principally by high Tory proclivities, though it left the abler and more learned candidate in the shade, and though Sir Walter Scott, an earnest supporter of Wilson, deemed it necessary to prescribe that "he must leave off sack, purge, and live cleanly, as a gentleman ought to do."‡ Wilson made a brilliant professor; he was an ornament to Scotland no less than to the University. He was a man of fine taste, of untiring fancy, of high literary culture, of unrivaled genius, of very considerable learning, and he was endowed with the rich vein of poetic sentiment which

* As specimens of this difficult and perverse *lingua rustica*, we may refer to Reid's Works, Note D^{ooo}, § 1, IV, p. 911. Discussions, Addendum to Appenix I, Philosophical (A), § II, 3, p. 631.

† What Sir William himself thought of the elective capacity of the Edinburgh Town Council, may be seen in Discuss. pp. 386–395.

‡ Wilson and Hamilton were both natives of Glasgow, both educated at the University there, both sent to Oxford, the one to Magdalene, the other to Baliol; they may both have attended the same lectures.

adorns while it conceals the barrenness of modern attempts at systematic ethics.* He never did abandon sack, and confine himself to thin potations; but he enjoyed and merited a reputation which secured the widest and most popular admiration; and this is alone a sufficient justification of his appointment on Sir William's own principles.† Moreover, the latter, as the younger by three years, scarcely as the richer, could afford to wait a little while longer. Wilson had dissipated a handsome fortune in the indulgences and elegances of his romantic villa, "Elleray, on the banks of beautiful Windermere." It had been impaired by previous extravagances. Whether his defeated rival had any patrimony to expend, we are not apprised. Twenty-four generations of Scotch *noblesse*, "poor and proud," especially after passing through a violent fever of cavalierism, were sufficient to reduce to a *minimum* the inheritance of a late representative of a younger branch of the House of Hamilton. We have been informed that Sir William Hamilton, like so many titled representatives of the Scotch peerage and baronetage, was left in very moderate circumstances; and was thus favorably situated for exemplifying the justice of Aristotle's remark, that poverty and excellence usually are found together.‡

Next year, that is, in 1821, Sir William was elected to the professorship of history in the University of Edinburgh, and delivered at intervals a course of lectures in that department, which are said to have been characterized by singular learning and vigor of thought. These lectures are supposed to be left in manuscript, in a condition suitable for publication. If this belief be correct, we may hereafter enjoy the opportunity of contemplating another phase of his versatile accomplishments. It would be a suggestive study to trace the mode in which the complicated and ever-varying movements of political and social change were considered by a highly discriminative and constitutionally metaphysical mind. Aristotle, Leibnitz, and Hume, are the only examples present to our recollection of equally distinguished success in historical and abstract speculation. The

° Kant furnishes the only exception to this censure with which we are acquainted.

† Discussions pp. 376–378. He is speaking of the appointment of Joseph Scaliger in the University of Leyden, by James Douza, its founder, and of the subsequent invitation of Julius Pacius, and election of Claude Saumaise.

‡ Διὰ τί ἡ πενία παρὰ τοῖς χρησταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ τοῖς φαύλοις ἐστίν; κ.τ.λ. Aristot. Probl. xxix, § 4. The same idea is conveyed by Aristoph. Plut. vv. 28, 29, 219, 502–504, 558–561. Plochiri, Dram., vv. 36–40, 56–65. Machiavelli, Ist. Fior. lib. iii. With this inquiry is closely connected that in regard to the conjunction of melancholy and genius. Aristot. Probl. xxx. § 1. Vide Burton, Anat. Mel. I. iii. § 3, p. 279.

Greek philosophers constantly recurred in their meditations to the wide and apparently irreconcilable distinction between the evanescent forms of visible existence, and the permanent, but inapprehensible reality latent beneath all their mutations, and furnishing a substantial basis for the manifestation of the phenomena.* The same opposition subsists between the events which history discusses, and the unchangeable ideas which invite the study of the metaphysician. It would be an instructive task to examine the manner in which the concrete phases of life had been discussed by one signally successful in the cultivation of abstract pursuits.

In 1836, Sir William Hamilton was transferred from the chair of History to the chair of Logic and Metaphysics, those branches of philosophy which appear to have always been most congenial to his taste, and the former of which he probably did more to re-instate in its ancient and deserved eminence, than any single individual since the death of the aged Pacius, in 1635. Two centuries, just completed, had heaped the contumelies, inherited from the preceding century, on Aristotle and his logic,† with only rare but distinguished voices of dissent, when Sir William Hamilton ascended the logical chair at Edinburgh, revived the ancient logical celebrity of the Scottish name, and exhibited himself as the first worthy successor in the British Islands, of Robert Balfour, Mark Duncan, and William Chalmers.‡ To him is unquestionably due the service, not yet sufficiently appreciated or imitated, of partially restoring to Aristotle his merited but long-lost honors, among those who claim the English as their mother tongue.§ It belongs to another occasion to inquire into the fortunes of Aristotle since the days of Peter Ramus and his precursors, to continue the inquiries of Jean Launoy,

* Aristot. Metaph. III, c. v, et Alexand. Aphrod. Schol. ad loc. Metaph. X, c. vi. V. Anonym. Urbin. ap. Schol. Aristot., p. 546, a. David. Prolegom. Phil. ap. Schol. Aristot., p. 12.

† . . . "De toutes les choses du moyen âge, la plus calomniée, celle dont la réhabilitation s'est fait le plus attendre, c'est sa philosophie. Contre elle l'ignorance a suscité le dédain; et le dédain, à son tour, a encouragé l'ignorance." Ozanam, Dante, etc. Œuvres, vol. vi, p. 51.

‡ Discussions, pp. 119–123. All our knowledge of these logicians is obtained at second hand. We have been unable to procure any of the Schoolmen except Roger Bacon and Sir Thomas Aquinas, and it would be ridiculous to seek such great but forgotten authors in our public libraries.

§ "Aristotle governs the opinions of more than are conscious of their allegiance to the Stagirite. His zeal is upon all the sciences, and his speculations have mediately or immediately determined those of all subsequent thinkers." Hamilton's Reid, p. 632, note. "If we take circumstances into account, his activity and research, his erudition and universality, have never been equaled." Ibid., p. 631, note.

and to trace the causes and the stages of the marked renovation of peripatetic studies which has recently become manifest, and which announces the ninth return of Aristotelian ascendency.* But it would be an omission of one of the highest claims of Sir William to the gratitude of posterity, to pass in silence his earnest admiration for Aristotle and his great mediæval commentators. This admiration, and the desire to direct attention once more to the mighty Stagirite, and his brilliant train of disciples, are sufficiently evinced in the published writings of Sir William Hamilton,† and especially in the copious and erudite notes to his memorable article on Logic; but they would probably be more apparent if we should be favored with the publication of his Lectures on Logic and Metaphysics, which are reputed to be preserved in a state suitable for the press.

Sir William enjoyed physical advantages almost as uncommon as his intellectual endowments. Nature had been so liberal to him that he might well have been tempted to dispense with industry; but his moral constitution was so happily predisposed, that he endeavored to outvie the bounties of nature by his own assiduous acquirements. He illustrated in other modes the sentiment of Ulysses:

> "Invidia caveat: bona nec sua quisque recuset,
> Nam genus, et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi,
> Vix ea nostra voco."

His frame was large and commanding; his head was cast in a classic mold; his face was handsome and expressive; his voice possessed great compass and mellifluous sweetness.‡ Such a *personnel* must have added materially to the effect of his lectures, which displayed the other merits characteristic of the intellectual man. Every sentence was exuberant of thought, and compressed into the most compact form. The logic was as rigid as in his published compositions: the current of thought was habitually perspicuous, to those familiarized by a residence in Edinburgh with the Hamiltonian dialect, and its component elements; and the exacting gravity of his theme was occasionally relieved by lighter graces borrowed from his

* In the middle of the seventeenth century, Launoius numbered eight alternations of fortune, experienced by the philosophy of the Stagirite. The ninth avatar approaches.

† It is to be hoped that his example and endeavors will exercise a larger and more permanent influence than the similar purposes of James Harris, of Salisbury, in the last century.

‡ Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ β'ὅπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος ἵει
Καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν, κ.τ.λ. II, III, vv. 221, 222.

curious and abundant literary lore. Such qualifications insured to him great influence over his audience; nor was this sensibly diminished after the visitation of his serious and ultimately fatal disease. Though his whole right side was paralyzed during the last ten years of his life, he continued to lecture as assiduously as ever. He was still the "old man eloquent," the wisdom of his age.* He taxed more heavily the energies of his class, and infused into it more enthusiasm than any of his colleagues was able to do. During a portion of this time, his fellow-townsman, his fellow-collegian at Glasgow, and perhaps his cotemporary at Oxford, his rival, and for nearly thirty years his colleague in the Edinburgh University, John Wilson, was sinking into the grave under the effects of the same disease, anticipating in death his great coëval by very little more than a year.†

In 1829, Sir William Hamilton married his cousin, the daughter of the late Herbert Marshall, Esq. She is said to be a lady of unusual accomplishments and powers of mind. The baronetcy devolves upon his eldest son, also named William, who was born in 1830. The present baronet is an officer in the British army, thus resuming the hereditary pursuits of his family. During the late war he was stationed in the East Indies, and thus escaped the dangers and horrors of the Crimea. A second son, a young man of the highest promise, is now prosecuting his studies, and treading in his father's footsteps, at Oxford, where he will take his degree during the approaching spring. A daughter also is left. In the midst of this family, gentle, affectionate, attentive, and admiring, Sir William spent his mature years, living with the utmost simplicity.

But the offspring of his mind was his noblest progeny, and the only progeny with which we, as strangers, have any direct concern.‡ The writings which he has transmitted to posterity are the children which bestow a loftier immortality than the perpetuation of an ancient and distinguished line.§ Before proceeding, however, to the consideration of these literary remains, we must rectify an omission,

* O facunde senex, ævi prudentia nostri.—Ovid, Metam. xii, v. 178.

† Sir William Hamilton died May 6th, 1855. Prof. Wilson April 3d, 1854. Both burned brightly to the last.

‡ "Contingit enim dissimilem filium plerumque generari: oratio dispar moribus vix potest inveniri. Est ergo ista valde certior arbitri proles: nam quod de arcano pectoris gignitur, auctoris sui posteritas veracius æstimatur." Cassiodorus, Var. Præf., lib. i; cf. Bacon, Essays, vii.

§ Ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπαιδες τετελευτήκασι, οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαινοι παῖδες αὐτῶν ἀθάνατοι ἔσονται. Hyperidis. Orat. Epitaph, Fr. apud J. Stobæum, Serm. cxxiii.

too serious, in the general estimation of his character and career, to be left uncorrected. If

> "Kind hearts are more than coronets,
> And simple faith than Norman blood;"

the maintenance of the innocent simplicity of childhood in the midst of a dazzling reputation, and the preservation of an unshaken piety—of humble religious fervor—in the midst of the highest intellectual triumphs and temptations, are entitled to a deeper reverence and a more cordial admiration than all the honors which ancestry, and philosophy, and learning, and distinction can bestow. That nothing might be wanting to complete the full measure of our veneration for Sir William Hamilton, this praise too was his due.

> "Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui
> Vir fuit; non *illo* metuentior *usque* deorum."[*]

While he was still preserved to the world, Mr. Wight justly wrote: "Sir William, though metaphysically 'the most formidable man in Europe,' is an humble Christian; though the most learned of men, he is ready to bow before the Spirit that 'informed' the mind of Paul."† Lord Bacon left a Confession of Faith, which is included in the collection of his works: Sir William Hamilton has introduced an open confession of belief into the close of one of his latest essays.‡ "*Credo equidem, nec vana fides.*" The avowal was scarcely requisite: his whole philosophy is steeped and dyed in humility and Christian faith. This is a rare and eminent merit in an age when the powers of science and philosophy have been waging united war against Christianity, and producing the same melancholy result experienced by Faust in Göthe's wonderful drama.§ Sir William resumed the interrupted and ineffectual task of Leibnitz, with unequal grace, with similar though scarcely equivalent learning, without his vanity,‖ and with much greater faith, if with less earnest assiduity. He has endeavored to turn the batteries of philosophy

[*] Ovid, Metam. I., vv. 322, 323. We have taken two liberties with the second line, as Grammar refuses the application of the Salmacian waters.

† Wight. Introd., p. 13. We will not take exception to "the most learned of men," though it is a singular and exclusive superlative.

‡ Discussions, Appendix I., Philosophical, (A.) pp. 625–628. Wight, Introd., pp. 13, 14, 510–515.

§ We allude, of course, to the opening monologue of Faust.

‖ This vanity is diffused throughout all the writings of Leibnitz, especially when he refers to his doctrine of Pre-established Harmony, but it nowhere appears more obtrusively or ungracefully than in his obituary notice of James Bernouilli, where he speaks of himself as Illustrissimus Dn. Leibnitium, and of the Calculus as "magnum sæculi nostri inventum, Analysis infinitesimalis Leibnitiana." Op., tom. iv; Ps. ii, pp. 282–283. Ed. Dutens.

against infidelity, and to render them more available for the defense of revealed religion than they have been for its injury. It is the inestimable service demanded in our times. He believed himself to have constructed and indicated a philosophy capable of rendering this aid, which was required before its necessity was recognized, as it is scarcely recognized yet by the majority of even philosophizing divines. How far he succeeded, and what service he has rendered, will be considered hereafter in the estimation of his philosophical doctrines. But his whole speculation was subordinate to faith, or, as he might have expressed himself, ancillary and adminicular to the Christian religion, if it were not directly built on the corner stone of a necessarily accredited revelation. He borrowed from Anselm the maxim, "*Crede, ut intelligas*:"* he might have discovered it in Aristotle.† This device of a wise humility he adopted as an amulet against the temptations of "too erudite impiety."‡ Sir William is nearly the first of great modern philosophers to return to that profound philosophy of "learned ignorance"—of believing ignorance—which was welcomed by the acute intellects and luminous credescence (if we may hazard a new coinage) of the patristic and scholastic sages.§ This is the first grand step toward the discovery of that lofty, but still unattained philosophy, which will conciliate reason with faith, by establishing definitely, "that things there are, which *may*, nay, *must* be true, of which the understanding is wholly unable to construe to itself the possibility."‖ The first point to be gained is the confirmation of the maxim, that the last triumph of reason is the recognition of its own inherent limitations, and its acquiescence in humble subordination to faith, religious and philosophical.

"Quisquis plus justo non sapit, ille sapit."¶

* Hamilton's Reid, note A, § v, p. 760; Wight, p. 61, 62. So St. Augustine, "Credimus ut cognoscamus, non cognoscamus, ut credamus." Fract. xxvii, on John xxvii.

† *δεῖ γὰρ πιστεύειν τὸν μανθάνοντα.* Aristot. Soph. Elench. I, p. 165, b. 2.

‡ Fr. Balduinus, Jurispr. Mucian, p. 479. Ed. Heineccii terms the celebrated theological theory of P. Mucius Scævola, "nimium erudita impietas," and "Mucianam Romana impietatis sapientiam."

§ Numerous illustrations are collected. Hamilton's Reid, Note A, § vi, pp. 775–780; Wight, p. 96; Discuss., pp. 636–641; Wight, pp. 519–523.

‖ Discuss., Appendix I, Philosophical, (A.) p. 624; Wight, 510. "Multa sunt quæ esse concedimus: qualia sunt, ignoramus. Habere nos animum, cujus imperio inpellimur et revocamur, omnes fatebunter: quid tamen sit animus ille rector dominusque nostri, non magis tibi quisquam expediet, quam ubi sit." &c. Seneca, Nat. Qu., VII, xxv, §§ 1, 2.

¶ Martial, XIV, Epigr. ccx. This quotation has not escaped Sir William's diligent erudition.

Until this much at least is achieved, "Ephraim feedeth on wind, and followeth after the east wind." Gnosticism and Manichæism, and the other transformed types of Oriental transcendentalism, will continue to delude, as they have deluded, the miserable minds and the blind hearts of men.* In the recent years, indeed, the old adage has been lamentably illustrated, "*maximos philosophos maximos hæreticos.*"† But neither the heresy nor the injury has been confined to the erratic luminaries of iniquitous speculation. They have descended through the inferior grades of intelligence, producing almost universal asphyxiation of thought and morals, like carbonic acid gas sinking by its sullen weight through the vital air, and bearing death to those who respire the lower stratum. "Every man is become a fool for knowledge; every artist is confounded in his graven idol; for what he hath cast is false, and there is no spirit in them. They are vain things, and a ridiculous work: in the time of their visitation they shall perish." If their visitation is at length at hand, as we trust it may be, Sir William Hamilton led the opposing column; and it is to his piety, even more than to his genius, unless we accept the profound dictum of Quintilian, (*pectus facit ingenium,*) that we are mainly indebted for the prospect of this salutary turn in the modern disease. The world was advancing so far in self-conceited folly and delusion as to look upon the created universe as an episodical digression, awkwardly put together like a sorry tragedy.‡ Cujacius, and Balduinus, and Domat, and the great civilians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, recognized the logical dependence of human jurisprudence on the Divine law, but there is a much more stringent necessity for acknowledging and detecting the dependence of human philosophy, and science, and reason on "Divine philosophy," and the incomprehensible will of God.§ When this is once done, philosophy will

* O miseras hominum menteis! O pectora cœca!—Lucret. De Rer. Nat., i, 14–16.

† Cited as a proverb by Henry Cornelius Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. Scient., c. liii.

‡ This is the reverse of Aristotle's remarkable expression: *οὐκ ἔοικε δ' ἡ φύσις ἐπεισοδιώδης οὖσα ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων, ὥσπερ μοχθηρὰ τραγῳδία.* Metaph. XIII, iii, p. 1090, b. 19.

§ "Quiescit intellectus noster non evidentia veritatis inspectæ, sed altitudine inaccessibili veritatis occultæ," says Cardinal Caietan, cited by Leibnitz. Fr. Balduinus, Schol. Jur. Civ., p, 1628, says of the Civil Law: "Et vero nisi si sua repetat principia ab lege divina, cui et suos veluti fasces submittere debet; nisi ad ejus regulam dirigatur, et in ejus veluti sinu contineatur, ecquo tamen evadet, solam humani ingenii vanitatem secuta?" Vide Domat. Traité des Loix, chap. i, § 1; St. Thom. Aquin. Summa. II, i, Qu. xciii, 3.

cease to be an odious name.* Then the rapidly succeeding systems of speculation will no longer induce vulgar minds to regard the evolutions of abstract truth as merely a series of passing meteors.† Harmony, regularity, and permanent order will be recognized in the constitution and development of the intellectual universe, as in the universe of matter and space.

The Christian aspirations of Sir William Hamilton impelled him to seek such a solution: his intellectual strength enabled him to discern its urgency, and indicated to him a probable mode of its accomplishment. Like Leibnitz, like Anselm, he burst upon an unbelieving and skeptically learned generation, superior to his contemporaries in intellect, in logical power, in metaphysical subtlety, in philosophic penetration, in acquired information, not in wealth of naked facts, which of themselves are never "*information*," and directed his great capacities and his great acquisitions to checking and turning back the advancing tides of an arrogant infidelity. How far the promise of success attended his efforts remains to be estimated in connection with his philosophy: how he proceeded, by what route, by what means, and with what occasional deviations, may be previously learned from the consideration of his various literary remains.

The most important productions of Sir William Hamilton are specified in our rubric. They are his Discussions—a collection of papers contributed to the Edinburgh Review, with additions to them; and his Notes and Appendices to Reid—the latter never completed. The Preface to Reid, announced in the title-page of this edition, has never been published, and has probably never been composed. He has also inserted in the Appendix to the Essay of Mr. Baynes, a short note containing "a summary of his more matured doctrine of the syllogism, in so far as it is relative to the preceding Essay."‡ That essay itself is merely an exposition of Sir William's principal innovations in logic, and, as it has received his formal endorsement,§ may be almost included among the series

* "Nunc quia nomen inane (*philosophorum*) multi jactitant, perpauci vero ita sunt morati ut recta ratio postulabat, fit ut res ipsa vulgo non intelligatur, et nomen odiosum æque atque ridiculum habeatur." Hieronym. Wolf., Præf. ad Zonaram, p. xxx.

† "Most men see nothing in philosophy but a succession of passing meteors, while even the grander forms in which she has revealed herself share the fate of comets, bodies that do not rank in popular opinion among the eternal and permanent works of nature, but are regarded as mere fugitive apparitions of igneous vapor." Giordano Bruno, cit. Humboldt, Cosmos, vol. i, pp. 60, 61, Ed. Bohn. The same idea is noticed and refuted by the Princeton Reviewer, p. 3.

‡ Baynes, Appen., pp. 153–157 § Discussions, p. 164, note; Baynes, Pref., p. ix.

of his own labors, at least so long as his Lectures on Logic and Metaphysics are expected without being published. We shall say but little about his logical speculations, though we regard them as the most profound portion of his works. But several inducements concur in recommending this reserve. They are intermingled with much disputation with Professor De Morgan, whose Treatise on Logic is scarcely more intelligible than his Treatise on the Differential Calculus. Each darkens the subject it undertakes to elucidate. Another opportunity may thus be afforded of recurring to the Hamiltonian Logic, when our third reason for present reticence may not be as urgent as it now is, namely, that we have not had the leisure to appreciate adequately, or to study sufficiently, the novelties advocated and the changes proposed. Furthermore, our limits would not permit an extended notice of these contemplated reforms, and a brief notice would be unavailing. The attention of the reader, which could with difficulty be enticed to the consideration of Peripatetic, Scholastic, and Hamiltonian Logic, would be uselessly distracted, and withdrawn from the careful estimation of that philosophy which is beginning to be felt as a new power in the intellectual world. We may say that our present dispositions are not favorable to Sir William's logical reforms; we are inclined to assent to the objections alleged by Mr. Devey against them,* rather than to the reasoning by which those objections are sustained; but we shall content ourselves with very brief indications of the logical labors of the lamented author, and shall not hazard any definite judgment on the subject. We shall extend our investigations only to those cases in which his peculiar views in the department of Logic appear to have exercised a marked influence on the development of his metaphysical theory, or to have been determined by it. Those who have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with Sir William's doctrines through the more copious exposition contained in his lectures, still in manuscript, declare that an intimate and suggestive connection exists between his Logic and his Philosophy.

At the period of his death he was occupied with a complete edition of the works of Dugald Stewart, left, we believe, unfinished. It was his misfortune to complete scarcely any of his enterprises. This was due, no doubt, in great measure to his broken health and shattered frame. It would, therefore, be harsh to apply to him the designation, *Omni-Incipides, Nihil-Absolvides.* We have not seen—we have scarcely desired to see—the republication of Stewart.

* Devey's Logic. For the references see the Index to the work, for it has the rare merit of an Index.

We were assured that it contained nothing important for the estimation of Hamilton's philosophy, the only real merit which could by accident have belonged to it. We were informed that the editorial task had been undertaken rather as a relaxation than as a labor. We suspect Sir William not to have entertained a much higher estimate of Stewart's philosophical merits than we ourselves profess, notwithstanding the complimentary manner in which he is twice or thrice mentioned.

After having edited Reid, the principal founder of the Scotch school, and loaded his text with notes and commentaries, which hang like strands of Orient pearl from the ears, and nose, and lips of a blackamoor; after having demolished the elegant sophistry and factitious pretensions of Dr. Thomas Brown, Sir William may have considered it a pious duty to collect and inter the scattered members of the defunct Stewart. But this reverential care was discharged, or to be discharged, with the impatient tenderness of a hasty traveler.

> "Quanquam festinas (non est mora longa) licebit,
> Injecto ter pulvere, curras."

All that was required was an honorable tomb. Stewart was to be distributed through a long row of uniform volumes, which might occupy an elevated place in public or private libraries, like the cinerary urns arranged along the walls of a Roman crypt, or corpses in the niches of a Brazilian cemetery. We have little regard for Stewart's claims as a philosopher, but we have the highest respect for the memory and character of the man, and a genial admiration for his varied accomplishments, his multifarious learning, his literary grace, and the feminine elegances of his mild speculation. We have no high estimation of the philosophical achievements of any of the *coryphæ* of the Scottish school, and deem it a calamity that the academical position of Sir William Hamilton should have compelled him to become ostensibly identified with them, and to introduce something like system, substance, order, and coherence into their vague experimental psychology, by a sweeping and revolutionary legislation, unconsciously or designedly *ex post facto*. We do not admire the method, the procedure, the form, or the results of the philosophical tentatives of the sect. Even Reid, the most acute, though the least refined of the number, furnished no valid premises for a satisfactory reply to Hume, the aim which inspired his inquiries and dictated his doctrine. He never apprehended the true character of the heresy he assailed. With his motives we cordially sympathize, but we lament the failure of their realization. In the

hands of the successors of Reid, his scheme was still more impotent, when it became necessary to resist the heresiarchs of German transcendentalism. Stewart involved himself in his dignity to escape the encounter, and affected to ignore them. We have heard that Jouffroy, the apostle and the interpreter of Reid in France, was not saved by his Caledonian antidote from imbibing at last the venom of Trans-Rhenane infidelity. As for Victor Cousin, a great man unquestionably, especially when contrasted with the ordinary great men of the popular favor; great by the accidents of his life, great by genius, learning, diligence, eloquence, and position, he has attempted to combine together oil and water, and to distil an eclectic philosophy out of the dissimilar and uncoalescing ingredients of Reid, and Locke, and Kant, and Fichte, and Hegel, and Schelling, recompounded with Descartes and Bacon, and flavored or garnished according to the scientific vocabulary of the Parisian *cuisine*, with *croutons* of Plato, Plotinus, and Iamblichus, and with the most delicate *soupçon* of Aristotle. But the eclectic philosophy is Pantheistic at the core, though it trails the robes of Christian orthodoxy; and its disciples are manifest Pantheists, and have openly forsworn the gentle bonds of religious faith to vaunt the ponderous chains of the autocratic reason.* Reid and his followers meant well, but they scarcely achieved, or enabled others to achieve, any permanent gain. Victor Cousin dreamed a dream of good-will to men, but his dream proves to be a specter. Syncretism, even if it is dignified with the name of Eclecticism, is always a failure:† it always ends in the identification of the macrocosm and the microcosm, nature and the human mind, the Creator and the creature.

"Sibi quisque profecto
Fit Deus."

This seems, from past experience, to be inevitable. With the exception of Kant, a possible exception which we shall afterward consider, Sir William Hamilton alone of recent philosophers has both meant well and done well.

In addition to the works already specified, Sir William published

* Saisset, La Philosophie et la Religion, pp. 12, 24, 287. "Quis in angustum divina compellit?" Seneca, Nat. Qu. VII, xxiv, § 1. So Sannazzaro, Ecl. xii. "Chi puo le sue leggi al ciel prescrivere?"

† We cordially agree with Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil., Diss. Prælim., § vi, 7, tom. i, pp. 16, 17: "Omnes omnino Syncretistæ, id est variarum sententiarum et diversarum sectarum inter se conciliatores caute audiendi, et multo cautius admittendi sunt, quippe qui mentem philosophorum plerumque adulterant, cujus testes fere infinitos historia philosophica, tum veteris, tum mediæ, tum recentioris ætatis nobis exhibebit."

a little tract entitled "Be no Schismatic." We are unacquainted with it, and with the date of its appearance; but we suppose it to have grown out of the controversies resulting in the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland.

By his nativity, education, and early associations, by his residence, social intercourse, and academical functions in Edinburgh, Sir William was attached to the chain of the Scotch psychologists, and he sought rather to evolve a larger philosophy out of the doctrines of their school, than to recur to less familiar systems, or to hazard an independent eminence more in harmony with his own larger views, his ampler learning, his stricter logic, and his more perspicacious discernment. To accomplish this end, he infused into the theory of Common Sense a more liberal significance, and a more catholic vitality than his predecessors had claimed, or would have been willing or able to claim. He refined away the characteristic, but mistaken limitations of the doctrine, till the lines of its existence reached to the beginning, and might be protracted to the ends of time. How undistinguishable the old and distinctive Philosophy of Common Sense was thus rendered from his own more abstract, and precise, and scientific doctrine, may be readily discerned by running over the quotations with which he upholds the universality of the system of Common Sense, and with which he confirms the cardinal tenet of the Philosophy of the Conditioned or Learned Ignorance. To us these citations reveal extensive reading, great industry, and much assiduity; but they do not reveal any marked agreement between the authors quoted and the authors to be sustained. Despite of this conciliation of extremes, if Reid and Stewart could be permitted to revisit the scenes of their triumphs, (*superasque evadere ad auras,*) it would be a murderous experiment, more disastrous than pouring new wine into old bottles, to compress the speculations of Hamilton into their heads, or to impress the Philosophy of the Conditioned upon their Common Sense.

This impulse, however, obviously governed Sir William Hamilton's mental and philosophical development, and its effects were both more signal and more considerable in consequence of his annotated edition of Reid having been the most extended labor of his life. Reid he illuminated with his own light, making brilliancy in dark places, like fire flies flying through a tropic shade. He quietly corrected his blunders, his misapprehensions, his *gaucheries;* his narrow views he amplified by opening long vistas through the thickets which the eye of his predecessors could not penetrate; his obscurities he rendered luminous by his own irradiation; he confirmed his weak positions by throwing up enormous buttresses, or enlarging

their base; he made his characteristic propositions tenable by rendering them fixed and precise, and by fortifying them with his own arguments and interpretation. So considerable, yet so unsuspicious and unsuspecting were these bountiful charities that Reid ceases to be Reid, and almost becomes Hamilton. Never was such a service so effectually, so affectionately, so generously bestowed by a greater disciple on the memory of a master since Plato immortalized Socrates in his imperishable Dialogues.

It has been the suggestive dream of all legendary ages, interwoven with various mythologies, and embodied in the fairy tales of many lands, descending probably from an early misconstruction of the Scriptural tradition that the sons of God took wives from the daughters of men,* that the contact of spiritual existences with creatures of earth entailed upon the higher nature the taint of the mortality which they embraced. So it has been with Hamilton. It is not merely the customary designation of the Scotch school, in itself a sufficient calamity, which clings to his doctrine like the shirt of Nessus to the back of Hercules, but the views of that school have assumed too large proportions in the evolution of his tenets, and have dwarfed and disguised his own loftier speculations. The authorities cited by Sir William show, if they show nothing more, that the doctrine of Common Sense, the primitive or fundamental beliefs of the Scotch teachers, the indemonstrable principles of Aristotle and his commentators, the archetypal ideas of the Platonists, may be regarded as the common property of all ages. If any claimant can demand possession by the right of prior occupancy and continual claim, it is not Reid, but Aristotle. This extension, arbitrary perhaps, of the duration of the doctrine entitled Sir William to accept the tenet as the foundation for his system, without any obligations or liege homage to Reid.† Instead of adopting this plain procedure, he has admitted by his acts, and probably admitted in his intentions, an invalid suzerainty, and has thus conceded the precedence to a manifest inferior. Thus it happens that the Philosophy of Common Sense is presented by Sir William Hamilton as a co-ordinate member of the Hamiltonian system, instead of being regarded as a long, a learned, and an exceedingly able, though indirectly deceptive, elucidation of one of its presumed characteristics. We shall perhaps discover that this procedure has occasioned what we conceive to be one of the main deficiencies of the theory of the Conditioned, but this topic we postpone.

* Gen. vi, 2. See the singular development of this tradition in the Book of Enoch, cited by George Syncellus, Chronog., vol. i, pp. 20–23.

† Τὰ δὲ κείμενα κοινὰ πᾶσιν. Aristot., Metaph., VI, c. xv, p. 1040, a. 11.

Again, a prominent and characteristic purpose of Reid was to exorcise the intermediate forms which were supposed to flit between the object and the recipient in the act of perception. His language was often indistinct and wavering, but this was one of his main designs. Thus he hoped to refute Hume, deeming it sufficient to put to flight his shadowy hosts of ideas and impressions. The effort has been long and magniloquently lauded, but its temporary success continued only while the adverse line was thrown into confusion by the necessity of a change of front. It has been elevated to more than its original dignity and promise by Sir William Hamilton's copious, acute, and elaborately learned amplifications; but it has always reminded us of the first of the Encyclopædical Questions submitted by Pantagruel to Sorbonnicolificabilitudinistical disputation.* We apply this remark to Reid's aim rather than to Hamilton's commentary, which has an infinitely higher use and value separate from that aim. But a valid reply to Hume, as a valid scheme of philosophy, must be independent of the particular decision espoused in regard to Presentative or Representative Perception. The recognition of images in thought was perhaps a fiction, useless, and possibly deceptive, and therefore judiciously abolished. But it was only in consequence of the ambiguities of language, the awkwardness of expression, and the aberration of reasoning thence resulting, that these images were ever hypostatized, or clothed with any essential reality. It was only the metaphysical bungler who lost himself in that inapprehensible space,

> "Where entity and quiddity
> The ghosts of defunct bodies fly."

Aristotle was not betrayed into realism by his species;† it is doubtful whether Plato was so far misled by his ideas. But there was no excuse for regarding as a polar star an image "*bombinans in vacuo.*" Hume appeared to make such a mistake; Locke did commit it; but to refute Hume by assailing the prevalent theory of perception, was to refute him merely *per accidens*, and thereby to prolong the war.

After the long divorce of the English language from profound

* "*Utrum*, une idée platonicque voltigeant dextrement sous l'orifice du chaos me Philosophale. Œuvres, vol. viii, p. 334.
pourroyt chasser les escadrons des atomes democraticques." Rabelais, La Chres-

† Ἡ χεὶρ ὀργανόν ἐστιν ὀργάνων, καὶ ὁ νοῦς εἶδος εἰδῶν, καὶ ἡ αἴσθησις εἶδος αἰσθητῶν. Aristot., De Anim., III, c. viii, p. 432, a. 1. See the whole chapter. The doctrine of Aristotle is consonant with the tenets of Kant, Hamilton, and Hume.

philosophy,* these documents are alone sufficient credentials to authorize Sir William's admission into the ranks of the most subtle, most invincible, most solid, best grounded, most approved, and most profound doctors of the Middle Ages. He is a fit companion for Duns Scotus, Alexander of Hales, Holcot, Middleton, Burleigh, and Bradwardine. His style is as crabbed, and frequently as antiquated as theirs, his distinctions as numerous and as refined, his phraseology as prudish in its technical precision. Like them, he multiplies his divisions, and reduplicates his subdivisions; like them, he spins out the threads of his art, and weaves them into an intricate web, until they sometimes minister to confusion rather than to perspicuity, and bewilder us in an endless labyrinth. If he himself escapes the dizziness which he occasions, he is beguiled by the singular perfection of his logical ingenuity. Thus, in his masterly distribution of different schools of philosophy, according to the doctrines of perception which they respectively maintain, he seems to us to have mistaken a secondary consequence for an essential and specific characteristic. He might have given a fuller and more suggestive classification if he had sought his differences in a higher genus. Indeed, the essential distinctions indicated do not repose so decidedly on the discordant theories of perception, as on the old opposition between Nominalism and Realism, which appertains to the more generic genus. Moreover, if the requisite pains be taken to arrange these divisions and subdivisions in a tabular form, it will be manifest, from the absence of correspondence between the parts, and from the gaps suggested by the comparison of the different members, that the apparent symmetry is constrained, and that either the principle of the division is inadequate to its task, or that it has not been pressed to its full capacity.

No schoolman—not the wonderful, nor the universal, nor the angelic doctor—ever exhibited the same extent of metaphysical erudition, in combination with the same variety of extrinsic learning, and the same felicity of curious illustration, as is displayed by Sir William Hamilton. In these respects he has been rarely equaled, and but twice surpassed, by the skeptical Bayle and by Leibnitz, whom he himself resembles in so many points, whom he differs from in so many. Wherever his foot rests he empties a cornucopia, not of flowers, but of fruits; and yet, the cornucopia, like the purse of Fortunatus, remains ever full. It is not merely in the walks of metaphysics and logic that he is thus lavish of his varied stores,

* "L'Angleterre a presque complètement déserté le terrain de la philosophie." St. Hilaire, Log. d'Aristot., Trad. Préface, vol. i, p. clvii. Hamilton, Discuss., pp. 278, 279, 677.

but his profusion is equally remarkable in his Disputations on Education, and in his mathematical, medicinal, historical, literary, and antiquarian investigations. Whether he traces the little known history of the universities and colleges at the close of the Middle Ages,* examines into the modes of actual and the conditions of the most desirable academical organization; whether he contrasts the grand professions and pretensions of Oxford, and Cambridge, and inferior institutions, with their comparatively small performances; whether he determines the objects and the course of a truly liberal education; whether he estimates the importance of classical and the mistaken cultivation of mathematical studies, and the respective influences due to the neglect of the one and the undue appreciation of the other; whether exposing the uncertainties of medical science, and the discrepance between its acknowledged eminence and its limited acquisitions; whether investigating the history of the education of the deaf and dumb,† or detecting the authorship and perpending the merits of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, Sir William Hamilton's mastery of his subject is always evinced, and the superfluity of his learning usually displayed. Moreover, let it be added, that this learning, however excessive and fatiguing, is more frequently illustrative than decorative. This is its noblest praise, and involves a higher power than erudition alone could claim.

An ample library is a great convenience, as little to be appreciated as enjoyed by those everlastingly condemned to a scant collection, and unfamiliar with the public cemeteries where the volumes of the dead repose in state. But neither the Bodleian at Oxford, nor the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh; nor even Sir William's own remarkable library, whose rare contents are signalized by Mr. Baynes,‡ and indicated in the appendix to his "New Analytic," and in the writings of his eminent preceptor, will explain the ever-flowing erudition of Hamilton. He cannot touch the most barren subject, but, like the waters gushing from the rock at the stroke of the rod of Moses, the fountains of the great deep of ancient, mediæval, and modern lore, are instantly unsealed, and numberless streams of learning rush forth on all sides, not merely satiating the thirst of knowledge, but threatening to overwhelm us with their

* Sir William appears not to have prosecuted his researches relative to universities very extensively into the Middle Ages, and to be unacquainted with the work and discoveries of Savigny, the inquiries of Ildefonso von Arx, and the earlier and longer circulated, but still less known treatise of Hermannus Couringuis.

† The antiquities of the subject appear to be borrowed from Morhofius, but Morhofius is not named.

‡ Baynes, Preface, p. x.

redundant waters.* For the production of this enchantment, the patient investigations of a long life, habitual diligence, and uninterrupted study, aided by a memory equally quick and tenacious, by a mind capacious and discriminative, and even ruminating, have all been required. It was neither nature nor art; but nature, art, and circumstance combined, which achieved these marvels:

Ingeniumque capax, totumque Helicona dedipet.

They fill with amazement the generations of inferior men; we look upon them with admiring wonder, like modern architects gazing on Stonehenge or the pyramids; like the cotemporaries of Homer contemplating the huge masses hurled by the heroes of the former type. But Sir William was a cotemporary: the period of his labors and celebrity coincides with the generation just completed; and we wonder the more at his intellectual stature and development, because our proximity renders so obtuse the visual angle under which his proportions are seen, and because he stands isolated in unapproached excellence, without rival and without imitator among the living.

After this delineation of the career and the characteristics of Sir William Hamilton, we shall devote the continuation of this sketch to a more special estimate of his Philosophy, and its prospective services.

ART. II.—SPIRITUAL DESPOTISM.

The Skeptical Era of Modern History; or, the Infidelity of the Eighteenth Century, the Product of Spiritual Despotism. By T. M. Post. 12mo., pp. 264. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1856.

THE sacred right of individual free opinion in matters of conscience is the principle on which Luther fought the Reformation. This right, so natural, and with us so indefeasible, was then denied. The pope claimed absolute sovereignty in the world of opinion. The temporal powers aimed also to control both the thought and action of the subject. Conformity to the views of the monarch, not only in matters of state policy, but even in religion, was enforced upon the people as coming within the prerogatives of the *Jus Divinum*. But the successful assertion by Luther of the rights of conscience in opposition to this, broke not alone the religious

* We must observe, however, that Sir William's reading is one-sided. Platonists, Realists, Skeptics, and Mystics, rarely appear in the large circle of his acquaintance.

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thralldom of that age. Both philosophy and science felt the liberating spell. Mind in general was emancipated. From that single act, went forth an impulse whose wave is still in vigorous motion, and the productive results of which, upon the world's development and progress, no human mind can yet foretell. New ideas in faith, philosophy, popular rights, government, and progress in general, at once sprang forth. It was the torch of Prometheus, or, rather, it was more. That gave life to a statue; this to an age. The dead forms of social, political, and religious life at once felt the inspiration. It was the inauguration of the modern era of civil and religious liberty.

From that day, Protestant Christianity has been the representative of freedom, freedom first in the domain of conscience, and then, consequently, in philosophy, art, science, Church, and State. In a word, it reared the throne of reason upon the broken power of bigotry and intolerance, and supported it by order, justice, and truth. It is now more than three hundred years that Protestant liberty has been working out its results. The nations are witnesses, and the scale of operation has been of sufficient magnitude to make the experiment a fair one. What now are the results which so abundantly declare themselves? Let history answer. Let the superior commercial and political condition of the Protestant states of Europe and America answer. Where are prosperity and progress? where security of life and property? where liberty of speech and opinion combined with reverence for law and a steady support of public order? where are schools, Bibles, an unfettered press, and general education? where the highest tone of morality and the purest form of Christianity which the world has yet seen? All these things are patent to observation, and of a kind so calculated to catch the attention, that sophistry must be artful, and judgment perverse, if the mind fails to be convinced.

Opposed to this principle, is Spiritual Despotism in deadly conflict with Protestant freedom, and rallying for the most part under the standard of the pope. Poorly disguised under the mask of Christianity, the Roman Catholic hierarchy stands demonstrated by its history, its principles and assumptions to be a grand consolidated conspiracy against both religion and liberty. It is worldly, ungodly *ambition*, covered with the mere *skin* of piety, a system defiant of God, and the most deadly enemy of man. There is no study more profound, or worthy the attention of philosophic minds, than the progressive and insidious development of this politico-spiritual system. In the name of Christ, it has remorselessly grasped power which Christ refused. Claiming to be his vicegerent on earth, it has proclaimed doctrines which Christ never taught, and

sanctioned enormities which drew forth his severest invectives. In the name of a religion which was designed to bring relief to oppressed and down-trodden humanity, it has imposed upon it burdens intolerable to be borne. Instead of peace, it has brought the sword. Instead of consolation, wretchedness and despair. And yet its pernicious errors are so artfully interwoven with the truth, and its monstrous usurpations so covered with the sacred form of Christ, that the eyes of a large proportion of Christendom are still held that they see not its true character.

The battle of these contending systems hitherto has been waged at a distance from us. Confidence in our own safety, and belief in the impossibility of disturbing the strong foundations on which our religious liberties rest, have made us in a measure indifferent to the struggles of liberty abroad. We have forgotten, too, that our fathers suffered. We do not see with our own eyes the streaming blood or the burning fagot. History, it is true, tells something of the past; but the voice of receding centuries, like the sound of receding footsteps, becomes fainter and fainter, as time and distance separate us from danger. Remote from the scenes of danger, we have looked on with the calmness of philosophy, rather than the stirring interest of battle when it is pushed even to our own gates.

But strong as may be public confidence in the stability of religious freedom here, it is well to remember that this freedom comes to us by a charter which is soiled with blood, and scorched with the fires of civil war. It is the price of costly treasure, of deadly struggles, of watching and tears. Intimations, significant enough, already appear that this fearful struggle is destined to be renewed; and renewed here on American soil. So strong thus far has been the tide of papal immigration from the old world, that Rome has already commenced the work of recasting our institutions to suit her schemes of ecclesiastical aggression. Free schools, free presses, free Bibles, free speech, and free thought, are the natural supports of the great principle of Protestantism, which is the right of private judgment in matters of faith and conscience; and these, therefore, must in some way be subjected to her regulating power. If any one supposes that Rome is more tolerant of the press now than formerly, let him read the "Circular of Pietro Amerilo Matti, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of Venice, to his beloved sons, the booksellers, publishers, and true believers, residing in the city and diocese," issued so recently as December 31, 1855. This fulmination follows directly in the wake of the concordat just granted to the pope by the "most pious" Emperor of Austria, and is the first signal gun to warn all impracticable sons of the Church,

as well as heretics, of what they may now expect. We extract a couple of paragraphs.

"No one, be he priest or layman, will be allowed, without previously obtaining permission from our ecclesiastical 'censure,' to publish, either as author, printer, or vender, any work either directly or indirectly touching on religion or morality, or specially treating of the Liturgy, or *of any other subject.* It is also forbidden to introduce *any book whatever* from other countries, without having applied for and obtained the approbation of the ecclesiastical 'Censure Office,' excepting in such cases where the book has been marked as being among the works which are permitted.

"Should *any person dare publicly or privately* to sell books, prints, or paintings, which are prohibited by the Church, or could be prejudicial to religion or morality, be it known unto him, that we will not only suppress such illicit sale ourselves, but will also *call in the arm of the civil power*, which the monarch has placed at the disposal of the Church, to our assistance."

What this "arm of the civil power" means, the unhappy victims of priestly despotism in Austria understand full well.

It is not the sudden overthrow among us of the rights and immunities of Protestant liberty, that we fear; open and direct assault would defeat its own aim. Rome understands too well the laws of human nature. She saps and mines by slow approaches. What cannot be accomplished in a year, may yield perhaps to a generation or a century. The ages are hers. Like the painter Zeuxis, she works "for eternity."

We are prone to quiet our apprehensions of danger from this quarter, by quoting the old adage that "Error can never prevail where truth is left free to oppose it." But this is true only in a qualified sense. Such maxims are often suffered to pass unchallenged, because they are presumed to embody the results of long and general experience. But if it be meant that falsehood and fraud find no victims under the bright light of our republican institutions, the maxim teaches a dangerous fallacy. Republican liberty is the paradise of imposture. Witness its growth among us within the past generation. The swiftness of error has ever been the subject of proverbial remark. *Mendacium præcurrat rationem.* Falsehood often preoccupies the mind before truth arrives. Of all erroneous dogmas, those which pertain to religion are the hardest to uproot, because religion takes strongest hold of the heart. How hard it is to correct the false religious sentiments of an age or nation, let history and experience answer. Let the religious wars which convulsed and desolated Europe for a hundred and fifty years after Luther, answer. Let Protestantism subjected to a bloody crucifixion in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, answer. Though in England, Holland, and Germany, it escaped the ignominy of a capital execution, yet in these countries it was "saved as by fire." Errors of religious be-

lief, no matter how flagrant or full of pestilent mischiefs to both body and soul, to individual peace or social order, to personal purity or public virtue, when intrenched behind ecclesiastical forms which are sacred in the eyes of the people, and especially if these forms ramify themselves through the foundations of the social body, become next to impossible to dislodge. Like the Russians in Sebastopol, behind their impregnable ramparts, they laugh at Minnié rifles and Lancaster guns. If driven out at all, it is only by protracted siege, and attended by destruction and carnage at which humanity mourns, and piety vails her face in inconsolable sorrow.

The relation of Romanism, as compared with Protestantism, to civil and religious liberty, is a question which every day is invested with still increasing importance. It is self-deception if we console ourselves with the thought that Romanism is dead. Broken in power, she may be; and stripped of some of her fairest possessions. That ancient prestige of supreme spiritual authority, which filled both princes and people with awe, is also gone. But stripped, shriveled, rickety, and rotten as she is, yet there remains a vitality which repels dissolution; full of the same deadly hatred of everything which questions her haughty prerogative, and demonstrating that Protestant liberty can be safe against her insidious advances only at the price of untiring and persistent vigilance. That is certainly not a dead power which holds in its firm grasp the first military empire of Europe; with Austria, Spain, Italy, parts of Germany, and all of Central and South America, under its feet. It not only lives, but it is made wiser by reverses. Its gigantic proportions overshadow the world. Still, everywhere the same unrelenting foe of the rights of conscience, it surrenders no feature of its arrogant pretensions, and makes no compromise with the principles of civil or religious freedom. It sustains the political despot in his war against humanity, in order to secure support for itself in return. In its wrath implacable, and in zeal persistent; with profound policy, it yields to the pressure when opposition is too strong to be resisted; yet watches, with instinctive sagacity, for the reactionary moment, that the retiring wave may enable it to advance its standards still further than before.

So averse is the spirit of toleration which prevails among us, to anything which savors of the proscriptive spirit, that the public mind can scarcely be made sensible of the reality of present and growing danger from that source. But facts enough, it would seem, have lately occurred to open the public eyes. We see a politico-religious hierarchy among us, with all the appliances of stringent party drill, entering the political arena, on strictly ecclesiastical grounds,

and unblushingly contending for strictly ecclesiastical advantage. Already strong enough to hold the balance of power between the contending parties, it enters the contest of municipal, state, and national elections; offering the bribe of its support to that unprincipled demagoguism which will bid the highest for it, and holding the lash of ecclesiastical censures and "mortal sins"* over the voters in its communion, who refuse to cast their suffrages in accordance with the dictates of their spiritual superiors. We have lately seen, also, a concerted effort in several of the states, to break down the system of public schools, because they are deemed incompatible with Roman Catholic interests; also the ejectment of the Bible in some places from these schools, through the same influence; and truckling school committees have even consented to expurgate text books, and to falsify the truths of history, in order to propitiate this alien demand, thus depriving the rising generation of that knowledge which is necessary for a correct judgment on some of the most vital issues which citizens are required to meet. Add to this, the policy now clearly developed, of clothing the bishops of this Church with the property title of all churches, cathedrals, cemeteries, and other ecclesiastical estates, and therefore investing them with immense temporal power. Under the workings of such a system, the Catholic laity would be deprived of the last check against the tyranny of their spiritual superiors. Their ability to exercise the Catholic religion, to which no doubt the great majority are conscientiously attached, would hinge at once upon the condition of unreserved submission to the priest or his chief. Besides this, it is a fact significant of the development of Catholicism among us, that the Romish press in this country is already opening its batteries against the rights of conscience, and exulting in the prospective overthrow of Republican liberty, in that glorious millennium which they profess to see not far off, when the power of the pope shall be firmly established on these American shores.

It is no part of our purpose to invoke the spirit of party, but of calm and dispassionate inquiry. The times demand that the compatibility of Romanism with Republican liberty should be discussed. Patriotism, Philosophy, and History have a service to render in the solution of so great a question. The highest interests of religion and humanity are involved. It is but natural, therefore, that the press, true to its instincts as the guardian of the public safety, should begin to utter the convictions of patriotic reason. The volume whose title we have quoted at the head of this article, rather as the

* See the late circular of Bishop Tuam, of Buffalo, to the faithful in his diocese.

text for a brief essay, than for critical review, is a prompt and valuable contribution to the issues now forced upon public attention. It is a searching investigation, historical, philosophical, and fervidly eloquent in thought and language, into the causes of that direful eclipse of faith, which in the eighteenth century cast its chilling and baleful shadows over Continental Europe, and which reached its culmination in the convulsions and blood of the French reign of terror. That catastrophe is not yet forgotten. At the distance of two thirds of a full historic cycle, we still feel the throbbings of that mighty fever which first prostrated, and then for a time consumed the civilization of Europe. Its awful lessons are still before us. Out of the midst of these convulsions, rendered horrible by the demoniac madness of a people seemingly given up of God to be scourged by consuming passions which their own vices and crimes had engendered, there comes a voice which speaks to the listlessness of these generations, in tones of startling import.

With the light of history before us, it is easy to trace the connection of these events with their causes. The French revolution was a prodigy. Its like had never occurred before; because like causes had never, in the same degree, been called into action. It stands forth to the imagination, a specter, huge, ghastly, and begrimed with blood, the monstrous offspring of Atheism. Infidelity at that time rushed to its direst extreme. It first enacted the impious mockery of dethroning the Almighty, and then, as if human debasement could find a still lower deep, it deified reason in the person of a prostitute, and inaugurated the new worship with blasphemous ritual and pomp. That chapter is one of the most instructive in the world's history—a melancholy picture of the condition of a people after renouncing God. There let it stand forever. Its lessons will not be lost.

But the infidelity of the eighteenth century had its cause. Philosophy points it out in the unholy crusade which for centuries spiritual despotism had waged against the dearest and most sacred rights of humanity. Liberty of conscience is the natural birthright of the soul. Without this, it is impossible for man to fulfill his moral agency. Instead of being a "little lower than the angels," he becomes divested of his humanity as a living, responsible being, and degraded to a *thing*. What slavery so oppressive and humiliating as this? Yet witness the terrible system by which, in the sacred name of Christianity, for persistent centuries, the faith and freedom of God's people have been repressed. Witness it in the humiliation of the temporal powers of the world, degraded to the condition of mere vassals of the spiritual, the pretended successor

and representative of Him who distinctively abjured worldly authority when he declared, "My kingdom is not of this world." Let the "Holy Office," with its appalling secrets, its mockery of trials, its cruel tortures and imprisonments, its chains and fires, by which the free spirit of man was broken, and fear and despair came down on the soul like night; let this, with its untold thousands of murdered victims, pleading in vain in the name of God and humanity, for mercy, answer. Let Huss and Jerome of Prague, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the fires of Smithfield, with their terrible history, answer. Let the general demoralization of the Romish Church, as it has been in the past, and as it still is; her shameless traffic in indulgences, not confined to the days of Tetzel, but still continued; let her besotted idolatry of saints, images, and relics, everywhere still taught as the true service of piety; let the general licentiousness of both priests and people, in countries where her influence is undisputed, and the absence alike of the forms and spirit of pure Christianity; let these answer, and give convincing testimony against this gigantic system of sin.

If *such* a Church were the *true* representative of Christ on earth, then would infidelity have whereon to stand. Infidelity to Christ would be duty to God. The infidelity of the eighteenth century was the insurrection of reason, not against truth; not against Christianity; but against that mockery of it, which had stolen its name, that huge hypocrisy which in the livery of Heaven, blasphemed the Almighty, trampled on his servants, and practically nullified every virtue which the Almighty has taught. The jeers of Voltaire, Diderot, and the Encyclopædists were a tribute to truth. The infinite scorn which in such terrible measure was heaped upon the pope and the whole papal system was a tribute to the truth. It sprang from a just conception of the holiness, wisdom, and justice of that God whose character was slandered and caricatured by the character and principles of the pretended successor of the chief of the apostles.

We extenuate not the blindness of that infidelity which, for so long a time, assumed the character of a phrensied *rage* against the Gospel. But the recoil of the bow is always in proportion to its spring. To distinguish between Christianity itself and its unworthy representatives, is a duty which no pretext or apology can excuse. The truth as it is in Jesus is ever radiant, bright, full of hope and full of beauty. Love beams from its face, and angel sweetness tunes its heavenly voice. Its holy character rebukes its maligners, and gives evidence of its Divine origin. But that counterfeit of Christianity,

which appears in the Roman Catholic Church—as it has been for the last eight hundred years, and as it still is—would justly bring one's purity of heart as well as integrity of understanding under suspicion, to yield it the tribute of reverence and admiration. It is no wonder that the educated minds, not only of France, but of Europe, became infidel. It was the reaction of natural human instincts, too strong even for the iron bands of authority, against the iniquity of imposture in things so sacred. If the Church, then, had been the true confessor of Christ, and priests and people had furnished living exemplifications of the truth and power of the Gospel, no conspiracy of learning or genius against it could have prospered. The power of truth would have smitten this audacious infidelity with eternal blindness, as the light from heaven smote Saul of Tarsus. Infidel wit, literature, and science could have availed nothing. The shafts of Rousseau, Gibbon, Voltaire, Helvetius, *et id genus omne*, would have proved *telum imbelle*, like the spear of the aged Priam when hurled against the Trojan horse.

We hold it, therefore, fairly proved, that the infidel era of modern history, with all its terrible consequences, is traceable to the papal hierarchy; to its corruption and perversion of the glorious truth which Christ committed to the Church for the salvation of men; to its shameful abnegation of the spirit and practice of that universal charity which he enjoined as the chief and sum of all the virtues; and to its fearful repression of the rights of conscience, through so many centuries, by cruelties unparalleled in the annals even of despotism itself. Against Rome the blood of slaughtered saints cries out for vengeance.

The renewed discussion of these questions, we think, is demanded all the more by the fact that the public mind is constantly misled on this subject. Many well-meaning people believe that lapse of time has softened the asperities of ancient intolerance, and that contact with republican liberty here has wrought such changes in the papal system, that there is really no longer any danger from its propagation. Hence we see children from Protestant families filling Catholic schools. Protestant money aids in the erection of Catholic churches and colleges. Perverts from Protestant ranks are found filling Catholic pulpits and editing Catholic journals.

Nor is this all. Through the influence of these and other causes, a growing disposition is apparent to ignore the *political* character of this ecclesiastical system, and to modify, if not dismiss altogether, the stern judgment which history has so long rendered against it. Writers are found who claim to survey the question

from the stand-point of philosophy, and who, finding an apology for the enormities of the past in the confusion incident to a mediæval and transition stage of society, profess to see in the unchangeableness of Romanism a conservative barrier against the licentiousness of modern opinion, just that element of stability which is the foundation of social order. A paragraph from "The Skeptical Era" will state what we wish:

"A philosophical writer, eminent for accurate and profound social analysis, De Tocqueville, thus gives his solution of the above problem: 'I am inclined to believe that our posterity in the democratic ages, will tend more and more to a single division into two parts; some relinquishing Christianity entirely; others returning to the bosom of the Church of Rome.' That is, in the ages of democratic freedom, spiritual despotism will be the only conservator of faith! Chateaubriand also, in his *Etudes Historiques*, claims for Catholicism that it is the religion of democratic society, while he characterizes the reformed faith as 'philosophical truth, clothed with Christian form, attacking Christian truth;' having achieved for society a change from the military to the civil and industrial genius, and 'able to point, amid the ruins it has wrought, simply to some field which it has planted, and some manufactures established.' Nor are these writers alone in their forecast of the future, or their estimate of the relations of Protestantism to democracy and faith. Sentiments like the above are rife in the literature of the day. They are the cant of a school; a school not of the Catholic communion alone. Protestant writers of profound and graceful culture, of devout and earnest tone, and of seductive plausibility and grace, join in their utterance."

But is this, we ask, the true solution of the problem of society? Is a system of religious faith, which has already regenerated the Church and the nations, by purging the Gospel of the superstitions and human traditions, which, for so many centuries, had neutralized its power; which, in the short space of three centuries, has given to Christianity, to philosophy, and liberty, an impulse such as the world has never felt before; is this system of faith, even while in the full tide of a still more glorious development, to surrender its trophies, and retire before spiritual despotism, which, with ancient arrogance, comes forth from its den, and claims to be the conservator of republican freedom? The philosophy which can thus reason, in our opinion, has but little claim to the name. Neither the history of the past, nor the phenomena of the present, afford premises on which to build such a conclusion.

On the contrary, unless the clearest convictions of reason are to be surrendered, and credulity and superstition to usurp the place of the nobler faculty, we are justified in the assertion, that faith and liberty must perish *wherever* and *whenever* spiritual despotism gains the ascendency. "Spiritual Despotism," we say, rather than "Rome," because the principle involved is more philosophically stated in the abstract, and is one that needs to be applied in the

most general sense. It is the same withering scourge, whether applied by the pretended successor of St. Peter, or by crowned heads, Catholic, Greek, or Protestant; or by the *Vox Populi* of a democratic state. Examples of Protestant intolerance have not been wanting. It disgraces the history of England, Holland, and some of the American colonies. It is some relief, however, in these cases, to know that such fruit was not legitimate to the tree which bore it. On the soil which produced it, there it perished, blasted by the mildew of its own incongruity with the principles of Protestant liberty. But spiritual despotism is the life blood of the papal hierarchy. It permeates the bones, muscles, and integuments of the gigantic body. It is fundamental to the system, and, of course, the system without it would fall. The power to bind and loose, supported by the terrible appliances of persecution and repression, even to the bull *De comburendis hæreticis*, is claimed by the pope as belonging to the original commission of the keys. It is on this principle that Rome seeks to thrust herself between the soul and God, and assumes to dictate, not only what each one shall *do*, but even what he shall *speak* and *think*. Woe to the luckless heretic who maintains the right of private judgment. It is mortal sin for which thousands have learned that purgatorial fires are no vain imagination.

True religious faith can never coexist with this odious tyranny. The essential element of such a faith is freedom of opinion. *Necessary* virtue is an impossibility, for virtue consists in that unconstrained homage and obedience which the soul renders to God. If constrained, it is not virtue—it is something else. Especially is this true of faith, which is the highest form of virtue. As this is the most sacred, so is it the most delicate exercise of those voluntary functions in which moral agency consists, and which render man the noblest work of God. It vanishes before the harsh contact of force. The proud, independent spirit may to some extent be broken by pains and penalties. The prospect of tortures and death will fill the soul with fear, and exact conformity, at least in externals, to ritual and creed; but a piety of this sort has no element of acceptableness to God. A soul thus enslaved bows to the yoke like the dumb driven cattle, and fulfills its routine like the mill-horse under the lash, or the machine under the touch of wind or steam.

In denying the rights of conscience, Rome arrays herself against the eternal principles of man's moral nature. She attempts to extinguish the very spirit which God inspires. Individual responsibility, based on free judgment and free action, constitutes the basis

of Christianity. But the Roman Catholic theory proceeds on the principle that the Church is the responsible party and not the individual. With the power to bind and loose, both in heaven and on earth, individual responsibility becomes a fiction, an amiable fiction indeed, but still a fiction; and free judgment and free action, even in so important a matter as religion, a simple absurdity. To keep the conscience and govern the faith of the world is her high function, and to save the soul, even though by the rack or fagot, an act of grace.

If a test were wanted of the comparative truth of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, perhaps no better one could be found than the standard of morals which prevails in countries long subject to the influence of these different systems. Let us seek an *experimentum crucis* in the statistics of crime as presented in the official and governmental reports of the different states of Europe. To go into this inquiry fully would be impossible in a brief essay. But a table is at hand, found in Seymour's "Evenings with Romanists," which will be sufficient for our purpose. What is true of one grade of crime, and that the chief, will doubtless hold true of all, unless it can be shown—a thing which will not be pretended—that peculiar circumstances gave excessive development to that grade. The table is compiled from public reports of the crime of murder. The average annual per cent. in Protestant England is compared with that of eleven Roman Catholic States, and is as follows:

Roman Catholic Ireland		19	to the	million.
"	" Belgium	18	"	"
"	" France	31	"	"
"	" Austria	36	"	"
"	" Bavaria	68	"	"
"	" Sardinia	20	"	"
"	" Lombardy	45	"	"
"	" Tuscany	56	"	"
The Papal States		113	"	"
Roman Catholic Sicily		90	"	"
"	" Naples	174	"	"
PROTESTANT ENGLAND		4	"	"

Never were figures more eloquent or convincing. Nor are we surprised. The argument from experience sustains the deductions of reason. Under the keeping of such a system of falsehood, what but vice, moral stagnation, and intellectual imbecility, could be expected? The Bible is forbidden to send its searching light into the dark caverns of individual and social iniquity. Piety, rendered blind and impotent by false instruction, scarcely knows any other God than the priest or the Virgin. Crime, though all besmeared

with the tears and blood of its innocent victims, nevertheless, without repentance, purchases easy absolution by paying to the Church a few paltry shillings. The conscience is seared or misguided. And on every hand, where Christianity ought to be gathering its daily trophies in the salvation of souls, and art, science, and progress be heralding the elevation of humanity, there moral and intellectual stagnation prevails, and civilization, emasculated and infirm, seems scarcely able to withstand the waves of barbarism, which press around it on every hand, and threaten to return.

Nor are the conclusions on this subject to which the mind is driven, to be shaken by the consideration that Roman Catholics have in some instances been the advocates and supporters of toleration. With pleasure we accept in this behalf the testimony which one of the states of this Union bears to the tolerant spirit of Lord Baltimore. Add to this also the many examples of true piety always to be found in that Church. But these things do not disturb the principles for which we contend, or the facts we have named. Individual piety sometimes rises above the fatal tendencies of a false system. But we ask, when has the Roman Catholic Church ever been tolerant of opinion? When has she ever conceded liberty of conscience? When has she ever ceased to stir up, so far as able, the temporal power to enforce her commands? When has she failed, if able, to persecute even to imprisonment and death, all who questioned her arrogant supremacy? She may change her policy for a time, or suspend her action at the dictates of prudence, but her principles are always the same. *Mutare sperno* is a maxim in which she glories.

We said above that the ascendency of Romanism in this country would be fatal to liberty. No truth, in our opinion, is more certain, except, perhaps, those which come strictly within the limits of demonstration. A perfectly despotic hierarchy, she claims supreme temporal authority by virtue of her assumed supremacy in spirituals. If unable to secure the temporal sovereignty to herself, she courts alliance with it, and lends it her spiritual support in consideration of expected advantage. Thus it is at this time with all the Catholic despotisms of Europe. The throne is in alliance with the Church.

In asserting the danger of liberty from this source, we speak of dangers that are insidious and distant, rather than imminent. Perhaps no revolutions within the range of possibility can ever reduce these affiliated republics to the condition of *such* despotic rule as we see in Europe. But the voice of history is the lesson of experience. It is not the *form* of government which confers liberty,

nor is it this form that takes it away. The rule of Augustus Cæsar was not the less tyranny, because his imperial act was sufficient to administer it in the name of the senate. Nor are the liberties of England less *real* because a monarch administers the laws. After all, it is the *free spirit* which pervades the *national heart*, imparting its animus to both law and administration, to the class which rules and the class which obeys—that constitutes the solid foundation of free institutions. Without this spirit the forms of freedom are a derisive mockery. With it, even the forms of tyranny become inspired with a new life. Liberty breathes in them, and the people rejoice. The duty required at the hands of the present generations is to resist beginnings—*principiis obsta;* to watch with a jealous, vigilant eye; to cherish the Bible as the great charter by which our peculiar blessings are secured; to maintain the system of common schools as the grand instrument for rendering homogeneous and intelligent the democratic masses; and to look with quick suspicion upon the mercenary spirit of party which, for power, would blindly barter rights and immunities which patriotism purchased only with blood.

Art. III.—ENGLISH METHODISM.

Lord Mahon,* in his History of England, devotes a chapter to Methodism, which he prefaces by observing that a "history of this country in the times of George the Second would be strangely incomplete, were it to leave untouched that religious revolution which, despised at its commencement, but powerful in its effects, is known by the name of Methodism. With less immediate importance than wars or political changes, it endures long after not only the result, but the memory of these has passed away." His lordship then proceeds to show what was the state of religion in England at the time the Wesleys appeared, and affirms, that the country at large, and the Established Church in particular, owe a great debt to Methodism. In reference to the improved character and present usefulness of the Anglican Church, he says: "Nor let any false shame hinder us from owning that, though other causes also were at work, it is to the Methodists that great part of the merit is due."

These sentiments have been in substance repeated a thousand

* Now Earl Stanhope.

times by writers and statesmen of the highest reputation. And as time rolls on, and men begin to reflect upon the history of the past, apart from the immediate influence of prejudice and caste, conviction forces itself upon the mind, that the reproach and contempt to which Methodism was exposed in the first century of its existence were undeserved, and that instead of being, as was represented, a vexatious and intolerable evil, it was in reality a chief means of life, and health, and vigor to the nation. Referring to the progress of that terrible infidelity, which subsequently ruined France, and might have proved the destruction of the English Church, an eloquent writer says:*

"The period was full of danger; but, meanwhile, the Providence of the Head of the Church had been preparing from afar off the forces which were to resist the tempest. So long ago as the middle of last century, in the midst of the general slumber, two remarkable men had sprung up in the bosom of the Church, and had commenced that spiritual movement, which, both within and without her, has never since been checked, but has gone swelling on and on, till it has pervaded the length and breadth of the land. Both of them were singularly endowed with popular eloquence, and the power of moving as one man, the hearts of the greatest multitudes. But one of them, John Wesley, was as remarkable a man as any age or country has produced; resolute, calm, indefatigable, combining with a stern personal asceticism, a rare sympathy with the minds of other men; with the most piercing and far-reaching sagacity, that profound enthusiasm, which gives to great truths the power by which they overbear opposition, and conquer mankind; a mind legislatorial, systematic, creative, fixing what would have been in other hands, the heats of the moment, in a permanent form; and embodying in profoundly calculated institutions, the spirit which, in the case of Whitefield, evaporated after a few convulsive efforts, without any lasting result.

"Amid the vehement opposition of authority, the scoffs and contempt of the learned, and the violences of popular outrage, these men succeeded in conveying spiritual consciousness, and the purifying influences of the Gospel, to wildernesses into which the Church had never attempted to penetrate, and to thousands of souls within her pale, whom the indifference of her ministers had permitted to walk on in darkness. But the power of these remarkable men lay in the great truths which they preached; truths which from the beginning until now, have carried their own witnesses with them, and commanded the hearts of mankind. As at the Reformation, it was the announcement of the Gospel, as contained in the written word, which moved men's souls so deeply, and, with all the drawbacks of enthusiasm, and the other evil influences which are always found to accompany the resuscitation, partial or general, of the religious spirit, it has permanently impressed an ameliorating influence on countless masses, which would otherwise have been abandoned to practical heathenism."†

Were such testimonies singular, their value would be very considerable. But it is now an established and acknowledged historical fact, that the flourishing state of religion and the good morals of

* The Rev. James Garbutt, M. A., Rector of Clayton Sussex, and Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.

† Bampton Lectures, 1842, Lecture VIII, Part II.

England are, in no small measure, owing to the spread and influence of Methodism.

Its adherents and friends, therefore, can afford to be patient in the midst of assault and ill-humor, until the excitement of opposition has passed away, however unjust the charges and however bitter the persecutions which, for a while, they may be called to endure. The same deliberate and righteous judgment, which, after an age of derision and scorn, elevated "the sect everywhere spoken against" to its own proper place in the religious world, will eventually come to their rescue again, and interpose its shield against malignant and destructive foes.

We heartily rejoice in those signs of returning prosperity, with which British Methodism is now favored by the great Head of the Church. Favorable accounts reach us from every quarter, of increasing societies and overflowing congregations. But for more than six years past it has undergone a trial, greater, perhaps, than any Church of Christ of equal extent has ever sustained; a trial, which, besides inflicting a loss of nearly one hundred thousand members, produced in a large proportion of the residue a sort of spiritual paralysis unfitting them for action, or rendering their efforts for good feeble and fruitless. Hence, that elasticity, which, in some former trials, assisted it to retain its position and to keep up its numbers, on this last occasion failed to produce the same results. And this circumstance has been taken advantage of by a class of writers, who have no interest whatever in Methodism, but who, for that very reason, think themselves to be the most suitable judges of its principles and progress, to represent it as a falling system, as no Church, as very defective in its institutions, as an unphilosophical creation, as an obsolete benefit, as having done its work, as utterly wanting in adaptation to the present times, as carrying within itself the seeds of its own ruin, as a monstrous tyranny, etc., etc. Perhaps the best reply to most of these allegations, some of which, indeed, are too absurd to be answered in any other way, is silence.

But we observe that there is a party growing up in England, whom it would be neither wise nor courteous to dismiss in the same summary manner. More than a word is due to those, who, with no unfriendly feeling toward Methodism, express desire for its union with the Establishment; or that some of its distinctive institutions should be modified, so as to admit within its pale many whom certain conventional arrangements and usages now keep at a distance from the body. In the work referred to at the commencement of this article, Lord Mahon inquires whether the followers of Wesley would not best serve the cause of true religion by joining the Church

of England, and expresses his confident belief that if Wesley himself were now alive, he would feel and act in this manner. The same sentiment has been repeatedly uttered before the public. Several pamphlets advocating such a union have appeared. And now we perceive that petitions numerously signed by influential clergymen and laity in the Church of England, have been presented to both Houses of Convocation, praying that some means might be taken to restore Wesleyan Methodists to the Church of England. But when the petition was presented in the Upper House, Dr. Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, ever the fierce and watchful opponent of nonconformity, after declaring that John Wesley and all Wesleyans were schismatics, warned the Church to be very cautious how she "invited such persons until they indicated, of their own accord, a sense of the sin of schism into which they had hitherto been plunged." It is hardly necessary to say, that such a confession Methodists can never make, for the simple reason that it is contrary to the truth.

A presbyter of the Church of England, earnest, zealous, and "full of the Holy Ghost," seeks to revive in the bosom of his Church that pure and undefiled religion, which she has embodied in her doctrines, but almost abjured in her practice. These efforts are discountenanced, and the clergyman who makes them is everywhere rejected. But having received his commission from God, and not from man, he dares not refuse to proclaim that Gospel of Christ, which it has been denied to him to declare from the pulpits of the Church in whose bosom he has been reared. He singles out the most ignorant and the most ungodly of his fellow-countrymen. No man is caring for their souls. They are wild and untutored as savages. He preaches to them. Thousands of wretched people, who now, for the first time, hear words of peace and comfort, give up their sins and vicious courses, and begin the life and practice of Christians. To watch over these and preserve them from falling into sin is a good and gracious design, and to accomplish it, Mr. Wesley forms his new converts into small classes, the charge of which he commits, in part, to the most experienced and prudent among them. These little societies multiply. Some of the members have evidently received from God the gifts of "teaching" and "exhortation," and, constrained by the same love and zeal which found them out, they too begin to preach. A company of assistants now comes to Mr. Wesley's help. From him they receive their work. Certain districts of the country are allotted to them and called circuits. On these they prosecute their labors. Their only work is to save souls. They violate no law, human or Divine. They

invade no prerogative. They destroy no institution. They quarrel with no man. They oppose nothing but sin. Everywhere the people wake up as out of sleep, some to persecute, but more to pray. It now becomes evident that, in order to right action, wise counsels will be needed. To insure this, Mr. Wesley calls a conference. In that conference, everything for the proper regulation of the societies and the preachers is annually arranged. Time wears on, and in spite of contempt and opposition, of persecutions and defections, the societies have increased, and are likely to increase.

What is there in all this which comes under the name or nature of schism? Here is a man, properly called and qualified, who strives to do good; that is, strives to bring sinners to Christ. His labors are crowned with success. Multitudes believe the word, and give proof of their faith in righteousness of life. Are these sheep to have no fold, and to be left without shepherds? Dr. Philpotts will not have them. He, that is, the Church which he represents, persecutes them, repels them from the table of the Lord, heads mobs to drive them out of the parish, covers them with perpetual infamy, treats them in every respect as born enemies, and finally brands them as schismatics. The fathers of Methodism, not admitting the reproach, bore it patiently. Their children of the fifth generation can bear it also. But hard words and unmerited blows can never win them.

This proposal for uniting the Wesleyan Methodists of Great Britain with the Church of England, which seems to have originated with a small committee of thirteen clergymen in London, has not taken us by surprise. Our only surprise is, that it has not been made before, and made with a greater show of strength. Calling to mind, as we do, those "Comprehension" schemes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of which there were so many advocates, Churchmen and Nonconformists, among both statesmen and ecclesiastics, we cannot regard the present movement either as very remarkable or very important. Nor do we feel much difficulty in understanding it. The line which separates Wesleyan Methodists from the Church of England is more easily crossed than in the case of any other religious denomination. The great bulk of the people have no conscientious objection to a national establishment; and while Methodism, for the last fifty years, has supplied every other evangelical Church with ministers to some extent, a large proportion of the Anglican clergy owe their religious training to Methodism, and, in very many instances, have themselves been connected with the Methodist society. Happily, also, for themselves and the flocks to whom they minister, they have, for the most part, carried

with them the doctrines which they first received; a grand link in the chain of union. Moreover, they know the value of those institutions they have abandoned, and for which, perhaps, they have still some lingering love. They know, too, the reality of that religious experience which the people with whom they were once associated profess, and the like of which, to the same extent, is met with nowhere else. And in proportion to their zeal for "Church principles" and "Church progress," will be their desire to win a people whose zeal is proverbial, and whose accession to the Church of England must certainly bring to her a vast increase of strength and influence. But the attempt will not succeed.

There was a period in the history of British Methodism when such a proposal as that we now discuss might, perhaps, have found many advocates even among the Wesleyan ministers themselves. The tenderness with which Mr. Wesley always regarded the Church, and which he strove to communicate, as far as possible, to his followers; the resolution with which he and his immediate successors persisted in declaring the Methodist societies to be societies only, and not a Church; and the relation which, in the judgment both of preachers and people, they sustained toward the Church of England, might possibly have disposed many of them to listen favorably to any decent proposal for absorption or union. But that day has passed forever. English Methodists have been compelled to give up the notion that their Methodism was nothing but an organized system, a mere supplement to some other institution, without any definite status as a Church, and liable to dissolution whenever its members or foes so willed it. In America our Methodism has never been troubled with such views. Our never-to-be-forgotten Asbury and his coadjutors placed the Church on a right basis at the beginning; and this has undoubtedly been one grand cause of its success. It has gone on growing with the nation's growth, outstripping all other Churches, occupying no second rank, exercising an influence in the land such, perhaps, as no other religious body can command, and accredited by the government, who show their sense of the weight of its influence in the community by the considerable proportion of chaplains selected from among its ministers. The proposal which has been made to our English Methodists could never, for very obvious reasons, have been made to the American. And we are perfectly satisfied that it will receive no favor in England. Both the principal organs of the Methodist body there, the Magazine and the Watchman, have spoken out plainly. And it is well they have done so; for, had there been the least tampering with this proposal, or any irresolution in deciding upon its merits, some

of those persons, who are neither inclined nor able to look much below the surface of things, might have been in danger of taking a step fatal to their future peace and usefulness. The "Watchman," which was the first to expose the real character of this scheme, formally declared by its authors to be a scheme for "turning the hearts of individual ministers, and other members of the Wesleyan body, to the Church," says:

"This is a formal attempt to proselyte. It is doing that which the President of the Conference declared [in a speech previously adverted to] that Methodism would not be guilty of. It is not an aggression upon 'ignorance, error, and ungodliness,' but upon 'another Christian denomination.' It is not taking action for the union of the Churches of Christ, but for the aggrandizement of one of these at the expense of another. It is an invitation to ministers to break their ordination pledges, and to members of our Church to forsake their spiritual home. It says to every Methodist: 'The Established Church is so much better than your own, that we feel no compunction in asking you to abandon yours and come over to ours. Come all, and we will welcome you, and rejoice together over the absorption of Methodism. But if not all or many will come, at least come some of you to us, pastors and sheep, and let us count our gains.' Now we have no fear of the result of this invitation; and if we are sorry that it has been so broadly made, we are so only because it may move not a few to indignation against a Church toward which we have shown ourselves peaceable, and from which we have deserved a very different return."

We agree with the "Watchman," and fear that the only result of this foolish attempt, which seems to have been made in the way most likely to insure its failure, will be rather to increase than lessen the distance between the two Churches, and must create a degree of mistrust and watchfulness in the minds of Wesleyans, very unfavorable to friendly relations. The Magazine, in a long and able, though somewhat caustic article, which deals with the whole question, dismisses the case by observing that

"Union with any Church that is devoid of spiritual discipline would involve the renunciation of that which is essential to our existence. We are happily free from every external entanglement. No royal commissioner sits in our Conference. No *congé d'élire* sends our chief ministers into their respective districts. No act of Parliament regulates our proceedings, except as, in common with all others, each of us lives in subjection to the law. Into the system of membership we could not admit a secular element, and continue to exist as one vast united family. Oversight on the teachers, as well as on the taught, is a primary necessity of our being. Nothing may be heard of among us that would imply the introduction of any extraneous and destructive element, come whence it might. If the Church of England really desired a coalition with the Church of Wesley—and we have no idea that it does—it would become the Wesleyan at once to look to the conditions of his own religious being, and stipulate that they should remain intact; a stipulation which could not be realized until the body of the Church of England was purified, and the two Societies became such as could not only commingle, but each of them be made better by the union."

These are proper sentiments, and will, we believe, be generally approved. In the meantime, to those members of the Anglican Church, who have no sympathy with Bishop Philpotts in his denunciation of the schismatical Methodists, but who honestly and earnestly strive to promote a better state of feeling between Christians generally, and between Wesleyans and themselves in particular, we may say, that however wisely or kindly conceived their propositions of union may be, the thing is impracticable. Amalgamation, incorporation, or even reciprocity of clerical services cannot be without very great concessions—concessions which, we believe, neither party will be prepared to yield. Wesleyan ministers must receive episcopal ordination before they could enter the pulpits of the Establishment; and Wesleyan chapels might, perhaps, need consecration before the regular clergy could hold forth in them the word of life. But Methodist preachers will not submit to the former of these, nor will the Methodist people submit to the latter. As to those propositions which suggest that Methodism should be regarded as a sort of appendage to the Church of England, retaining all its own distinctive peculiarities, but occupying a lower status, it is only necessary to say, that the thing is too palpably degrading to find any favor with the people whom it more immediately concerns.

The best recommendation we can give to the clergy and laity of the Anglican Church, if they are willing to hear us on the subject, is to show a kindly and fraternizing spirit toward their Wesleyan brethren, to look upon them as coworkers in the great task of evangelizing the world, and to give them a ready and cordial help in all such meetings and efforts, as offer them the opportunity of doing this without compromising their own principles or their position. We observe with much satisfaction, that several clergymen, and among them the well-known Dr. M'Neill, of Liverpool, have recently attended Methodist missionary festivals, declaring their attachment to Wesleyan missions and advocating their support. And we happen to be aware, that a missionary meeting was held some time since in Norfolk, at which all the great Protestant denominations were represented, and when the vicar, in whose parish the meeting was held, requested permission to introduce a "pious good man, whom," said he, "I found to-day going among my parishioners from house to house, praying with them and pointing them to Christ. He belongs to what we commonly call the Ranters, or Primitive Methodist preachers."

Manifestations of good catholic feeling, which show that we look upon other Christians as of Christ, not as of a sect, will do more to

bring about a real union between Churches that differ, than many statutes of Convocation or Parliament. And to aim at more than this appears to us neither desirable nor expedient. As for Methodism, it has a machinery of its own which could never be worked in conjunction with the Church of England, and to destroy which would be not only to offer violence to the early training and the religious exercises of its multitudes, but to destroy Methodism altogether. The Church of England might possibly then soon relapse into her former state.

But suppose the union to be as practicable as some think it desirable. Yet, if Methodism be of God, as its people devoutly believe, something more is necessary to its merging in another ecclesiastical system than the excellence of a plan, or the possibility of carrying it into effect. While He who has given it existence and form, continues to prolong its term, there will be work for it to do. And no other reason for the change proposed should be accepted, but a plain intimation that such is the will of God. This, at any rate, has not yet appeared in its loss of opportunities for extending and enlarging the kingdom of the Redeemer, which, perhaps, is the only token that a Church can accept of its work being done. Its foreign missions, which, almost from the very commencement, have taken precedence of all others in the number of agents, and their success, present at this very time a more interesting and hopeful appearance than at any period since the society was first established. The income for 1855 reached £119,000, an enormous sum, if we bear in mind that it was not the fruit of large legacies or special donations, but the genuine product of ordinary home and foreign contributions, gathered during a time of war, with its high prices and the pressure of a heavy income tax. But the liberal and unfailing sustentation of its missions is not the only proof which English Methodism offers of its vigor and prosperity. Its rapidly increasing day-schools, its strenuous but willing efforts to improve chapel properties, to release all its home institutions from debt, and to give increased facilities for a more general and efficient working of its various agencies, are unmistakable signs that the time has not yet come for Methodism to renounce its position, and to lose itself in some other form of Church order and fellowship.

But, perhaps, the best way to judge of its real value and importance in England, is to take a view of its progress during the first half of the present century. And this view is easily supplied by the census tables of 1851. Under the general term of "Wesleyan Methodists" are included all those societies which regard Mr. Wesley as their founder, and adopt his exposition of Scripture doc-

trine. And the following figures show the amount of accommodation at different periods, in the whole of England and Wales :*

Periods.	Population at each Period.	Number of Places of Worship at each Period.	Estimated Number of Sittings at each Period.	Number of Sittings to 100 Persons at each Period.
1801	8,892,536	15,080	5,171,123	58.1
1811	10,164,256	16,490	5,524,348	54.4
1821	12,000,236	18,796	6,094,486	50.8
1831	13,896,797	22,413	7,007,091	50.4
1841	15,914,148	28,017	8,554,636	53.8
1851	17,927,609	34,467	10,212,563	57.0

This number of sittings is somewhat equally divided into *free* and *appropriated;* the numbers being respectively:

Free sittings	4,804,595
Appropriated sittings	5,407,968
Total	10,212,563

The four great religious bodies in England and Wales are the Church of England, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Independents, and the Baptists; and the proportion of accommodation provided by each is as follows:

	Number of Places of Worship and Sittings.		Proportion per cent. of Sittings.	
	Places of Worship.	Sittings.	To Population.	To total number of Sittings provided by all bodies.
Church of England	14,077	5,317,915	29.7	52.1
Wesleyan Methodists (all branches)	11,007	2,194,298	12.2	21.5
Independents	3,244	1,067,760	6.0	10.5
Baptists (all branches)	2,789	752,343	4.2	6.3
All other religious bodies	3,350	880,247	4.9	9.6
† Total	34,467	10,212,563	57.0	100.0

In discussing the rate of increase in the sittings since 1801, the tables show that "whereas, in 1801, the number of sittings provided for every 1,000 persons was," by the Church of England 482, by Wesleyans 18, by Independents 34, and by Baptists 20; in 1851, the provision was, by the Church of England 296, by Wesleyans 123, by Independents 59, and by Baptists 42.

* Table 5, (abridgment.) † See Table 10.

Tables 13 and 15 supply the materials for this calculation:

Periods.	Population at each Period.	Church of England.		Wesleyan Methodists, (all branches.)		Independents.		Baptists, (all branches.)	
		Number of Churches and Sittings at each Period.		Number of Places of Worship and Sittings at each Period.		Number of Places of Worship and Sittings at each Period.		Number of Places of Worship and Sittings at each Period.	
		Churches.	Sittings.	Places of Worship	Sittings.	Places of Worship	Sittings.	Places of Worship	Sittings.
1801	8,892,536	11,379	4,289,883	825	165,000	914	299,792	652	176,692
1811	10,164,256	11,444	4,314,388	1,485	296,000	1140	373,920	858	232,518
1821	12,000,236	11,558	4,357,366	2,748	549,600	1478	484,784	1170	317,070
1831	13,896,797	11,883	4,481,891	4,622	924,400	1999	655,672	1613	437,123
1841	15,914,148	12,668	4,775,836	7,819	1,563,800	2606	854,768	2174	589,154
1851	17,927,609	14,077	5,317,915	11,007	2,194,298	3244	1,067,760	2789	752,343

The total number of attendances at the various places of worship, on Sunday, March 30th, 1851, the day that the census was taken, were:

Church of England[o]	5,292,551
Wesleyan Methodists, (all branches)	2,417,353
Independents	1,214,059
Baptists, (all branches)	930,190
All other religious bodies	1,041;913
Total	10,896,066

From these figures alone, it is easy to determine, that the progress of Methodism in England has been far more rapid, and its influence over the public mind more potent, than that of any other religious community. And a further investigation of these tables will discover that, throughout the country, the ratio of its advance has kept up with, and, in not a few instances, greatly outstripped that of the vastly-increasing population. It has more places of worship than the other nonconforming bodies in every county except three, Essex, Middlesex, and Surrey, where the Independents prevail. In Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cheshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, and Cornwall, its places of worship greatly exceed the number of churches connected with the Establishment; and in some of these last-named counties, they are more numerous than all other places of worship put together, as the following extracts from the report will show:†

[o] Table A, Supplement II. † See Table G.

NUMBER OF PLACES OF WORSHIP.

	Wesleyan Methodists, (all branches.)	All other Religious Bodies.	Total.
Cornwall	734	370	1,104
Derby	404	372	776
Durham	351	270	621
Yorkshire	1,855	1,754	3,609
Total	3,344	2,766	6,110

These latter facts, however, are not stated as if to convey the impression that the amount of accommodation provided by the Methodists is in proportion to the number of their chapels and preaching-houses, but for the purpose of showing that Methodism has sought out, penetrated, and established itself in various districts where no other provision has been made for the spiritual necessities of the people. In four counties alone, it has visited upward of five hundred localities which no other religious agency has reached. And a slight glance at the statistics of "Religious Accommodation in Large Towns," will afford satisfactory evidence, that the majority of these localities is in the more rural districts. Now, let any candid reader say, after examining these tables, whether Methodism in England has yet done its work; or whether a branch of the Church of Christ, which has made and continues to make such wonderful progress, has any right to commit the suicidal act of amalgamation or incorporation with some other branch which, however extensive its operations or excellent its institutions, has progressed in a very inferior proportion.

The commencement of this century stands about midway between the rise of the United Society in 1739 and the present year, 1856. The number of Methodists throughout the world at that period, (1800,) after the labors of sixty years, amounted to 184,979 members, representing about 600,000 people. The number of Methodists throughout the world, at the present time, amounts to no less than 2,000,000 members, representing at least 6,000,000 of people. This enormous increase, it is true, is mainly attributable to the immense progress which episcopal Methodism has made in the United States, where its rate of increase has been more than twentyfold. But in England also the rate has been at least sevenfold, which is much more than can be said of any other religious community in Great Britain. Such talk, therefore, as that Methodism has done its work, that it suited our forefathers well, but is not adapted to the present age, is at once idle and absurd, and indi-

cates either a heart wanting in loyalty, or a mind not sufficiently informed to give a correct judgment.

We now turn to some of those proposals for the modification of Methodism which have appeared of late years; in reference to many of which, however, it is only necessary to say, that it would be impossible to adopt them in the system to which they are intended to apply, because they are *anti-connectional.* They strike directly at the principle on which the whole economy rests; and, by the very necessity of the case, put themselves out of court.

Among Churches, Methodism is the great embodiment of the *connectional principle.* Some other Churches exhibit it in a less degree, especially the Free Church of Scotland. But nowhere is it so well understood as among the Methodists, who began their work as the *United Society,* and have ever since retained their distinctive character. Recently, in England, many have doubted the expedience of the principle, because of the deplorable effects which some designing men have been the means of producing in the British body. But it must never be forgotten, that all large bodies of people are in danger of similar disturbance; and that, too, in precise proportion to the closeness and intimacy of their union. But who, on that account, will deny that to unite men together for the purpose of achieving some great and important good, is itself a good thing? One of the chief inquiries among the Churches of the present day relates to the means by which greater efficiency may be given to their various operations. And congregational boards, convocations, evangelical alliances, and the like, are all the product of a belief that there is power in association, weakness in isolation. The connectional principle needs no defense. It is universally acted upon. Men adopt it by instinct, and teach their children that "Union is strength." Every Church in the land puts its imprimatur upon it. Indeed, the mere existence of a Church, a "congregation of faithful men," banded together in the service of Christ, is the principle itself.

Admit the principle, its application to any extent follows. The only question can be as to the mode of its operation. Now among the British Methodists, the tendency is to carry it through their entire economy; to deprive no man of his individual rights, but to let every man feel his personal interest and responsibility in the welfare of the community. Hence the property is *connectional* property; the laws are *connectional* laws, universally binding, having the same force in every society, and over every member of the body. The institutions and funds are *connectional* also; not for particular or favored localities, but for the whole Church. Strangers to Methodism have been surprised to hear its people, in every part

of the world, talk of *our* chapels, *our* society, *our* preachers, *our* institutions, *our* cause, and have asked for an explanation. That explanation is in the principle we now discuss. And that little monosyllable *our* plainly denotes that the Methodists everywhere well understand the connectional theory. Where it is not taught, or where it is only superficially investigated, it must be very imperfectly understood. But those who are familiar with its working know its value too well to surrender it at the call of a foreigner, or because of the dislike of some of its professed, but heartless adherents, to carry it out into detail.

One chief objection to Methodism, frequently urged in England, and the only one of which we now propose to speak, is its system of Itinerancy, which by many is regarded as a serious defect in its constitution, and a great hinderance to the full efficiency of a Christian Church. Now, without discussing in these pages the propriety of a longer or shorter term of ministerial residence than that which now prevails, a subject on which, in England as in America, there exists a great diversity of opinion, but confining ourselves to the argument as between a settled and an itinerant pastorate, we observe first, that itinerancy is not a novelty. It was known in the Church at the very beginning of her labors among an unenlightened and perishing world. And it has been more or less in vogue ever since. Canons of the Church of England expressly provide for it. But the difference between Methodism and some other Churches is this—that, while the latter have allowed and provided for it under certain exigences or contingences, the former has made it part of her system, and has determined that her ministry shall be a traveling ministry, and not a permanently settled pastorate.

Now, that such a system is likely to have some inconveniences, is undeniable. But what system has not? If, however, on comparing these with the advantages, it should be found that the latter preponderate, a case will at once be made out in its favor. So early as the year 1756, Mr. Wesley, writing to a clergyman in Cornwall, who proposed, in order to set aside itinerancy, that such of the preachers as were fit for it should be ordained, and that the others should be fixed to certain societies, not as preachers, but as readers or inspectors, says:

"Be their talents ever so great, they will ere long grow dead themselves, and so will most of those that hear them. I know, were I myself to preach one whole year in one place, I should preach both myself and most of my congregation asleep. Nor can I believe it was ever the will of our Lord, that any congregation should have one teacher only. We have found by long and constant experience, that a frequent change of teachers is best. This preacher has one talent, that another. No one whom I ever yet knew has all the talen-

which are needful for beginning, continuing, and perfecting the work of grace in a whole congregation."[*]

Thirty years later, in a sermon on "God's Vineyard," he says, the Methodists have

"Another excellent help, in the constant change of preachers, it being their rule that no preacher shall remain in the same circuit more than two years together, and few of them more than one year. Some, indeed, have imagined that this was a hinderance to the work of God; *but long experience, in every part of the kingdom, proves the contrary.* This has always shown that the people profit less by any one person than by a variety of preachers, while they

"'Used the gifts on each bestow'd,
Temper'd by the art of God.'"†

Such was Mr. Wesley's opinion on the subject of an itinerating ministry; and the great increase of his followers since his death is a striking confirmation of his own views. But though statistics are the best, and perhaps the only safe foundation on which to judge of the condition of a state or people, invariably the foundation upon which governments based their plans and administrations, there is a prodigious dislike upon the part of some, especially some of those who cannot make statistics speak in their favor, to accept them as any sufficient or trustworthy index of condition. Success, increase of numbers, extension, multiplication of institutions and agents, they account for in various ways, making them dependent upon all kinds of contingences. And in the judgment of such persons it would, perhaps, be a very grave error to attribute any measure of the success of Methodism to its system of itinerancy; for this they regard as a pure and inevitable disadvantage—a disadvantage both to the pastor and his flock.

To the former it is no small inconvenience to break up his establishment once in three years, or even oftener, to go with his family into a strange place, where house, and face, and customs are all new; to leave old friendships and enter upon untried ones; to commence another course of pulpit labors, having no acquaintance with his hearers; to find that some of the institutions, in whose prosperity he takes peculiar pleasure, and which were well supported in his last circuit, are scarcely thought of in his present sphere of labor, or only thought of to be treated with indifference. These, doubtless, are serious inconveniences, and such as are not easily qualified. Yet, except that the itinerant minister's calling is more sacred, and the ties which bind him to a place and people holier and stronger, his difficulties in these respects are not without a

[*] Second letter to the Rev. Mr. Walker. † Works, Sermon CVII.

parallel. Military officers, especially in England, know something of them, and perhaps even to a greater extent than the Methodist preacher himself. For, without any choice of their own, when an order comes down from head-quarters, they must proceed with their regiment from London to Ireland, from Ireland to Manchester, from Manchester to Malta, to India, to Sebastopol, or to any other part of the world. And many of the regiments at home change their *locale* every twelve months, or even oftener. So that in the mere matter of inconvenience, the itinerancy has its parallel.

But all inconvenience is more than counterbalanced by obvious advantages. The change is often salutary. Where a minister is appointed who is unfortunate in his measures, or who does not succeed in gaining the affections of his flock, it is better both for himself and his people that a change should take place. Misunderstandings are thus often removed; jealousies disappear; grudges give place to kindness; injuries, real or supposed, are forgotten. He who goes has, after all, some excellences. He who comes is all excellence. All now is expectation, stir, approval. The Church takes out a new lease of life. All the ordinances of the sanctuary are well attended, and the preaching seems to be with peculiar power. Regular hearers bring their friends, and the chapels are filled. Giddy and thoughtless people, who have seldom been in a place of worship before, become serious and concerned about their everlasting interests. The ranks of the Church are filled up, and fresh battalions are added to those already formed.

If it be thought unfair and injurious to a religious society to withdraw from them the ministrations of a man, whose services are above all price, and who is in general esteem and love among his hearers, it is surely far more unfair and injurious to another society to inflict upon them, for an undefined term of years, the presence of a preacher who may chance to be somewhat below mediocrity. And even in those cases where the minister is admired as a man of superior abilities, the probability is, that the flock, never listening to his equal in talent, will suffer him after a while to think for them, and so merge their obligation to exercise the right of private judgment in his. Now whether it be wise, that one man should think for others, or that each minister should impress upon his people his own unmistakable and ineffaceable character, fashioning them, so to speak, after the pattern of his particular identity, it is not difficult to determine.

Intellectual giants are rare; and when met with, are not unfrequently of such exceeding lofty stature, that ordinary people can neither contend, nor walk with them. Doubtless, were the talents

of such men all turned to good account, they are of vast utility and exercise prodigious influence for good in the Church and in the world. But, whether it is any great advantage to a particular society, the great proportion of whom are people of ordinary talents, to have one of these superior intellects exercising the functions of a pastor among them, is a question. Yet, should it be contended that it would be an advantage to such a society, then nothing is more equitable than that in a great connection of Churches, each Church should, as far as practicable, have that advantage. The mind of any people must become far more sound, and vigorous, and independent under the combined teaching of many well-regulated and superior intellects, than under the perpetual influence of one. That honey would be but poor and scanty that was gathered only from one flower.

But, perhaps, the most considerable advantage of the itinerant system is its direct tendency to preserve purity of doctrine. All the doctrines taught among the Methodists are well-defined, and rest on the unmovable basis of Scripture. The doctrines of their founder were drawn from this source. And to it every article of their creed points and submits. Laws, jealous and inflexible, guard these doctrines on every side; and provide that, when a preacher is guilty of teaching what is "erroneous in doctrine," he shall at once be brought to trial.

The difficulty which might arise, if these doctrines were contained in volumes that were inaccessible to readers in general, because of their number or costliness, is obviated here. Mr. Wesley's "Sermons" and his "Notes on the New Testament," which form the standard of Methodist teaching, are among some of the cheapest works that issue from the press. And in most of the circuits, there are circuit or school libraries which contain them; so that even the poorest member may gain access to them. Moreover, these volumes are free from those technical phrases and forms of expression, which not unfrequently make valuable books as things forbidden to the majority of readers.

Now where there is a constant change of preachers, differences in their teaching would soon be perceived. It might be easy for a minister, who constantly occupied the same pulpit, gradually, and almost imperceptibly to themselves, to instill doctrines into his congregation at variance with revelation. And, perhaps, in this way we may account, in part, for the unhappy circumstance that many of the pulpits, once occupied by some of the most eminent Nonconformists, are now filled by Unitarians, or by men holding neological views. Happily, this kind of evil is unknown to Methodists. With-

them the trumpet gives no "uncertain sound." Even if it were probable that a man of showy talents or great mental power could mislead the younger and less discerning part of his audience, the old and experienced members, who had been accustomed to hear the truth for many years, and who did not prefer "the chaff to the wheat," would at once detect the error and cite him to appear before the proper court.

It would be easy to point out other benefits, which are the natural and all but necessary result of itinerancy, such as the avoidance of local prejudices and local partialities. These cannot fail to be baneful in proportion to their indulgence; for they reduce the zeal and aspirations of a Church from its own proper and heaven-appointed work of saving the world to a feeble and unlovely carefulness about itself. In large towns where the same religious community has two or more separate "interests," presided over by their respective pastors, it is very often discovered that each "interest" considers the others as its rivals: and we have often witnessed, with inconceivable pain and disgust, the opposition of two such rival religious establishments, representing the same name, the same theological peculiarities, the same exercises of philanthropy. Such quarrels are strange to Methodism. Even where there are two or more circuits in one town, and in each circuit several places of worship, yet bickerings and contentions over conflicting interests are unknown. "Ephraim" does "not envy Judah, and Judah" does "not vex Ephraim." And this must be attributed not only to the healthy working of the connectional principle, but in part also to the constant change of preachers. The ministers who come fresh into a circuit know much more about interests they have just left than those they have come to serve, and will not be induced to look at any Church or society independently of its relations to others.

Were we inclined to make any suggestion on the subject of English itinerancy, it would be that it might be strengthened and rendered more efficient by the introduction of some of the American Episcopal arrangements. If the chairmen of districts, for instance, like the presiding elders, were released, in whole or in part, from their circuit labors, and were at liberty to visit and spend two or three days each quarter in every circuit of their districts, it might be productive of immense advantages both to pastors and people, cementing their union, preventing or healing breaches, making disciplinary action more uniform, and providing such opportunities of counsel and assistance as are always needed in a religious community.

We trust, however, that no innovation upon the peculiar institu-

tions of British Methodism will be allowed or attempted. It is one of the great bulwarks and glories of the land. It was brought into existence by a wise and merciful Providence, which saw how much it was needed, and which still preserves it because the world still needs it. It is still admirably adapted to "revive and spread Scriptural holiness throughout the land." Its mission is still to the poor, the outcast, the heathen. It has an individuality which is as imperishable as peculiar. It can neither be ignored, crushed, swamped, despised, nor hindered. Nor may it be treated like an old dispensation of which one speaks with respect, but whose glory is exceeded. Youngest born of all the sister Churches, Methodism is stronger than any, her "garments" as "beautiful," her dowry as large. She must go on and prosper.

We may safely congratulate the friends of English Methodism on their present prosperity and their prospects for the future. What days are before them it is impossible to divine. But certainly, if one may read the signs of the times, they are days of peace and blessing. For twenty years past their watchword has been *progress*, and during that period they have established and organized institutions, created funds, obtained efficient laborers, and received a large first-fruit. Two theological colleges for educating their ministry, a normal training school for one hundred teachers, with a very complete and effective system of day-schools for the entire country; an immense and profitable scheme for relieving their chapels from debt; a most commendable and valuable appliance for providing funds annually for their aged and infirm ministers, and for ministers' widows; these are some of the results of that aggressive spirit by which Methodism has ever been characterized, and which, since the year 1834, has been prodigiously active in the British connection. Other schemes we hear of as now in contemplation, such as one for building a large number of new chapels in London, and a home mission agency on an extensive scale. But those previously named are already accomplished. And it must be borne in mind, that, while they have been in progress, nearly one quarter of a million of money has been voluntarily subscribed for the Centenary Fund, and all the former institutions of Methodism have been preserved intact. Its missionary income has risen from £60,000 per annum to double that amount; the number of its agents and members on the foreign stations has increased in a similar ratio, and it has now affiliated Conferences in France, Australia, Canada, and Eastern British America.

Yet, as in the case of all great benefits to mankind, the important economical improvements and additions referred to have not been

accomplished without violent opposition. Foes have appeared where they were least expected, and their name has been legion. A cruel persecution has twice decimated the Methodist host. But it has been unmoved. Not a scheme has been abandoned; not a principle has been given up; not an institution has failed. And now, at length, faction has hushed its voice. The spirit of fault-finding has been cast out. The two parties which once divided the Conference, and whose contentions did not end when its sessions terminated, exist no longer. A more united brotherhood than the Conference now is cannot be found in Great Britain.* And peace reigns in the societies. The ancient reverence for God's word and God's ministers, so necessary to the success of the Gospel, has revived. The tide of decrease has ebbed its last, and an influx of three thousand members at home is the earnest of larger "showers of blessing."

The Methodism of the present is full of interest. The Methodism of the future is full of promise. A new generation is coming up in the British connection, hopeful, buoyant, zealous, devoted, talented, liberal. In education, in mental vigor, and in pulpit power, they are, perhaps, not one whit behind those fathers of whom they may justly boast, and in whose steps they delight to tread. It were easy to name many, both among the ministers and laymen of the body, who are already distinguished as able writers or eloquent preachers. We have hailed with sincere delight the appearance of the "London Quarterly," destined, if we mistake not, greatly to promote the literature of the connection; and we take this opportunity of giving our welcome to a new work, "The Tongue of Fire," just brought out by our widely-known and much-beloved friend, the Rev. W. Arthur, M. A., which, for its fascinating style and true spiritual excellence, must command a very large circle of readers.

* This union would seem, so far as we can learn, to be rather the fruit of a frank and manly mutual independence, combined with a pervading brotherly feeling, than of the absolute predominance of any one will over the rest.

Art. IV.—THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

1. *A Text-book of Popery; comprising a brief History of the Council of Trent, and a complete View of Roman Catholic Theology.* By J. M. Cramp, D. D. Third Edition. 8vo. London, 1851.
2. *A History of the Council of Trent, compiled from a Comparison of various Writers; with a Chronological Summary.* By the Rev. Theodore Alois Buckley, B. A. 8vo. London, 1852.
3. *History of the Council of Trent.* From the French of L. F. Bungener. Edited from the second London edition, with a summary of the Acts of the Council, by J. M'Clintock, D. D. 8vo. New-York, 1855.

Each of these works has its distinguishing merits. That of Dr. Cramp, though professedly not confined to the *history* of the Council, does give it with great clearness and correctness. That of Mr. Buckley, though badly arranged, and unprovided with any index, furnishes for the patient student a large amount of valuable material, from the most recent sources. M. Bungener has written the best book for the general reader, full of pungent vivacity, though destitute of the dramatic portraiture which gave to his former works their peculiar charm. It is a controversy, too, as well as a history; but has a copious index; and its want of unity is somewhat relieved by the careful "Summary" prefixed by Dr. M'Clintock, in whose introduction will also be found much important bibliographical matter. Into further comparison between the works before us, we do not design to enter; nor shall we dwell at length upon the doctrinal and disciplinary results achieved by the Council. Our object in this article will be to write its *biography*, rather than its history.

Never had the papacy exhibited an aspect of more solid grandeur than at the commencement of the sixteenth century. The "deadly wound," given by the schisms and depositions of the previous one, appeared to be completely healed. The enterprise of Southern Europe had found vent in the New World; the veteran policy of Rome seemed triumphant; and if the halo round the brows of Leo X. was the brilliance of literature and art, rather than the mild radiance of piety, he was, nevertheless, the acknowledged religious sovereign of the most wealthy, intelligent, and powerful nations of the earth. True, there was a little cloud rising, there was a muttering in the North. A Saxon monk had dared to raise his voice against the indulgences issued for carrying on the costly pile of St. Peter's; but who could doubt that he must be crushed beneath the weight of the Bull of Excommunication? Not to Leo, not to his

advisers was it given to read the signs of the times. That stately triumph of architectural taste and skill, which was rising up before them, was to stand in all its strength and beauty, a monument, like the Parthenon at Athens, to wealth and power acquired, misused, and forever passed away.

For at length the fullness of the time was come. Paper and printing enabled the solitary thinker to communicate his views and feelings, with a secrecy and rapidity hitherto impossible, and to diffuse them to an extent that soon amazed both friends and enemies. Soon the Reformers knew that their name was Legion. The demand, by so many others, of the same thing on different grounds, tended to strengthen indefinitely in the mind of each his conviction of the justice of the general claim, and of the soundness of his own reasons for it. The printed sheet, like the metallic coating on the Leyden phial, brought all these individual convictions into communication, and combined their accumulated forces in the explosion which left the papacy a shattered but still mighty wreck of what it once had been. But this result no man as yet anticipated; and the first rallyingcry of the Reformers was "a council"—a "pious, free, and Christian Council." Things were indeed strangely and sadly altered since "Apostles, and elders, and brethren," set forth "what seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to" them.

Yet councils had not been always the mere tools of popes. In the preceding century, the Council of PISA had deposed one pope and appointed another. That of CONSTANCE had followed its example. That of BASLE had asserted its supremacy over him with equal energy, and acknowledged the right of the Bohemians to a decision in accordance with "the practice of Christ and of the primitive Church."

But the very reasons which led other men to desire a council, made the popes all the more anxious to evade it; and almost an entire generation passed away (1518–1545) before any one of them could be induced to have recourse to a measure so full of hazard. By this time the aspect of affairs was materially altered. Heresy was spreading on all sides. Sweden, (1529,) England, (1534,) and Denmark (1539) had formally thrown off the papal supremacy. Yet, if burning heretics was any proof of orthodoxy, Henry VIII. was still as good a *Romanist* as Charles V.; and if meddling with reform in doctrine and discipline was the way to heresy, the latter was scarcely more of a *papist* than the former. If Charles followed the steps of Henry, he would leave the spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome almost as limited as his territorial jurisdiction. Both with sovereigns and subjects, the measures hitherto adopted

by the popes had been worse than failures. Some new course was imperatively called for. A council was yet untried. Francis I. was at length (by the peace of Crespy, 1544) engaged to coöperate with the emperor for its convocation; and with fear and trembling, ill disguised by the pains taken to set forth how he had labored for a council—but in Italy—Paul III. summoned the Synod of Trent.

For the restoration of papal unity, it was a quarter of a century too late. The Protestants had now learned that the pope was the grand heretic and schismatic. This they stood before Christendom ready to prove. But when the Bull of Indiction appeared, when they found that the arch-criminal himself had summoned the Council of Trent, "by the authority of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul," that he was in person, or by his legates, to preside in this court for his own trial, that it was to consist of his own sworn liegemen, the prelates, summoned thither "by virtue of the oath which they have taken to us and to this Holy See," when they knew that he claimed the right to dissolve and remove the court at pleasure, (and, in fact, his legates came armed with a bull ready drawn, authorizing them to do so at any moment,) to such a council, neither pious, free, nor Christian, they owed no respect, they promised no submission; and it was left to pope and emperor an engine to work their pleasure.

But however sincerely both Caiaphas and Pilate "meant to subdue" the assertors of civil and religious freedom, each of these worthies had also his private design upon the authority of the other; each, when himself disappointed, had his pretexts for thwarting the aims of his opponent by delay; and it is the by-play of this double underplot which renders the proceedings of the Council, especially in its last stage, so complicated and perplexing.

The *place* of the Council, though not exactly what the pope wished, must be set down as his first advantage in this contest. Constance and Basle, both on the northern glacis of Switzerland, the mountain citadel of European freedom, were exchanged for Trent, a city nominally German, really Italian, with free communication open to Rome across the plain of Lombardy, and with the whole breadth of the Alps between it and the bishops of Germany and France. This had a material influence on its *composition*. Of the prelates who took part in its proceedings during its most numerously attended period, in person or by proxy, against a total of ninety-two from all the rest of Christendom, there were one hundred and eighty-nine Italians; and many of these so poor as to require allowances from the pope for their subsistence. To obviate such numerical preponderance of the bishops of one country, the votes at Constance

and Basle had been taken by *nations*. This, at Trent, was promptly forbidden. Any danger from the use of proxies was obviated by declaring the bishop *ipso facto* suspended and interdicted, who should presume to vote in that way, without the pope's dispensation.

The *mode of proceeding* was another point of importance. The members of the Council were distributed into three committees, each of which met at the house and under the presidency of one of the legates. Minor committees were appointed as occasion arose. When the views of the prelates had been tolerably ascertained by means of these "*congregations*," as they were called, the next step was the "*general congregations*," or committee of the whole house, of which there were three kinds. In the first, doctors of divinity were heard on points of doctrine; in the second, doctors of canon law spoke on questions of discipline; and in the third, to which those only who had the right of voting were admitted, the canons and decrees were finally prepared for the "*session*," the only public meeting where the conclusive vote was taken without discussion. It was thus quite possible to prevent a decision on any given point until instructions could be received from Rome, where a "congregation" of cardinals had been appointed to issue them.

Under such precautions, the *first* session was held on December 13th, 1545, the Council decreed to be open, and the *second* session fixed for January 7th, 1546, in which a single decree was passed, enjoining Christian and godly behavior on the prelates and their attendants. But into the first sentence of this decree was slipped the clause, "the *same* legates of the apostolic see presiding." None had been named in the decree of the previous sessions, and in this way the question of papal right to preside was carried by a shuffle, a right which the Council of Basle had expressly denied. An attempt on the part of the French bishops especially, to declare the Council "representative of the Church universal," was parried by the legates with no small difficulty. Had this been asserted, the same conclusion would soon have been reached which the Council of Basle had announced, that its authority was superior to that of the pope himself. He wanted, of course, a tool, not a master; and even the proposal that the Council should have a seal of its own, as at Basle, was evaded, and that of the first legate employed. One other proposal savoring of independence—that they should begin with reformation of morals—was in direct opposition to the pope's instructions, which were to proceed at once to lay down articles of faith, and cut off the Protestants as heretics. The result was a compromise, by which doctrine and discipline were to be reformed

pari passu; but the attempt to embody even this in a decree was resisted and defeated.

The *third* session followed on February 4th.

As no instructions had arrived from Rome, the fathers, at the suggestion of Cardinal Pole, solemnly recited the Nicene Creed. But if this creed, which Protestants hold as well as they, be indeed "that firm and only foundation against which the gates of hell shall never prevail," what are we to think of the *thirteen additional articles* imposed by the bull of Pius IV.? Leaving this question with those who swallow *unhesitatingly* (indubitanter) whatsoever the Council of Trent has decreed, we find the *fourth* session (April 8th, 1546) setting to work in earnest, by hurling the Council's first anathema against him who refuses equal honor to the Gospel of John, the fable of Bel and the Dragon, the Vulgate Latin, and the shapeless monster, unwritten tradition. Thus was the question as to reformation of doctrine decisively settled. When a captain issues orders that the indications of an erroneous and varying compass are to be followed without correction or appeal, the fate of his vessel cannot long be doubtful. What had emboldened this handful of ecclesiastics (sixty-one in all) thus to reject Scripture, canonize the Apocrypha, and enthrone tradition? *Luther was dead,* (February 18th, 1546;) but the Bible was still open, and too much blood on its clasps to permit their being easily closed again.

Four months and four sessions had passed away without a single decree on reformation. The first, so called, was that of the *fifth* session, (June 17th, 1546,) making some useful regulations as to preaching and teaching, but treating bishops as "delegates of the apostolic see." The doctrinal canons bore upon original sin, contradicting Paul without much ceremony, but carefully leaving the immaculate conception an open question in deference to Sixtus IV.

Justification was the next point, and nearly seven months were spent in debate before the decree was ready. The amount of doctrinal Protestantism in the Council on this subject and at this stage, goes far to take away our surprise at the reliance at first manifested by the reformers on a free general council. The greatest caution was required in wording the canons, and to such a degree was this carried, that two leading members of the Council, while it was yet sitting, published opposite opinions on the question, "Can a justified man be sure that he has grace?" each maintaining that his own opinion was that of the Council, and appealing to the Council itself to say so. But the oracle was dumb. The few and insignificant decrees on reformation published as those of this *sixth* session, did not pass on the day assigned, (January 13th, 1547.) The voting papers

were covered with so many conflicting remarks, that the legates were unable to announce the views of the majority till February 25th. And such was the dissatisfaction, that the Spanish prelates at last struck a heavy blow at the right of "proposing," (which the legates had carefully kept in their own hands,) by presenting on the 3d of February, eleven propositions under the name of *censuræ*, leveled at pluralites, unions,* and dispensations; limiting even cardinals to one bishopric apiece; and demanding, above all things, the declaration of the *Divine right* of bishops. The boldness and novelty of this measure disturbed the legates sorely. They reported to Rome, they struggled at Trent, and at last obtained a decree passing over or evading the points of greatest importance, and "*saving always in all things the authority of the Apostolic See!*" This formal and sweeping language, in the front of the "decree concerning *reformation,*" left no room for doubt as to the victor in the conflict; and the doctrinal canons of the same *seventh* session (March 3d, 1547) respecting the sacraments in general, and those of baptism and confirmation in particular, contributed their full quota of thirty additional anathemas directed against the opponents of Romish teaching.

But the opposition to papal authority, though baffled and eluded, had lost no strength within the Council; and its main stay without, the influence of Charles V., had been prodigiously strengthened by the death of his great rival, Francis I., (March 31st, 1547,) and by the defeat of the Protestant leaders in Germany, (April 24th.) The pope no longer dared to leave within the emperor's reach such an engine as the Council, and the first pretext of any plausibility, a trifling epidemic at Trent, was seized on with eagerness for producing a bull, of older date than the Council itself, authorizing the legates to transfer it elsewhere. The *eighth* session had been fixed for April 21st, 1547; it was held on March 11th, solely to pass the decree of transfer to Bologna. The *ninth* and *tenth* sessions continued the prorogation, and finally a general congregation on September 14th, prorogued the next session "during the good pleasure of the Council." Thus, just at the moment when Charles V. had wrung from the Protestants (in the Diet of Augsburg, October,

* It would require a translation of Fra Paolo's Treatise on Benefices to render fully intelligible to Protestant readers the mass of abuses which at this time pervaded the Romish hierarchy. We select this of unions as a specimen. When a person wished to hold two benefices, pronounced incompatible by the canon law, the popes had hit upon the device of declaring them *united, so that* the incumbent was regarded as holding *one* only! Such unions the Council ventured to declare void, "unless it shall have been pronounced otherwise by the Holy See!" (Sess. 7, c. 6.)

1547) a reluctant and conditional submission to the Council, he was deprived of all the advantages to be drawn from it; nor can there be any doubt that the pope was thus of material service to the Protestant cause. "Stricken down, but not destroyed," it had strength and friends still—England more decided than ever since the accession of Edward VI. Time only was needed, and this the pope bestowed. Time and success developed the tyranny and bad faith of the emperor;* time enabled that pattern of successful double treason, Maurice of Saxony, to regain the confidence of his co-religionists, to secure the French alliance, to outwit Charles V. at his own weapons, and by means of this very Council of Trent itself. Yet even he might not have succeeded, but for the help undesignedly afforded by the pope. The Protestants had stipulated for a council in which he should not preside, the prelates should be released from their oath of obedience to him, the Protestant divines should have full power to speak and vote, and the decrees already passed at Trent should be reconsidered. Julius III., in his Bull of Resumption, (December, 1550,) asserted his right as pope to summon and direct the Council, convoked it in the "fullness of apostolic authority," expressed his determination to preside in it personally, or by his legates, and commanded it to "take up and prosecute the said Council in the state in which it is now found." For all this the Protestants were quite prepared; not so the emperor. He had promised them to exert all his influence to procure such a council as they demanded, and it was nowise flattering to be exhibited to Europe as having exerted it in vain. He therefore used, in his decree at Augsburg, (February, 1551,) stronger language than he had yet employed; but he had assured the pope by a private letter, that "reformation should proceed no further than Julius should find good." That Charles was attempting to overreach both pope and Protestants is unquestionable; how far he succeeded is a point of which the decision cannot greatly benefit his character.

On May 1st, 1551, the *eleventh* session, fifteen bishops having assembled, declared the Council resumed. The *twelfth* (September 1st) presented a stormy scene, owing to the unexpected appearance of an envoy from the King of France to protest against the Council; nor did any prelate from that kingdom take part in it under Julius III. A single decree was adopted, fixing the day and appointing

* It was during this interval that he, by a formal instrument, absolved Maurice, of Saxony, and the Elector of Brandenburg, from their bond to the Landgrave of Hesse, an encroachment upon the papal claim of exclusive right to dispense with all such obligations, to which, singularly enough, the pontiff seems to have made no objection.

the subjects for the next session. It soon became obvious that the legate, Crescenzio, had no wish to see Protestants at Trent. It was with the greatest difficulty, after three days of obstinate contest, that consent was wrung from him to a decree in the *thirteenth* session, (October 11th, 1551,) promising them a hearing on the question of communion in both kinds previous to the fifteenth session, which was, by the same decree, to be held on the 25th of January following. But no persuasion could induce him to defer the decree on the eucharist, which set up, under guard of eleven anathemas, an everlasting barrier between popery and common sense—the doctrine of transubstantiation. There was also a decree of reformation in eight chapters—"so trifling," says Vargas, the Spanish secretary of legation, "that many could not hear them read without confusion"—and a safe-conduct for the Protestants, "so far as regards the holy synod itself." This left both pope and emperor at full liberty. From the former heretics well knew what to expect, and the imperial faith of Charles had been more frequently broken than that of any monarch of the age, which is saying not a little. Such a safe-conduct, accordingly, no Protestant could safely trust to; and it may well have been on this that the legate relied, when he agreed that the Protestants, *in case they should come*, should be heard on all points, even those already decided; "as a sort of reparation," says the Spanish theologian, Malvenda, quite innocently, "for their having been hitherto condemned without a hearing."

Meantime, the legate drove furiously on, "playing the devil," according to Vargas. The *fourteenth* session followed, (25th November, 1551,) at the end of less than six weeks. Its decrees take up fully one third of the space required for those of the previous thirteen sessions altogether. Concerning those on reformation, Vargas "has only one thing to say; they are useless and unhappy for us, but the Court of Rome finds its advantage in them." The doctrine and canons bore on the "sacraments" of penance and extreme unction. Next day, no one could get a copy of them. The divines of Louvain and Cologne were closeted with the legate. He was at last convinced that he had gone too far. His decrees would have created a new schism in what was left of the "Catholic" Church; not by any grosser disregard of Scripture and common sense than have been shown already, but by condemning certain fathers and doctors, Durand, Cajetan, Gerson, and Theophylact! This was unpardonable; and the letters of Vargas establish the fact, (unknown to Sarpi,) that the decrees *unanimously* passed in this fourteenth session of "the holy, ecumenical, and general Synod of Trent, lawfully assembled in the

Holy Ghost, under the presidency of the legate and nuncios of the Holy Apostolic See," *were secretly altered before publication.**

The envoys of the Duke of Wirtemberg (Protestant laymen, not divines) had arrived a few days before the fourteenth session. Their instructions were to demand the safe conduct of Basle for their divines, and in no way to recognize the presidency of the pope. They applied, therefore, to the emperor's embassador to procure them an audience. It was violently and long refused by Crescenzio. Other envoys came from Maurice of Saxony; from Strasburg, Sleidan the historian. The Cardinal of Trent, the Electors of Cologne, Mayence, and Trèves, and the imperial embassadors, redoubled their exertions to procure them a hearing. Sullenly the legate gave way. In a general congregation, (January 24th, 1552,) the Council listened for the first time, and the last, to honest Protestant voices. "They said so many good things," wrote the Bishop of Orense, "that—it was right to take precautions that the people should not hear them." Next day, the *fifteenth* session was held. No decree on either doctrine or discipline; whereby, says Vargas, "the world lost nothing." The legate had prepared a lengthy decree on the "sacrament of order," in which he had inserted clauses implying the pope's superiority *by Divine right*, to both bishops and councils. Vargas detected those passages; and rather than erase them, Crescenzio gave up the decree altogether. There was issued also a new safe-conduct, which had caused incredible difficulties. The Protestants insisted on that of Basle, which secured them seats and votes in the Council, and laid down as the rule of decision, "the practice of Christ and of the primitive Church," (*praxis Christi et primitivæ ecclesiæ.*) These words the legate would by no means admit; and to compromise the matter, it was at last agreed that the Council should not promise submission to the Scriptures, nor the Protestants to the Council. But as the safe-conduct did go the length of repealing, (*pro hac vice,*) "for the present occasion," the decree of the Council of Constance against keeping faith with heretics, four Protestant divines from Wirtemberg, and two from Strasburg, made their appearance at Trent before the day fixed for the sixteenth session. They endeavored repeatedly, but in vain, to obtain a hearing. A private congregation only was

* This curious and important fact has escaped the notice both of Messrs. Buckley and Bungener. Dr. Cramp alone has given it due prominence.

Sarpi is severely criticised by M. Bungener, and the latter by Mr. Buckley. Their judgments are so decidedly opposed to those of Ranke and Dr. M'Clintock, that we are inclined to doubt if either of the unfavorable critics read his author *in the original.*

held on the 19th of March, and the session adjourned. Meanwhile, on the day before, Maurice of Saxony had put his troops in motion against the emperor. History does not record an enterprise, involving so much both of war and diplomacy, conducted with greater ability and more extensive success than that of Maurice from this date till its triumphant termination by the peace of Passau, (August 2d, 1552.) On the 4th of April, he was master of Augsburg. The fathers of Trent held their *sixteenth* session on April 28th, two days before its appointed time, and passed a decree suspending the Council for two years, or until the conclusion of peace in Europe.

But Julius III. died, and his successor Marcellus; and the fiery old bigot Paul IV. followed them. Charles V., baffled and shattered, had sunk into his grave; his Spanish crown was borne by his son Philip II., and his brother Ferdinand was on the imperial throne; Elizabeth was sovereign of England, Charles IX. of France; in short, almost ten years had elapsed before Pius IV., alarmed by the Conference of Poissy, and the danger of a national council in France, was induced again to convoke the Synod of Trent. A new council at a different place was earnestly urged both by the emperor and the French king, who insisted also upon the cup for the laity, the marriage of the clergy, and a thorough ecclesiastical reform. This was scarcely more to the pope's taste than the refusal of England and Denmark to let his envoys set foot on their soil; or the conduct of the German princes at Naumburg, who returned *unopened* the letters addressed to them as his "beloved sons." Heretics now neither sought a council nor feared it; and Catholics were little better.

Nevertheless, Pius IV. issued his bull of convocation, remarkable chiefly for the care taken not to say whether he was summoning the old council or a new one. Necessity had forced him to negotiate; and his object throughout was to concede as little as possible. Weak and unprincipled, he wearies out both our compassion and our contempt. To gain a majority in the Council, he packs it with Italian bishops at twenty-five crowns a month, some of whose whole sees did not include more than five hundred souls. On the arrival of some French prelates with the Cardinal of Lorraine, he sends a second shoal of a similar description. To keep them in working order, he has his bribery and corruption agent, Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia, in regular correspondence with his own nephew, Cardinal Charles Borromeo.* To prevent an unpleasant vote urged by

* Ultimately, Visconti was made a cardinal, and Borromeo a saint. Their letters are not *all* unpublished.

the French bishops, he offers their sovereign one hundred thousand crowns; and increases that sum by forty thousand more, to obtain the withdrawal of certain articles of reform presented by the French embassadors. On this last occasion, too, he exclaims that France is in revolt, that they mean to destroy his courts and all his authority; so he promises a thorough reform himself; which he executes in the "Penitentiary" Court, to such good purpose, that what used to be got there can be had only in the "Datary," and at an increased expense. He distrusts and dislikes his principal legate, and cabals with the subordinates; sends orders to proceed, and recalls them, contriving in each case to be too late; gives discretionary powers, and quarrels with the use he had authorized to be made of them; and as a natural result, his most positive directions are treated with very little respect. Amid all this impotence and incapacity, he summons the Queen of Navarre to Rome as a heretic; in defiance of the rights of the Gallican Church, he calls six of its prelates before him on a similar charge; and is obliged to let both proceedings drop.

Philip II. was the only sovereign in Europe who had made no concession to heretics. To him it was important that the previous decrees of the Council, for which he had shed so much blood already, should be unquestioned. He was therefore earnest that its "continuation" should be explicitly declared. But this was precisely what the emperor and the King of France did *not* want. The reformers *within* the Church in their dominions, added to the reformed *without*, were quite too numerous and resolute to be trifled with. Ten years of suspension had enabled the Protestants to point out fully the errors in doctrine and abuses in discipline, perpetuated by the previous sessions of the Council; and to adopt its decree seemed the sure course to lose France and Germany, totally and irrecoverably. The pope did not mean to give up one iota of the doctrines already sanctioned, or of the authority still left him; nor to lose one subject who had not yet renounced his allegiance. So the legates were obliged, at least once a month, to resist a fresh demand for the "continuation" from the side of Spain, and fresh claims for just the reverse from France and Germany. Nor was this the only source of annoyance. By a word introduced into the opening decree ("proponentibus") the legates were invested with the right of proposing subjects for discussion, one which had been exercised, but never conceded. Accordingly, it was met with a protest from four Spanish prelates; the Spanish embassador was instructed to support them; and the legates were obliged to sustain another series of attacks on this point, conducted with true Spanish formality and pertinacity. The emperor, too, made it one of his gravest objections

to the manner of conducting the Council. The word was not repeated, but the thing was held fast; and only at the close of the twenty-fourth session was a professedly explanatory declaration extorted, that the Council meant not by the aforesaid word to make any change in the usual way of treating matters in general councils, as if, now that the thing was done, it were enough to declare that it had not been intended.

But the subject of fiercest conflict in the Council was the *Divine right*, ostensibly of bishops, really of the pope. If the latter, by Christ's appointment, were bishop of bishops, they had no power but what he saw good to allow them. But if each bishop held his authority immediately from Christ, then papal claims might be resisted, papal authority might be limited, and papal abuses and extortion swept away by a national, and much more by a general council. Lainez, general of the Jesuits, was the champion of the papal supremacy; and by the haughtiness of his manner, as much as by the thoroughgoing logical consistency of his ultramontanism, succeeded in concentrating the opposition of the French, German, and Spanish prelates against it to such a degree, that the pope dared not use his Italian majority. The subject had been evaded, delayed, postponed, for sixteen years, only to appear in a more formidable shape, when the "Sacrament of order" was to be discussed; and not till ten months had been spent in successive prorogations, was it possible to pass the decrees on this "sacrament" in the twenty-third session. There is one anathema for him who denies the existence in the Catholic Church of a hierarchy, consisting of bishops, priests, and deacons, "*instituted by Divine ordination;*" a phrase adopted expressly to include both opinions; a course so little to the taste of the Spanish prelates, that only with the utmost difficulty were they withheld from protesting in open session. There is another anathema for him who denies that bishops are superior to presbyters; but if you ask *by what right*, the Council has not a word to say. Nor is the pope mentioned till, in the last canon, you read his name, as you may that of Alexander on a broken column. One of the modes of insinuating his superiority to bishops was by saying that they "are taken in [to a share of his solicitude,]" "*in partem sollicitudinis* assumuntur." But those troublesome Spanish bishops would not bear the words we have placed in brackets; and the canon as it stands implies that, by the authority of the Roman pontiff, bishops are taken in and done for; to which, as a statement of fact, we have no objection.*

* We give this canon at full length, memorable as *all* that the Synod of Trent dared directly to say for papal authority: "Si quis dixerit, episcopos, qui

On this subject, the Spanish prelates were first and last. But on that of reformation, the French embassadors led the van. The cup for the laity, the marriage of the clergy, the use of the vernacular tongue in public worship, the expurgation of the missal, the abolition of images, all these measures of reform were more or less strenuously demanded; some were unanimously rejected, some dropped in silence, some referred to the pope, all defeated. But the pope himself also figured as a reformer, and is in all justice entitled to credit even for the measures which he failed to carry. The decree of reformation of the 23d session, as it came from him, concluded with a creed to be sworn to by all persons appointed to "any dignity, magistracy, or office, in Church or State." By its last clause, the party bound himself "to receive and firmly to hold all things piously, sacredly, and religiously observed by his ancestors up to that time." Thus, the reforms granted by the Council were to be a means of perpetuating every abuse not yet fully detected and adequately exposed: a policy of which it would not be difficult to find more recent examples. Another and not less signal instance of what the pope meant by reform, is afforded by the memorable decree "concerning Reformation of Princes." We present Dr. Cramp's faithful and forcible abstract:

"That the clergy should enjoy an absolute immunity from the civil jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever; that spiritual causes, and those of a mixed nature, should be tried before ecclesiastical judges, to the entire exclusion of laymen; and that these judges should receive their appointments from their spiritual superiors, and not from any secular authority; that the Church should be entirely free from all taxes, imposts, subsidies, etc., under whatsoever name or pretense they might be levied; and, finally, that all the ancient canons, and all papal constitutions enacting clerical immunity, should be revived in their full force, and any breach or infringement be visited with *excommunication without trial or notice.*" P. 344.

This measure, long menaced and delayed, was at last brought forward in September, 1563. The French embassador retorted in a speech full of biting severity. The emperor was no less offended. The King of Spain was for once of the same mind with them. The embassadors concerted a joint protest. Again the Italian majority gave way; and the single chapter on this subject, found among the decrees of the 25th session, (c. 20,) "roars as gently as any sucking dove."

We despair of conveying to our readers any adequate idea of the interminable confusion presented by the proceedings of the Council

auctoritate Romani pontificis assumuntur, non esse legitimos et veros episcopos, sed figmentum humanum; anathema sit." Sess. 23, c. 8.

during its last twenty months. No volume of congressional or parliamentary debates,

> "Trash, pompous, dull, and solemn,
> Pump'd out upon the world each day, in column after column,"

can be read with less of either profit or pleasure. Long speeches are made, formal audiences are given, quarrels about precedence, almost break up the Council; discussions, as boisterous as they are wearisome, on the "continuation," the "proponentibus," prohibited books, the "Divine right," clandestine marriages, and reformations of all kinds, are introduced, interrupted, resumed, reiterated, till the head grows dizzy in the attempt to arrange or remember them. We have endeavored to extricate the leading facts, and to place them in a proper light. What remains to complete our outline will naturally take the form of a chronological summary.

As soon as the *seventeenth* session (January 18th, 1562) had declared the Council open, the attention of the fathers was called to their deadly enemy, the press; and in its *eighteenth* session (February 26th) this *free* Council, after listening to a papal brief, permitting them to draw up a catalogue of prohibited books, decreed this business to a committee; which, being nominated by the legates, and duly *licensed* by the pope to read heretical works, commenced its task, one of the many which the Council left incomplete. The safe-conduct of the fifteenth session was reissued, with an additional clause, extending it to those of every place "in which the contrary of that which the Holy Roman Church thinks is *publicly* and *with impunity* preached, taught, or believed." Thus, while the English heretic was invited to the Council "by the bowels of compassion of our common God and Lord," Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, was left to languish in the dungeons of the Inquisition for *four years* after his book had been declared orthodox by this very Council.

Bitter discussions on the Divine right occupied the next two months; so that the *nineteenth* session (May 14th) produced nothing but a prorogation. The French embassadors arrive; the trumpet of reform sounds loud and long. The Council must be declared a new one, and everything reëxamined. But the *twentieth* session can agree upon nothing, save another prorogation, (June 4th.)

The subject of communion in both kinds was now taken up as it had been left by the thirteenth session. Bavaria, France, and the empire demanded the cup. The reply of the *twenty-first* session (July 16th, 1562) was, "Anathema to him who says it is *necessary;*

we will consider if it *may* be granted, and on what conditions." Its decree of reformation abolishes "quæstors of alms," (*eleemosynarum quæstores,*) a title under which Protestants will hardly recognize their old acquaintance, Tetzel.

Lengthy and bitter discussions followed on the conditions under which the cup might be conceded. These were fixed on at last as, (1) acknowledgment of the Church's right to withhold it; (2) unreserved submission to council, pope, and prelates, and (3) previous confession to a priest. After ten days' debate a vote was taken: thirty-eight were against any grant, even on the above conditions; thirty were for it; twenty-four referred it to the pope; thirty-one approved the decree, but wished its execution left to him; eighteen were for limiting the grant to Bohemia and Hungary; fourteen wished for delay; and eleven were doubtful. The ultimate result was, the reference of the whole matter to the pope by a short decree of the *twenty-second* session, (September 17th, 1562.) Its doctrinal decrees asserted the sacrifice of the mass; and those of reformation assigned to the bishops (still "as delegates of the Apostolic See") authority which brought them into collision with the secular power, and prevented the reception of the Council in France.

The storm now reached its height. The discussions on the "Sacrament of Order" brought the question of Divine right to a crisis. The French embassadors pressed their demands for reform. A secession was threatened at one time by the Spanish prelates, at another by the French. The death of two of the legates still further delayed the proceedings; and it was not till the new chief legate, Cardinal Morone, had gone in person to confer with the emperor at Innspruck, that the *twenty-third* session was held, (July 15th, 1563.) How it compromised the "Divine right" has been shown already. Its reformations bore upon residence and qualifications for orders, forbidding any one to be appointed to a benefice with cure of souls until *fourteen* years of age! As one of its decrees provided for the establishment of seminaries, these young beneficiaries might have been required to attend them.

Of all things imaginable, the next which assailed the legates was a proposal for a fresh invitation to the heretics; and who of all men proposed it, but the embassador of Philip II.! At such a time, it reminds one of the celebrated Mrs. Bond's appeal to her ducks: "Bless you, bless you, come and be killed!" But he was not alone in dissatisfaction. The proposed reforms contented no one; and when the legates, after one prorogation, ventured to hold the *twenty-fourth* session, (November 11th, 1563,) nothing to equal it for confusion had yet been seen. It is true, no such mass of decrees had

ever been laid before a single session: they form *one seventh* of all that the Council had bequeathed to posterity. But the legates openly expressed their disagreement with each other; a minority of fifty-two appeared against the decree on clandestine marriages; and as to the decrees on reformation, let us hear Cardinal Morone announce the vote amid the darkness of the night:

"All the decrees are approved by nearly all; many, however, have added appendices and explanations to various decrees which do not change the substance thereof. In the second, third, fifth and sixth, some matters have been noticed, which will be arranged according to the will of the majority, and will be held in as much account as if they had been arranged in the present session!"

One of them (*C.* 5, *de ref. matrim.*) ordains that matrimonial dispensations be granted *gratuitously*, which, like a former one (*session* 22, *De observ. et evit. in sacr. Missæ.*) forbidding masses to be paid for, has not yet found its way into practice. Nothing can depict the condition of affairs at this crisis like the fact, that at such a close to the session, the legates exulted, and the pope was "overwhelmed with joy!"

Every one, in short, was now eager to have done with the Council; and its further work was only to compromise those points on which any agreement could be arrived at, and to omit the rest. Even this was expedited by the intelligence which arrived in the night of December 1st, that the pope was alarmingly ill. A general congregation was held next day, and the *twenty-fifth* session on the following (December 3d, 1563.) More than *one sixth* of all the decrees the Council has left us were passed in this its last session. Those on doctrine refer to purgatory, saints, images, pictures, and relics. That on monks and nuns granted to all monasteries that desired it the privilege of holding landed property, even when forbidden by the rule of their order. A decree concerning reformation followed, forbidding the illegitimate sons of priests to be priests *in the same church* with their fathers; and worthily concludes by declaring that all the decrees of the Council on the subject of reformation have been passed, and are to be understood, "*saving the authority of the Apostolic See.*"

A short decree continued the session to the next day. Intelligence arrived that the pope was out of danger; but the session went on. A series of vague and evasive decrees referred all difficulties to his blessedness the pope. Another ordered the reading over of all the decrees passed under Paul III. and Julius III. It was done, and the last decree ordered that an end be put to the Council, and that a confirmation of all its decisions be sought from the Apos-

tolic See. One prelate alone, the Archbishop of Granada, refused assent to this crowning act of self-degradation. It was consummated, and then, two hundred and fifty-five "most illustrious lords and most reverend fathers" joined in the acclamation, "The Holy Ecumenical Synod of Trent, ever let us confess its faith, ever let us keep its decrees;" responded their unanimous amens to the prayer which places the creature literally beside the Creator, "To these decrees adhering, may we be rendered worthy of the mercies and favor of the first and great high priest, Jesus Christ God, through the intercession at the same time of our inviolate lady, the holy mother of God, and all saints;" and finally thundered out with undoubted heartiness their one hundred and thirty-fifth anathema, "to all heretics." This did not save them from being required, "under pain of excommunication," to sign the decrees before leaving Trent. It was done in general congregation on the following day; and "this long tossed and troubled council came to an end in peace."*

To secure its repose, the Bull of Confirmation, while enjoining that its decrees be received and observed by all the faithful, forbids "any comments, glosses, annotations, remarks, or any sort of interpretation whatsoever" to be published without papal authority, on pain of excommunication.† The pontiff could hardly be expected to place its decrees quite on a level with the word of God, by forbidding them being *read* without permission.

The reception of the Council in different countries, its catechism, its index, and the "Creed of Pius IV.," are subjects on which, we cannot here enter. It is enough if we have shown that, as to infallibility in doctrine and supremacy in discipline, the Council of Trent has neither asserted its own, nor the pope's, and that, as a court of appeal for the Protestants, it was (to use the words of a memorable decree in the British House of Lords,‡ on a far less criminal perversion of the forms of justice) "a delusion, a mockery, and a snare."

* "Jactatum hoc diu et agitatum concilium constitit et conquiescit." Oration of Bishop of Nazianzum, at the opening of the twenty-fifth session.

† That this is no *brutum fulmen* appears from the language of Dr. Waterworth, as quoted by Mr. Buckley, p. 507. The edition of the "decrees and canons" which we have been using (Plantin, Antwerp, 1571) has some marginal references, and an appendix of decrees of former popes and councils; but it is also provided with a certificate "*that there is nothing in them which belongs to interpretation, or savors of heresy.*"

‡ Chief Justice Denman, on the writ of error in the case of Daniel O'Connell.

Art. V.—THE CENTRAL IDEA OF CHRISTIANITY.

The Central Idea of Christianity. By Jesse T. Peck, D. D. Boston: Henry V. Degen. 1856.

The advent of a new book on the subject of Christian holiness, we hail as a favorable sign of the times. It shows that the spirit of the fathers still lives in their children, and it reveals the hopeful fact, that holy incense and a pure offering are still found upon our consecrated altars. It is significant, too, of an abiding faith in the spiritual progress of the Church, not only as a thing possible and greatly to be desired, but as actually existing, inasmuch as it assumes such a hungering and thirsting after righteousness, as can be satisfied only by such aliment.

To write a book, to write a good book, and to write a book adapted to meet and supply an obvious want of the times, are achievements of a widely different character. The first is an easy task, and involves but little in the way of expenditure beyond the ink, paper, and time wasted in its production. Nor is the production of a good book by any means the highest achievement of authorship. It may give evidence of scholarship; it may embody the results of great research and profound thought; it may abound in the beauties of conception and style with which only genius could adorn it; and it may challenge our admiration by its bold originality; yet, not coming within the range of pressing, practical realities, it may serve no higher purpose than giving entertainment to the intellect or the fancy for the passing hour. But he who writes a book, which sheds a clearer light upon the great questions of human hope and destiny, which makes more plain to the general comprehension "the things which belong to our peace," which traces with a more distinct outline the way to heaven, and from the perusal of which we rise up as from a spiritual feast—it is he, and he only, who has performed his task in the highest style of such a work.

After a candid and somewhat thorough examination of the book, whose title is found at the head of this article, it is our deliberate judgment, that Dr. Peck is fairly entitled to the credit of having written a *good* book, in the highest sense of the applied qualification. A vastly higher purpose than mere book-making is impressed upon every page. The doctor *writes*, as the man of a true faith and an evangelical earnestness would *preach* "the unsearchable riches of Christ," "not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in de-

monstration of the Spirit and of power." In his hand the "sword of the Spirit" is not wreathed with the flowers of rhetoric, but its bared edge and naked point are pressed home to the heart, as a "discerner of its thoughts and intents," so that by "manifestation of the truth," he commends himself "to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

For our author we claim no originality of theme. That is as old as the first promise of salvation to guilty man. It has been the light and the joy of all ages and generations, and has especially distinguished every epoch in the history and progress of evangelical religion. It was this that battled successfully against vain traditions and a godless philosophy, in the days when apostles and martyrs led a victorious Church "into the holiest of all by the blood of Jesus." It was the light and life of the Reformation, the power which dethroned the "man of sin," and reinaugurated the reign of Christ. It was the source of that wonderful influence which attended the ministry of the Wesleys and their co-laborers, as they enthroned evangelical purity above the lifeless forms of an unfelt religion. It is a theme, thank God, which is still familiar to the hopes and the hearts of thousands of the living, while it is the burden of a song, which celebrates the final triumph in heaven of all who "have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

Yet the book is original, bearing upon its pages the clearest evidence of independent, original thought. It is not made up of mere gleanings from fields so successfully reaped by a host of worthy predecessors, but is in itself a rich harvest of thought and illustration, gathered by the author from a field peculiarly his own. In its general scope, plan, and analysis, it builds on no other man's foundation. To a great extent, too, it employs an independent terminology, thereby giving to the whole discussion an air of freshness, which we regard as no inconsiderable merit. It is thoroughly Wesleyan in its statement and exposition of holiness, but the author has most happily drawn away both his theme and its discussion from the arena of controversy, thereby not only relieving us from the din and strife of theological warfare, but at the same time giving the reader a much better position for profiting by "the truth as it is in Jesus."

But the position it assigns to purity, the relation in which it places Christian holiness to all else in the scheme of salvation, making it the great sun in those heavens which shower blessings upon man—it is this which gives to the work its highest claim to originality, and at the same time constitutes its peculiar excellence.

We would not unduly magnify the importance of a name, yet, when the title of a book is not only clearly and strongly significant of its character, but also places its whole theme in a new and impressive light before the mind, we insist that *then* there is something in a name. And in this case, it strikes us, that it would be difficult, not to say impossible, to select any form of words, which, with greater brevity and force, as well as philosophical accuracy, would exhibit Christian holiness in its true relations to God, to man, and to eternity, than that luminous sentence, "THE CENTRAL IDEA OF CHRISTIANITY." It is a title at once original and highly significant. It has no affinity with that large class of book-names, which seem to have been adopted for no other purpose than to conceal poverty of thought, or insignificance of object, under an affectation of singularity. On the contrary, it introduces us at once into the "most holy place," and gives us such a position, as enables us to look forth on the great scheme of redemption with a new interest, and to interpret its sublime facts and blessed privileges with an ease and a certainty unknown before.

The plan of the book is simple and comprehensive. We are guided in our search for the central idea, by the clear lights of Scripture, analysis, history, and experience. The idea is defined, by fairly stating its limitations and contents, as well as by a candid consideration of its difficulties. It convicts of a too general neglect of this higher life, and then accounts for and deprecates it. The claims of holiness are urged, by proving its desirableness, its possibility, and its necessity. We are brought into the "councils" of moral purity, and instructed in the process by which it is made a personal attainment, until from a deep conviction of its necessity, it becomes the possession of a grateful and rejoicing heart. And finally, it puts a most solemn appeal to the professors of holiness, to the Church and to the ministry, to the end that all may walk worthy of this high vocation, and thus be instrumental in hastening the time when "this grand central sun shall shine out with a light which shall be clear, steady, increasing, and ineffably glorious, and fix upon itself the gaze of the world." Page 22.

To conduct the reader through this book by a careful analysis and review of its whole contents, would be to ourselves a pleasant and profitable task. But our limits forbid, and we must content ourselves, therefore, with presenting a few clusters only from this rich vintage, in the sincere hope that our readers will thereby be encouraged to "go up and possess the land," and gather its blessed fruits for themselves.

It must be borne in mind, however, that Dr. Peck propounds no

new theory on the subject of holiness. The book is preëminently an inquiry after "the old paths," and is simply and in fact what it purports to be, an exposition of the Christian scheme in the light of its ascertained central idea.

In ascertaining that holiness is "the central idea of Christianity," we are not required to adopt any doubtful modes of reasoning or illustration. Scripture, history, and experience, are our familiar guides, their joint testimony being confirmed by a rigid logical analysis. In this analysis, we first of all take a "position outside of the system," and from thence, step by step, pursue our inquiries among the altars, assemblies, ordinances, ministrations, and sacraments of the Christian Church. As these are all Divinely ordained as means to an end, we find their whole significance in the fact, that they are classed among those "gifts," by which we are all to "come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." Or, if still "traveling inward," we trace the mighty working of the truth and Spirit of God, as they fulfill their appointed mission in the moral nature of man by presenting him "perfect in Christ Jesus," we reach the same result, and become settled in the conclusion, that "the choice of God for the moral condition of the human race was perfect purity." Page 9.

But let us again with our author approach the center, taking a position from which the Christian scheme assumes the character of a Divine rule of life, enforcing its claims by the solemn sanctions of eternity; imposing the yoke of Christ, and laying upon us his cross; demanding the consecration of the whole man as "a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God;" and holding every one amenable to that "first great commandment of the law," and also to "the second which is like unto it," namely, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength," and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and we are once more shut up to the conclusion, that holiness is the great necessity, beyond and above all things else, the "one thing needful" for man. For this required obedience is an impossibility with man, until the law is written upon the heart. But upon the impure heart that law cannot be written. "The righteousness of the law" cannot be "fulfilled" either "in or *by* us," because of the "weakness of the flesh," the corruptions of an unsanctified nature. Rom. viii, 3. As well might the sculptor attempt to embody his sublime ideal upon the rough and crumbling sandstone, or the artist who pencils forms of beauty with the rays of the sun, attempt the highest triumphs of his art upon the blurred and corroded

surface of the unprepared metal. But when the Holy Ghost sits "as a refiner's fire," subjecting the heart to its purifying agency until the Divine image is reflected therefrom, then, and not till then, does it become capable of receiving the "Divine writing," as it is transferred from the "tables of stone" to the "fleshly tables of the heart." Thus surely do we find the central idea, the analysis bringing us to a conclusion entirely coincident with the inspired declaration, Τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας, "the end of the commandment is love from, or out of a pure heart." 1 Tim. i, 5.

And now, we "take our position in heaven," so that from the highest accessible stand-point we may view the arrangements of the Divine economy in the kingdom of grace. Upon this sublime eminence we are encircled with unsullied purity. Myriads of adoring beings throng the vast domain, rising in their appointed order, and stretching away through "thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers," until lost to our gaze in the glories of the Infinite. Above, beneath, around—through all, pervading, permeating all the place, the service, and the population, is unspotted holiness. No sin is here. The new song that breaks on the ear like "the sound of many waters," as its melodies "wake the echoes of eternity," is a tribute from that jubilant host to Him, by the cleansing of whose blood, they were made "kings and priests unto God." And now, as we connect the two economies, and place the kingdom of grace and the kingdom of glory in their true relation to each other, most plainly do we see that

"The holy to the holiest leads;"

and, as we come forth from a place and a presence so dazzling in their purity, and anxiously inquire, "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, or who shall stand in his holy place?" there comes a voice from the "excellent glory," giving unequivocal response, "HE THAT HATH CLEAN HANDS AND A PURE HEART."

"Thus we see that, from whatever point we commence our analysis, we reach the same result. All the other great facts and duties which the system includes, all the operations of Divine grace upon the heart, are but so many means to this glorious end—all lead directly into holiness as the center. The results, which are fully in accordance with the expressed will of God, all point directly back to it; and, coming out from heaven itself, to find the true preparation for that glorious place, we ascertain it to be holiness alone. Carefully examining every particular of the system within our reach, we find nothing else that will, as an end, meet the demands of the Almighty, explain the vast details of the remedial scheme, or account for the splendid results of that scheme in this world and in the next." Pp. 21, 22.

The history of Christianity, as it has in every age and place recorded its triumphs or mourned in defeat, points with manifest and

forcible significance to the same conclusion. The humblest and most obscure of all the host of God, as well as the highest in position, and the most liberally endowed with intellectual wealth, have been a light and a blessing to the world, just in proportion as their spiritual life was in conformity with this central idea. Holiness has always been the "spirit of love and of power," which, abiding and reigning in the heart, has given to the Christian his great strength to do and to suffer for Christ. This is and ever has been the distinction of the Church, as a thing of wonderful power guiding and impelling it onward, as it has made "the wilderness and the solitary place to be glad, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose." In possession of it, the militant host has always been invincible; without it, feeble, faltering, discomfited.

The institution of a living ministry as a means for the world's evangelization, is of Divine appointment. To go "into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," is God's commission to men of his own choosing, and the mission relates to the salvation of sinners as a means to an end. Now no fact stands more clearly upon the page of history, than that the success of the Gospel ministry has been in proportion to the measure of holiness enjoyed by those who have gone "everywhere preaching the word." High intellectual endowments, improved and enlarged by diligent culture; the gifts of winning address and eloquent utterance; the treasures of knowledge with which assiduous mental industry has enriched the mind, are by no means under-estimated, much less ignored in the inspired estimate of ministerial gifts; but it is only as these are entirely consecrated, as they revolve in their true relations around holiness as their central sun, and as they blaze and glow under the purifying baptism of the Holy Ghost, that they become even useful in the great work of saving lost sinners. These, with whatever else of the kind is of possible attainment, are miserable substitutes for holiness in the minister of Christ. He may build up the fabric of his embodied thought in forms of dazzling beauty, by means of which he may hold breathless auditors spell-bound as they gaze upon the sublime creation; but as they enter the gorgeous temple to have resolved for them the awful inquiry, "What must we do to be saved?" instead of being greeted with the warm breathings of purifying love, they encounter the chill of an ice-palace, they are in presence of an altar without a sacrifice, they are in a temple without God; and they return with the burden still upon the heart, murmuring as they go, we came to "seek Jesus which was crucified, but they have taken away our Lord, and we know not where they have laid him."

From that auspicious morning "when the day of Pentecost was

fully come," through all vicissitude, in all lands, and through all the centuries of its history, holiness has been the enlightening, life-imparting central sun, of all successful ministrations by the Church of God. The baptism of its infancy was attended not only by a foreshadowing of its future triumphs, but by the clearest intimations of the source of its ability to achieve them. The tongues of fire that "sat upon each of them" in miraculous manifestation, were through all time to burn upon the heart with a purifying efficiency, and thus be in them a power which "all their adversaries could neither gainsay nor resist." "This power is the moral character of Christ copied out by his disciples, and held up before the eyes of men, by every generation of his spiritual seed. It is the Gospel personified, and faith embodied, which never fails to overcome the world, and to execute judgment upon its gods."*

"Now this uniformity of facts, extending from individuals up through special Christian organizations, to the general Church, and pervading all ecclesiastical history, can be the result of no accident. It shows with the force of demonstration that holiness is the great law of religious development, and hence that holiness is the central idea of Christianity." Pp. 26, 27.

There are two ways in which experience testifies that the central idea of Christianity is holiness. In the first place, justification and its immediate concomitants, regeneration and adoption, are attended in Christian experience with certain conditions, appropriately described in Scripture by "hungering and thirsting." The existence of these is proof of a healthy spiritual state, for it is pronounced "blessed." But they point to something as yet unrealized, proving conclusively that the center is not reached by the new birth. Then, secondly, as hunger and thirst not only indicate a movement of the soul toward an unattained object, but always suggest to it the proper means for its gratification; and as in religious experience it is holiness after which the soul pants, as the "hart panteth for the water brook," so does experience also clearly testify, that the soul is satisfied only when it awakes in the Divine likeness. It has now found its rest. It dwells in love, and therefore dwells in God. Having none on earth but him, and there being none in heaven desired besides him, the Christian now reposing in the center of all light, and life, and joy, triumphantly sings:

"O love! thou bottomless abyss!
My sins are swallow'd up in thee;
Cover'd is my unrighteousness,
Nor spot of guilt remains in me:
While Jesus' blood through earth and skies,
Mercy, free, boundless mercy cries."†

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* Steward. † J. Wesley.

The whole case is thus summed up by the author:

"We have now examined this question in the light of the Holy Scriptures, and found that this stupendous system of revelation and redeeming mercy was undertaken 'that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.' We have subjected the scheme to the severest analysis. Moving inward from different positions outside of it, we have found holiness alone at its center. We have consulted history and experience, and found that in fact holiness is the measure of power. We are compelled, therefore, by the strictest logical necessity, to assert that holiness is the central idea of Christianity." P. 29.

Assuming, then, as fairly settled, that holiness is the central idea of Christianity, it becomes necessary to develop that idea, so as, if possible, to present it in the light of a true Scriptural exposition. Holiness, what is it?

In proceeding to a definition, the distinction is not to be overlooked between the central idea, the central fact, and the final cause of a system. In the system of Christianity, the central fact is the atonement of Christ, and the final cause is the Divine glory in the happiness and salvation of man. By means of the central fact, the central idea is realized; for it is through faith in the atonement, by the cleansing of the blood of Jesus, we are purified from sin. And the central idea is an indispensable condition to the final cause; for without holiness "no man shall see the Lord." Thus it may be seen, that though related to both, holiness is neither the central fact nor the final cause of the Christian scheme; but is clearly and simply what the author styles it, the Divine central idea of a system, whose facts are essential to the realization of its great idea, and whose central idea is the prescribed means for securing its final cause.

To our mind, there is a wise discrimination in the choice of the word "holiness," as representing the central idea of Christianity; and the hope is indulged that we shall be able to show its susceptibility of a clearness and precision of definition, which will relieve the subject of much difficulty, and at the same time meet every Scriptural condition. Not a little obscurity has been thrown around this subject by a loose and illogical use of the terms employed in its exposition, as well as by using interchangeably, words which are not synonymous either in their etymological import, or according to the *usus loquendi* of Scripture. Definitions should be clear, comprehensive, and unequivocal; and as they constitute, to a great extent, the data of all moral reasoning, they should, if possible, like the axioms in mathematics, be self-evident, carefully excluding whatever need explanation, and at the same time embracing every essential element of the subject. Want of attention to these obvious

principles has given rise to much of the bitter controversy which has agitated the Church for centuries, controversy, which in too many instances has been neither more nor less than mere logomachy. In tracing the Divine operation of the grace and Spirit of God as man is prepared for heaven, Christian theology has employed certain words and phrases, for the most part Scriptural, to indicate the process by which such preparation is secured. Chief among these we find justification, regeneration, new birth, sanctification, and the like. Now, while there is great unanimity of sentiment among Christian teachers as to the fact, that these are the necessary conditions of human salvation; still, when the question is raised as to the determinate signification of these terms, there opens at once a wide field of controversy. None, so far as we know, who have ever taken the name of Christian, have been bold enough to deny, that holiness is a necessary qualification for eternal life. Even the papist, who ascribes to his purgatory what he denies to the blood of Christ, and the advocate of ultimate salvation for universal man, will not dare to propound an impure heaven to the hope of the guilty. But when we propose to settle the question as to what holiness is, the strife is upon us, and straightway we set ourselves to the work of defining it. Too often, however, these definitions need to be defined, and all reasoning based upon such data, can serve for little else than to "darken counsel by words without knowledge." Whether we shall be able to place the subject in a position more free from such embarrassment, we know not; but we are certainly conscious of a prayerful desire to contribute something, however little, to so desirable a result.

We define holiness, then, as *freedom from all sin*, nothing more, nothing less; and shall endeavor to make manifest our author's wisdom in the selection of this word as the name of the central idea, and at the same time justify our definition of it, as excluding everything doubtful or ambiguous, and embracing all that is necessary to a clear understanding of its true scriptural import. In the light of this definition, the distinction between holiness and regeneration, or the new-birth, becomes, we think, apparent. The Scripture word for regeneration is *παλίγγενεσία*, from *γεννάω*, *to be born*, and *πάλιν*, *again*; and is exactly equivalent to the *γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν*, "*born again*," of Christ's discourse to Nicodemus, John iii, 3. To interpret these words as meaning freedom from sin, or as even indicating the process of the soul's purification, is to disregard all legitimate rules of exposition; for it is contrary alike to their philological import, and to the *usus loquendi* in Holy Scripture. They neither express nor imply the idea of holiness; and to force upon them such

a construction, is to destroy the beautiful force and significancy assigned them in Scripture by the Holy Ghost. The *παλίγγενεσία* is that great act of God's free mercy and power whereby he causes the sinner to pass out of death into life; the *ἀνακαινώσεως Πνεύματος ἁγίου*, (Titus iii, 5,) the work of the same mercy and power, renewing him *in that life*, after the image of God; the work of salvation including "the washing of regeneration, *and* the renewal of the Holy Ghost." The first is "regeneratio," the second is "renovatio;" they are not to be separated, neither are they to be confounded.*

Dr. Peck forcibly puts the distinction thus:

"1. There is a broad and necessary distinction between the existence of a thing and the state of the thing existing; between the fact of life and the mode of life; between a soul spiritually alive and the moral condition of the living spirit. Just as natural life and the condition of the living being are distinct, spiritual life and the moral condition of the spiritually alive are distinct. Certain invariable coincidences between these two things, in no respect interfere with their essential difference. Now, two things so entirely distinct, as the fact of spiritual life and the moral state of the spiritually alive, ought to have different names." Pp. 14, 15.

"That a distinction exists," says Mr. Watson, "between a regenerate state and a state of entire and perfect holiness, will be generally allowed. Regeneration, we have seen, is concomitant with justification; but the apostles, in addressing the body of believers in the Churches to whom they wrote their epistles, set before them, both in the prayers they offer in their behalf, and in the exhortations they administer, a still higher degree of deliverance from sin, as well as a higher growth in Christian virtues."†

Proofs of such a distinction might be greatly extended; but we think the author of the "Central Idea" has placed the matter in a light so conclusive and convincing, that it is only necessary to refer the reader to his entire argument, and here rest the case.

Thus far, then, we trust our definition is clear, having shown that holiness, in the sense of freedom from all sin, is not identical with regeneration, but follows it as manhood succeeds to infancy, and the "full corn in the ear" is the maturity of "the blade" and "the ear." It has been urged, however, with some show of plausibility, that inasmuch as the work of the Spirit in man's regeneration is called in Scripture a "new creation," and that when this has taken place, "all things are become new," it is derogating from the perfection of God's work in man, to interpret it as comprehending less than his entire renewal in holiness. But all the force of the objection is obviated by a fair construction of the passage upon which it rests.

* See Trench on *Παλιγ.* † Inst., vol. ii, p. 450.

The regenerative act is a "new creation" without doubt; but it is the creation of—what? Surely not of a new soul, nor of new attributes to the soul already existing. Nor can it be the production of the "new man" in "the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ," for that is a growth and not a creation, an attainment to which we are to "*come*, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God," by the after conditions of spiritual advancement. This "new creation," therefore, must be interpreted, not as the production of a state of holiness, but as the impartation of life to a soul spiritually dead. It is the predicate of a specified relation to Christ, for it is affirmed of them who are "in Christ." But the Christian is in him as the "branch" is in "the vine;" by means of which union, spiritual life results to the believer. But though "in Christ," and therefore "a new creature," he is nevertheless subjected to the agencies of a further purification; for even the living fruitful branch is "purged that it may bring forth more fruit," and is "made clean through the word" of Jesus. This being evident, the phrase, "all things are become new," must be interpreted so as to harmonize with the Scriptural import of the "new creation." This work of the Holy Spirit by which we are "created anew in Christ Jesus," is that which translates from the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of the Son of God, by which the subject of it "sees the kingdom of God;" and being brought from the dominion of sin and the carnal nature into light, and life, and spirituality, "new" indeed are to him all the sublime realizations of that new life; but it is still a life, in the enjoyment of which, he "sees as in a glass the glory of the Lord," and by the continually transforming power of this vision, he is "changed into the same image from glory unto glory," until he reaches the high estate of holiness, by being cleansed from all sin."

It is no derogation, therefore, from the perfection of God's work in man to insist upon a distinction, so obviously Scriptural, between regeneration and holiness. For the perfection of God's work consists in his doing everything perfectly *in its own order*. When the "Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," and the silence of the abyss was broken, as the Omnipotent fiat clothed a newly-made world with light as with a garment, the work done was not imperfect, though, as yet, creation was the infant of a day. By successive acts, each perfect in its order, the work was finished; and the "morning stars" renewed their song, and the "sons of God" their jubilant shout over the completed creation, as man stood erect in the image of God. Thus it is in the "new creation." God justifies the sinner through faith in Christ, and it is a perfect justifica-

tion; for his sins, which were many, are *all* forgiven. In like manner he regenerates the soul by creating in it a new life, and it is a perfect regeneration; but holiness, freedom from all sin, is superinduced upon this new creature by the subsequent mighty working of the Holy Ghost, training and expanding the spiritual infancy, until the whole soul is resplendent with the regained image of God. Nor do these views in any wise depreciate the importance of regeneration; for they place it just where the Scriptures place it in the economy of salvation, holding it forth as that upon which is conditioned our entrance into the kingdom of God, an entrance into which *must* be effected, or holiness is an impossibility; for it is *in* that kingdom, not *out* of it, that every man is to be made "meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light."

By most writers on the subject of Christian purity, holiness is regarded as synonymous with "Sanctification" and "perfect love." To our mind, however, there is such a distinction between them, as to forbid their use interchangeably, when we essay to give clear and definite notions of the specific Scriptural import of evangelical holiness. Sanctification and holiness are not duplicates of the same idea, whatever plausibility may arise to the contrary from their etymology; or they are so only in the sense, that two circles may have a common center; while they differ in the plain circumstance, that the greater necessarily includes the less. Freedom from all sin includes sanctification, but is to be distinguished from it, as a process is distinguished from a result. Sanctification is "that work of God's grace by which we are renewed after the image of God, set apart for his service, and enabled to die unto sin and live unto righteousness,"* and most clearly defines a progressive work, which when completed issues in holiness. "The very God of peace sanctify you *wholly*," is inspired proof of our position; for it most obviously teaches, that in order to make sanctification the equivalent of holiness, it must be qualified by some word which gives to it the signification of a *completed* process. They cover then different spaces of meaning, holiness embracing what sanctification does not, namely, freedom from all sin.

In like manner, we may distinguish between holiness and "perfect love," the latter denoting the state of the affections which arises from the purification of the heart. Fear is the offspring of sin, and therefore it is, that "he that feareth is not made perfect in love." But as deliverance from all sin removes every cause of fear, perfect love is the product of holiness; for "herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment; *because*

* Watson.

as he is, so are we in this world." It is not holiness, but the fruit of it; and results from purity of heart, as "peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ" results from our justification. Cleansed from all sin, we love God with all the heart, and our neighbor as ourselves; and thus "the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."

There is then, we think, good reason for distinguishing between these terms, and for recording our decided preference for holiness, as the most explicit and comprehensive, when we design to set forth that moral state of the believer in Christ, who has grown up to the blessed experience described in Scripture, as being cleansed from all sin. It is the Divine image in man, in the possession of which he is "made partaker of the Divine nature" in the only sense in which such participation is possible. It conforms him not to the *perfection* of God, angels, or paradise, but to the *moral nature* of each, as that consists in freedom from sin.

For sin and holiness are perfect opposites, and are precisely the same in nature, in whatever beings they are found. The one exactly measures the other, as its absolute contrariety. There can be no point of either contact or fellowship; so that whatever may be the moral state of a man in whom sin exists, in any form or to any extent, it is not holiness. To say that he is sanctified in part, is perfectly proper, because sanctification is the process by which he attains to holiness, and the process may as yet be incomplete; but to say of a man he is *holy* in part is simply absurd, because it implies the blending of elements in the same moral nature which are totally and absolutely repellant of each other. If he is holy, it is because in him there is no sin; if sin remains in him he is not holy. These qualities cannot interpenetrate, but by a law as inflexible as the impenetrability of matter, the one must displace the other.

In order to bring these statements into entire harmony with the conclusion we are seeking to establish, we have but to consider man as God made him, in contrast with man as fallen. "In the image of God created he him;" and we have the authority of inspired interpretation for defining this image by "righteousness and true holiness;" holiness the principle, righteousness the exponent of the principle. Such man was by "the choice of God." In direct contrast, we have man fallen, disinherited, an alien, and an outcast from the Divine complacence. It requires no argument to prove that he *is* not what he *was*. The fact stands confessed and clear as the light of heaven. Now, simply and explicitly, divesting the question of all that is doubtful and speculative, what is the essential distinction in these moral states so diverse, opposite, and irreconcil-

able? Remember, we are not inquiring after the *results* of these moral conditions, but solely after the characteristic distinction between them. What is it? To say that this consists in the difference between sin and holiness, is simply an evasion. *The presence or absence of sin, its existence or non-existence in man's heart,* is just the distinction; and it is determined, not by the amount or extent of it, nor by the form or mode of its existence, whether it be guilt, dominion, or pollution, but by the fact that it is *in* man, whatever be its form or extent. This determines and defines the character of man with as much certainty and conclusiveness, as any well-defined physical characteristic determines the class, genus, or species in the classifications of natural science. If sin is in him, man is not holy, and hence it is most manifest that holiness is deliverance from all sin. Thus defined, it is clear, unequivocal, explicit, and needs not to be encumbered by qualifying epithets, nor defined by the aid of "negative limitations." It is a word, too, which, when fairly interpreted, meets all the necessary conditions of "the law of progression."

Progress is the law of all finite existence; and we concede unhesitatingly, that any theory of perfection which is clearly incompatible with this law must be abandoned as absurd and untenable. The whole work of salvation in man is carried forward by the Spirit of God in strict harmony with his mental and moral constitution. The workings of a mighty transforming agency as it goes forth in the heart, making all things new, "casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ," contravenes no law, but "the law of sin and death."

"Increase in capacity is the law of our being, the law most obstinately antagonized by sin, and which must act with freedom and power, just in proportion to the extent and completeness of our deliverance from sin. When, therefore, we are called upon to "go on unto perfection," it cannot be perfection in development. The work of sanctification in progress after our conversion, can, therefore, in no sense, be the growth of the soul, though it is doubtless, in a high sense, the condition of its growth. Unless it be true that we are required to grow from our infant state in the sense of expansion, increase, or enlargement of the powers redeemed, up to a perfection which admits of no further growth, the only perfection offered us in the Bible is perfection in character, in the state of our moral natures, in the condition of our regenerate powers, and not in growth or development. The work of renovating the inner man is to be completed. The conditions of the largest, fullest, freest growth in grace, are to be perfected. By Christian perfection, or entire sanctification, then, we by no means intend any form of completeness beyond which we cannot advance." Pp. 46, 47.

It is not a little remarkable, that one of the most persistent objections to the doctrine of holiness, is based upon this conceded "law

of progression;" and, singularly enough, it is urged the most vehemently by those who deny to man the possibility of freedom from sin in this life. The fallacy of the objection, however, is perfectly transparent, for logically it destroys its own premise. It concedes, in the first place, the plain fact, that sin in the soul is the great obstacle to its true progress and development. Nay, it goes further, and contends stoutly, that so invincible is the power of this antagonism, that it maintains a contest with "effectual grace," until death comes in to terminate the struggle. It admits the gracious tendencies of the soul, under "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," toward growth and enlargement, but at the same time gives it no promise of deliverance in this state of being, from those "remnants of corruption in every part,"* which confessedly retard its progress; and it rejects the idea of complete purification from all sin in this life, for the alleged reason, that such a salvation *would imply an attainment, beyond which the soul could have no progress.* But, in the second place, if it be assumed that entire sanctification, and subsequent spiritual progress, are incompatible conditions of the present life of a Christian, it must be perceived, for it is a logical sequence, that such sanctification must put an end to the soul's progress, or, at least, be incompatible therewith, at whatever period the work is wrought, for the whole force of the objection consists in the assumption, that perfect holiness admits of no subsequent spiritual progress. But we leave all those who object to the doctrine of holiness on this ground, to dispose at their leisure of a very plain dilemma: either a Christian may be sanctified wholly in this life, and still continue "with all the increase of God" to advance "in wisdom and spiritual understanding," or, his entire sanctification being incompatible with further spiritual progress, death puts a period at once to his sins and his advancement.

In our attempts thus far to define the central idea, we have not been unmindful of those "negative limitations" with which most authors have deemed it necessary to qualify their expositions of the subject. We admit their value, so long as we employ terms in our definitions that require such guards and exceptions. For, whatever Christian holiness is, or however it may be defined, it is most certain that it must be limited by "the capacities and susceptibilities" of man; that it must be explained, as in all respects, not a "legal," but an evangelical attainment, secured "by grace through faith;" and that it requires such an exposition as will entirely harmonize it with that "law of progression," which we know is a part of the moral constitution of man. Indeed, we know of no one whose teachings

* See Westm. Conf., chap. 13, § 2.

have been acknowledged among us, that has set forth the doctrine otherwise than consistent with these limitations. Occasionally, to be sure, there has gone abroad in the Church a sort of spiritual knight-errantry, disregarding the sober teachings of Scripture and experience, and fulminating its impotent wrath against all who dared to question its Divine vocation; but its utterances have found no place in our plain, Scriptural, well-tried Wesleyan theology, nor its advocates any consideration among those who have stood forth most successfully in defense of the truth.

We think, then, that there is a clear Scriptural consistency in this view of the subject; holiness, the "central idea of Christianity," and freedom from all sin, the "contents" of the central idea. In this simple view, the words and phrases of Holy Scripture which portray this high privilege, are in perfect harmony — there is no discord, no confusion of idea. From the "sanctification" of the whole spirit, soul, and body to God, as the process results in deliverance from all sin, from the exercise of a faith which

"Laughs at impossibilities,"

from the supreme reigning power of "perfect love," as this abides in a heart cleansed from all sin—from these, existing, combining, and working together with a mighty energy in the heart of a Christian, there must and will result, an outward life of holy obedience, acceptable to God as the fruit of his own work. These principles, taken together with their practical manifestation, constitute in the experience and life of the child of God, the true Scriptural Τελος—the evangelical perfection of man.

Right confident we are, too, that we thus meet all the actual involvements of man as a sinner. He aspires to heaven, he longs for a perfect wasteless beatitude, in which the joys of existence shall pour the tide of an ever-increasing blessedness over his enfranchised spirit. But there is testimony from every page of the Divine oracles, enforced by the teachings of his own moral consciousness, that to such a state of blessing and of joy he never can come without purity. Infirmities he may have—infirmities of body, of mind, of heart—small he may be in spiritual stature and development, but these cannot close against him the gates of glory. There is but one obstacle, as there is but one condition to his entrance. The obstacle is sin, the condition deliverance from it. He is not incapacitated for heavenly enjoyment by anything else but sin. Infinitely diversified in other respects will be the inhabitants of the holy city. For "there is one glory of the sun, another of the moon, another of the stars, and one star differeth from another in glory;" so it will be

also, not only in the resurrection, but in all the endless progressions of glorified being. But in this there is no diversity; all are holy. No sin is in the very least of all that shining host. They are all presented by the redeeming Son to the approving Father, purified from sin by the Holy Ghost. This constitutes their essential spiritual oneness; they are like each other, and they are all "like Him," whom they "see as he is."

Having found the central idea of Christianity, and ascertained its true Scriptural import, it must now be pressed, by every appropriate motive, upon the acceptance of all who aspire to the distinctions of the heavenly estate. This deliverance from all sin is something, which, by every reason of the case, demands a much nearer and more perfect realization than a mere place among the admitted doctrines of our creed. Nor may we safely rest in that nearer approach, by means of which we become "persuaded" of it, as a promise "afar off," but we must take it closely to the heart, as a thing to be known and realized in an assured experience. That cannot reasonably be regarded as of secondary importance, which the great Author of salvation has enthroned as the supreme idea in the economy of grace, which he has set as the central sun, by whose light all the details of his wonderful plan to save sinners are clearly and forcibly interpreted. Surely it *must* be of momentous consequence to man, that he have wrought out in himself, to the full extent of their possible communication, the sublime designs of Him "who gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity and purify us unto himself."

The *necessity* for holiness is admitted by all Christians, and its *possibility* as a personal attainment, at some period of our being, is not denied by any. Indeed, the two are inseparable, for nothing can be necessary to the final cause of man's existence, the attainment of which is impossible. The question, however, at this point, assumes a specific form, namely, Is it the duty, the privilege of man to be holy, to be delivered from all sin *in this life?* In the economy of salvation, duty and privilege are inseparable. For, what is revealed as a privilege, it is made our duty to seek after and obtain.

The great scheme of human salvation as revealed in the Gospel, has for its final cause, touching man, the salvation and happiness of all who comply with its specified conditions. But besides this there is conclusive proof of the fact, that intermediately, it is the design of God that the partaker of ultimate salvation should instrumentally promote the kingdom and glory of Christ on earth, so that while man lives on earth, he is not only to employ himself in making his "calling and election sure," but he is to do this by promoting in every

possible way the salvation of others. As a Christian, he is no longer in darkness, but in the light, and he is to let his light shine, "*so* shine, that others may see his good works and glorify God." He is required to "show forth the praises of Him who hath called him from darkness into his marvelous light." Here is a clearly revealed responsibility, and it is in the order of the Divine economy that every Christian should "shine as a light in the world." But the child of God shines by reflection, and he gives out, for the benefit of the world, the light which beams upon his soul from the Sun of Righteousness. If, then, it be clearly the order of God that Christians should exemplify the purity of Christianity for the benefit of the world, that they should be "living epistles read and known of all men," it is surely reasonable to suppose that God requires all this in the completest forms of its possible manifestation. They must give out the light clearly, but this can result only from pure hearts. The reflecting surface must be clean, free of all contamination, and then it will throw out upon the world's darkness a clear and steady light. Purity of heart, then—freedom from all sin, being just that condition in which the Christian can meet the responsibility of his present life, so far as it relates to the salvation of the world, it must be a possible attainment in this world, otherwise God has made that to be his duty, for which there is provided no adequate qualification. Sin obscures the light, and it is only when saved from it that we exemplify the purity of religion to the full extent of our responsibility. We may "walk in the light as He is in the light," but this is a life whose possibility is conditioned upon "the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleansing us from all sin." These Scriptural views of Christian obligation furnish, we think, a very strong presumption that it is the privilege of the believer, *in this life*, to be made holy.

But reasoning from the admitted fact that heaven is the inheritance of pure beings, and that being cleansed from all sin, is the clear Scriptural condition of its enjoyment, it seems to us, that if holiness be not possible in this life, it must follow, that heaven itself is an impossible attainment. The argument is brief, but conclusive. Without holiness no man shall see the Lord. But we have proved that holiness is freedom from all sin. Now, if freedom from all sin be an impossible attainment in this life, then it follows, that the highest possible attainment in grace here, falls short of the acknowledged Scriptural qualification for heaven; and that the wonderful economy of redemption fails utterly in its final cause, unless *beyond this life*, it confers a meetness for the heavenly inheritance, which it *could not* work in man while he lived on earth; thus driving us to

the alternative, of either giving up the blessed hope of eternal life, or basing it upon the figment of purgatory, or the unwarrantable dogma of broad Universalism. The position usually assumed, however, is, that at death the soul puts off its remaining corruption, and enters the presence of God purified from all sin. Giving this statement the most favorable construction, it makes death, and entire sanctification, coetaneous events in man's moral history. But even in this view there are difficulties, which in our judgment are fatal to the assumed hypothesis. If sanctification is, ex necessitate, "imperfect in *this* life," in *what* life is the work completed? "Holiness by a Divine and unalterable constitution, is a necessary preparative for heaven;"* and "the life that now is, and that which is to come," is the Scriptural admeasurement of man's whole being. If, therefore, "some remnants of corruption abide in any part"† through the whole of *this* life, when, and by what agency, are they removed, and "the necessary preparation for heaven" secured?

Not to urge here the entire want of Scriptural support for the assumption that holiness is possible only at death, we remark, that it is a hypothesis which wholly misconceives of the moral state of man, as the subject of this great work. The evil to be destroyed by a completed sanctification is sin. But this inheres not in the corporeal, but in the spiritual nature of man. None will deny this. If it were otherwise, if these "remnants of corruption," which so persistently and successfully maintain a life-long conflict with all the purifying agencies and means of salvation, had their root and being in the body, then indeed might death put the finishing stroke to our purification, by enabling us to put off at once "this tabernacle" and the sins cleaving to it. But it is far otherwise. The stain of sin is upon the soul, the inbred corruption is in the heart; and as death is only a separation of the soul and the body, it leaves the spirit as it found it, if "holy, holy still," if "filthy, filthy still."

It is to be regretted, that when the whole question is thus narrowed to a single point, all Christians could not see in the light of holy Scripture, that a work so important in itself, and so comprehensive in its results, might be wrought by the Holy Ghost, and set forth in man, as the light and the glory of his Christian life. Is it any more difficult for the omnipotent Spirit to destroy our sins than to subdue them? Is the *παλίγγενεσία* less a work of Almighty power than the *ἁγιασμός*? And if that power is adequate to create life under the very ribs of spiritual death, surely it is not the less competent to save the soul from every "remnant" of its inbred corruption.

* Shaw's Ex. of Con. of Faith, p. 168. † Con. of Faith, Art. Sanctification.

Christ urged the pertinent inquiry upon the caviling Jews, "Whether is it easier to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise and walk?" and we urge upon every objector with equal pertinence, "Whether is it easier to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee," or, "I will, BE THOU CLEAN?" Conviction for sin, godly sorrow that worketh repentance to salvation, justification by faith in Jesus, the regeneration of the soul, dominion over sin, and a capacity to love God, are conceded by all as possible attainments in this life. Why then limit "the Holy One of Israel?" Why circumscribe the Holy Ghost? On the contrary, the spiritual conquests of almighty grace, already achieved for us and in us by the Spirit of God, should be regarded as the pledge and earnest of a completed sanctification in this life, especially when we know that all is accomplished by that "mighty working, whereby Christ is able to subdue all things unto himself." This, indeed, is the beautiful order of the Divine proceeding. Whatever is done for us, is the pledge and assurance, that, if we "follow on to know the Lord," all that remains to be done will be accomplished. Just as the bud gives promise of the leaf and the flower, and these of the ripe fruit; so do all precedent acts of Divine grace give unequivocal promise of this salvation to the very uttermost. It is desirable to be holy, and the deep, unutterable longing of the soul is not a life-long mockery, but an impulse Divinely awakened, to give present faith in the inspired declaration, "Behold, NOW is the day of salvation." It is possible to be holy; for it is only by means of the great remedial plan, the reinstating of man in his lost purity, a thing most clearly of possible attainment, whenever in the order of God he will claim it, unless we can measure and limit the possible results of the atonement of Christ, and set bounds to the wonderful working of the Omnipotent Spirit. It is necessary to be holy; not only as the unalterably settled condition of inheriting eternal life, but as the only way in which man can in this life show forth the praises of Christ in the light of its required manifestation. For it is in this way only the Church can write upon the conscience of an unbelieving world the glorious truth, "*Where sin hath abounded, grace* MUCH MORE *abounds.*"

"There must be praying, there must be believing, there must be burden-bearing, there must be battling with sin, there must be a rushing out into the provinces of death, which will be impossible without the special baptism, and a Divinely sustained, elevated holiness in the Church. In a word, it is necessary that the Church should be cleansed to accomplish her mission of light, and purification, and love, and power to the world." P. 192.

It is this holiness, this cleansing from all sin, which is the great necessity of our times, nay, of all times, till time shall be no more. There must go abroad in the Church of God this Divine baptism, to

blaze on her altars, breathe in her ministry, and live in her members with a purifying efficiency. Among *us*, it must become the soul to that body, which culture, and education, and a higher social position, have given to our organized Methodism. Then will cultivated talent, and eloquent utterance, and studied preparation, with whatever else lies within the scope of possible acquisition by our ministry, all be fused, and molded into Heaven's own instrument, for flooding this dark world with the effulgent light of Christ's millennial reign.

To promote so sublime a result, the work of Dr. Peck is, in our deliberate judgment, most directly adapted. Sufficiently free from all controversy to offend none who desire to know the way of the Lord more perfectly, it is at the same time just the book to meet the present exigences of our own beloved Zion. In the true spirit of evangelism, we are looking abroad over earth's waste places, that we may enter and occupy, wherever God shall open the way. And we greatly mistake, if this volume does not make itself felt in the very ends of the earth, by the new energy it will infuse into the Church, by reawakening in it an eager hungering and thirsting after the blessing of holiness. Clear in argument, generally precise in definition, felicitous in illustration, and pressing its great conclusions upon the heart and conscience with a most fervid utterance, as well as by all the motives that are adapted to convince the judgment and arouse the spirit, we most sincerely wish that the "CENTRAL IDEA OF CHRISTIANITY" may find a place in every family, and that its proffered privileges may become the blessed experience of thousands and tens of thousands now living, and yet to live, within the visible pale of the Church of Christ. Certain we are, and we acknowledge it with gratitude to God, that our study of its pages has given breadth and clearness to our apprehensions of the great theme it discusses, while at the same time it has ministered largely to our experience of the riches of Divine grace. The broken fragments of time we have been able to snatch away from busy avocation, and devote to this book, have been rich in blessing to our own soul; and having ourselves gathered honey from the rock, we send forth our hastily expressed convictions, in the humble, prayerful hope, that what we have written may stimulate others to seek like spiritual blessing from the same source. And may the great Head of the Church hasten the time, when all who "name the name of Christ," shall live in the enjoyment of "the fullness of the blessing of the gospel of peace;" and walking in the clear light of this "central" sun, shall send abroad over the whole world the light and joy of a full, free, and perfect salvation, until "earth shall roll the rapturous hosanna round," "HALLELUIAH, THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH!"

Art. VI.—CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Christian Missions; their Principle and Practice. Westminster Review, No. XIX., Article 1.

The Westminster Review for July contains an elaborate article entitled, "*Christian Missions; their Principle and Practice.*" Attracted by the caption of the article, we sat down to its perusal, being assured, from the semi-infidel character of the Review, that we should find something novel at least, if not instructive, both in the presentation and treatment of the subject. Nor were we disappointed in our impression; for though the reviewer has given at the head of his article a long list of books and periodicals, embracing the subject of missions, yet he has scarcely noticed some of them, and from others he has taken the most improbable statements for facts. In the very outset we were forcibly impressed with the saying attributed to Talleyrand, that language was invented for the purpose of enabling one to conceal his thoughts; a saying which sometimes applies with great force, particularly to written language. What, for instance, we are to understand by "there always having been a steady condition in the general mind of sympathy with the disinterested and holy," we are totally at a loss to conjecture, unless we find the explanation in a subsequent expression to this effect, "disinterestedness is eternally beautiful and pious, self-sacrifice is above all things solemn. In the infinitely inferior case of the anchorite going out into the desert, or of men entering a convent where the sacrifice is ostensibly made for self and not for others, it is impossible for the most clear-sighted moralist, and the most experienced philosopher, not to feel interested and touched." We opine, however, that instead of the above being an elucidation, the reader will feel that the fog becomes more dense, and the mind still more bewildered in its efforts to find out the writer's meaning. However, we will let this pass, and proceed to an examination of the article under consideration.

The most casual reader will at once discover that the object of the reviewer was evidently to write down Christian missions; for though he professes to see double cause for pronouncing them "venerable and beautiful for their object, and the spirit in which men go forth to accomplish it," yet, he would have his readers believe that they are not only of doubtful utility, but are, in fact, demoralizing in their tendency, and destructive of human happiness as well as human life. He informs us that the missionary enter-

prise was originated in the belief, that the heathen were in danger of damnation, and to rescue as many as possible from perdition was the simple object of all missions, from those of the Roman Catholics, whose converts were baptized with besoms, to the latest expeditions sent out by the London Missionary Societies. We are told, however, that there are exceptions to this general principle; as some Christians, such as, for instance, the American Congregationalists, English Unitarians, and some liberal German Protestants, who do not believe in the damnation of heathens on account of their ignorance, but whose object is to raise them out of an idolatrous state of corruption of morals, and bring them into a state of Christian civilization.

"When we consider," says the reviewer, "that the Jesuits and other Romanists, the Wesleyans and other Protestants, have always believed this [that is, the damnation of the heathen] without a shadow of a doubt or a dream of hesitation, there remains nothing to wonder at in their going forth to the ends of the earth to toil, and suffer, and die for the salvation of souls." He then proceeds to show that the efforts to save human beings from eternal torment, instead of being directed to their elevation in a civilized point of view, have been unsuccessful, and for that very reason. The whole drift of the review goes upon the assumption that civilization must precede Christianization, and that by the preaching of the Gospel, men cannot be saved from savage barbarism, and elevated to the enjoyment of a civilized state of society. The ax must not at once be laid to the root of the tree of human depravity, old customs and habits cannot and must not be broken up by the plowshare of Gospel truth, but there must be an accommodation to the prejudices and settled customs of the people, otherwise what is intended, however kindly, as the means of their salvation, will only and necessarily result in their destruction. The philosophy of the reviewer, so far as the *modus* of heathen salvation is concerned, seems to be that they are to be gradually educated up to the point of civilization, and thus introduced into the belief and practice of Christianity, a plan which utterly ignores all idea of supernatural influence. The omnipotent agency of the Holy Spirit, adequate as it is to change the deepest and most inveterate depravity, even to the production of a new and pure creation out of the most base material, is entirely lost sight of. According to this theory, time-honored customs, no matter how corrupt and degrading, must not be assailed; but a system of appliances must be resorted to of a mere political or social and physical nature, for the purpose of changing a degraded barbarian into a Christian; otherwise, we are gravely told, the heathen

will not and cannot be civilized. If this be good philosophy, then the policy of Roman Catholic missions was the most wisely adapted to this object; for, according to the reviewer's own showing, the heathens were allowed by Catholic missionaries to retain their customs, and worship their gods and goddesses under new names, and the juggleries of heathen priests were only displaced by the miracles and mummeries of the Roman priesthood. If all that rationalists and infidels hope for or even desire in changing the condition of the heathen can be accomplished by such means, is it not strange that they have not been "raised out of an idolatrous state of corruption of morals, and brought into a state of Christian civilization?" But what has been the result of this system of conversion or civilization? According to the reviewer's own statement, nearly, if not quite all of the heathen nations converted through the influence of Romanism, have relapsed again into barbarism, and their last state is worse than the first; for in addition to the degradation of their native barbaric state, contact with the civilized has superinduced vices and crimes to which they were originally strangers, and which have operated most fearfully in their destruction, threatening almost their total extinction. He cites the wonderful triumph of Jesuit missions in Paraguay, commenced upward of two hundred years ago, and which resulted in the establishment of thirty missions, and the conversion of one hundred thousand, and then, after the labors of a hundred years, he asks, "What are its fruits? Where thousands on thousands lived, now hundreds are not to be found, and those who remain have gone back to a savage state." And again, where in India, Francis Xavier and his colleagues baptized millions, and in Japan, where the Jesuits claimed half the population as their converts, now nothing but desolation reigns. At one time the followers of Loyola boasted of millions of converts in China, but the late emperor has issued an edict against the Jesuit missionaries, on the ground that he owed it to his people to guard them against the contagion of a religion so depraving to the morals as the Christian. The same might be said of the missions established by the Jesuits among the various Indian tribes of North America. Where, upward of a hundred years ago, they could boast extensive and flourishing missions on the shores of the Northern lakes, and embracing numerous points in the Mississippi Valley, extending to California and Oregon, comprising thousands upon thousands of baptized converts, their own historians write a sad tale of defeat and desolation.

The results of Roman Catholic missions among the heathen, everywhere demonstrate most clearly and satisfactorily the utter

absurdity of the position assumed by the reviewer, that civilization must precede Christianity, or, in other words, that Christian civilization cannot be effected by a direct attempt to change the customs and habits of the people. It has been the settled policy of the Roman Church not to interfere with the peculiar views, prejudices, customs, and habits of the people it seeks to bring within her pale, be they civilized or savage; hence she only requires submission to the ordinance of baptism, and external recognition of the pope, as the head of the Church, and throws her broad mantle over Jansenists, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Redemptorists, and others, embracing the greatest variety of faith and forms. The "old woman of Japan," who found it so difficult to adopt the new religion, and who invoked the god Armida one hundred and forty thousand times a day, was only required to use the name of the Virgin Mary instead; and the Indians of North America were only required to believe in Jesus Christ, as a great warrior chieftain who had gone with his trophies to the hunting-grounds beyond the great river. From first to last, popery was a religion of accommodation adapting itself to every phase of idolatrous worship, coming nowhere roughly into contact with the habits and customs of the nations among whom they sought to establish their missions, and this accounts alike for the success and failure of her missions.

If we are to believe the reviewer, the results of Protestant missions, so far as civilization and the improvement of the social condition of the heathen are concerned, have been but little better. Though it is admitted that Protestant missionaries embarked in their enterprise in the full belief that "idolatry is of devilish incitement, and even that devils themselves are in some cases idols, and that thus the worship of heathen gods comprehends at once treason and blasphemy, and leads inevitably to hell fire;" though they did not, for the purpose of supplanting their devil worship and conciliating their prejudices, substitute other gods, yet have they resorted to an equally exceptionable mode of conversion, without the achievement of any more favorable results. Finding it impracticable, if not impossible, to overthrow paganism, as it was accomplished in the Roman empire, in the reign of Theodosius, when, by a vote of the Roman Senate, Jupiter was dethroned and Christianity inaugurated in his stead, and preserving the interests of the people in their superstitious worship by keeping up a perpetual show of miracles, through the influence of the bones of dead saints and martyrs, the missionaries of modern times have resorted to other means. The reviewer tells us, that notwithstanding the disgust of the obstinate pagans in Rome at the exhibition of salted and pickled hearts and limbs

offered as objects of adoration, instead of noble statues, and the unbloody sacrifice of the mass instead of their old sacrificial rites, yet the transfer of names, through the power and prevalence of Christianity, was finally accomplished, and the multitudes were separated from their idols more effectually than the pagans of our day have yet been, in the course of one generation.

But what, we ask, avails such a Christianity? If there was no radical change effected in the minds and hearts of the pagans, and all the conversion consisted in a change of idols and a transfer of names, we are totally at a loss to conceive how there was any change in their religion, or any bettering of their condition. We are informed, that even this proved in the end a failure, as the pagans have gone back to their original idols, and invoke the "dear remembered names" of their ancient gods. Whatever was the result, one thing is certain, such a system cannot produce a genuine Christianity, and the world has yet to present an example of a civilization deserving the name, where pure Christianity does not underlie the whole fabric of society. It is the life, and health, and activity of the world, "the salt of the earth," and its pure and undefiled power must be felt, or stagnation, corruption, and death must inevitably ensue.

This form of Christianity (indeed, none other deserves the name) belongs to Protestantism, and we affirm that wherever Protestant missions have been legitimately established, and properly carried on, we mean where they have been conducted in accordance with the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they have never failed to bring the heathen "from darkness to light," break the power of sin in their hearts, and exalt them to a social state to which no mongrel religion ever had, or ever will have, power to elevate them.

The reviewer would have us believe, that Protestant missionaries have to send their messengers round to flog the common people into the churches; and that they know, notwithstanding, that not only are old practices continued under the disguise of a feigned and forced profession, "but that in the forests and ravines, where sedate preachers and their timid wives cannot penetrate, the dear old gods are caressed more than ever, and charming familiar festivals are enjoyed more than ever, on the principle that 'stolen pleasures are sweetest.'" It is assumed by the reviewer, that the first modern missions were constructed upon the principle, that the rulers of heathen nations were to be approached first, and through them the people were to be reached; and that, acting upon this principle, the first missionaries presented themselves, as embassadors, to kings and princes, who, having inducements of foreign alliance and other good results, which

would follow their adoption of the new religion, would by royal proclamation require their subjects to embrace the faith. "Tattooed kings and cannibal princes of the blood royal," we are told, "are first sought, their vices vailed, and their caprices borne with, that by these means, the kingdom of heaven might gain some of their subjects. Of old, the miracle-working priests, who shamed the Druids, made themselves agreeable to the kings and petty states of the Island of Britain; and in our time, Protestant secretaries from England have made much of a drunken Pomare, because he was a king; and American missionaries at Liberia have concealed the sufferings of the helpless imported inhabitants at the bidding of those who sent them; the object being to sustain the pride of caste, and that a more detestable institution of caste than any missionary ever found ready to his hand, is actually introduced by modern methods of Christianizing the heathen." In support of this astounding declaration, he quotes the following from Melville's Narrative:

"Readers of reports are led to infer that the arts and customs of civilized life are rapidly refining the natives of the Sandwich Islands. But let no one be deceived by these accounts. The chiefs swagger about in gold lace and broad cloth, while the great mass of the common people are nearly as primitive in their appearance as in the days of Cook. In the progress of events at these islands, the two classes are receding from each other; the chiefs are daily becoming more luxurious and extravagant in their style of living, and the common people more and more destitute of the necessaries and decencies of life. But the end to which both will arrive at last will be the same. The one are fast destroying themselves by sensual indulgences, and the other are fast *being* destroyed by a complication of disorders, and the want of wholesome food. The resources of the domineering chiefs are wrung from the starving serfs, and every additional bawble with which they bedeck themselves, is purchased by the suffering of their bondmen, so that the measure of gew-gaw refinement attained by the chiefs, is only an index to the actual degradation in which the greater part of the population lie groveling. Neat villas, trim gardens, shaven lawns, spires and cupolas arise, while the poor savage soon finds himself an interloper in the country of his fathers, and that, too, on the very site of the hut where he was born. The spontaneous fruits of the earth, which God in his wisdom had ordained for the support of the indolent natives, remorselessly seized upon and appropriated by the stranger, are devoured before the eyes of the starving inhabitants, or sent on board the numerous vessels which touch at their shores. When the famished wretches are cut off in this manner from their natural supplies, they are told by their benefactors to work and earn their support by the sweat of their brows. Not," says Melville, "until I reached Honolulu, was I aware of the fact, that the small remnant of the natives had been civilized into draught horses, and evangelized into beasts of burden. But so it is. They have been literally broken into the traces, and are harnessed to the vehicles of their spiritual instructors like so many dumb brutes."

The author then proceeds to describe what he says he saw of this species of evangelization, as he calls it, in which he speaks of a missionary's wife, "robust and red faced," in a cart drawn by an old gray-headed man and a boy, upon whose skulls, when they did not

pull well, she liberally applied the heavy handle of her huge fan. At the spacious and elegant American Chapel, where Divine service is held twice every Sabbath, he says: "Toward the close of the exercises, may be seen a score or two of little wagons ranged along the railing in front of the edifice, with two squalid native footmen, in the livery of nakedness, standing by each, and waiting for the dismission of the congregation, to draw their superiors home."

It is important in the consideration of all statements affecting the character of the Church of Jesus Christ, as well as those which involve any of its branches, to ascertain, in the very first place, how far they are entitled to credence. We do not feel disposed to imitate the Roman Catholic Church, who, when any of her errors or corruptions are pointed out, takes refuge under the cry of persecution. However malignant the spirit that prompts an individual to make statements derogatory to the Church or the principles of Christianity, or however unfairly he may array and obviously pervert what may have the semblance of facts, we should be able to follow him through all the tortuous windings of his speculations, assumptions, and inferences, and present the truth in all its aspects. We opine, however, that something more than the *ipse dixit* of a fugitive Polynesian voyager will be necessary to convince any unprejudiced mind that what the reviewer affirms in regard to the principle upon which modern Protestant missions is constructed, and the manner in which they are conducted, is in accordance with the facts in the case. Those who obtain their testimony in relation to the nature and operation of Christian missions from the enemies of Christianity, or, at best, from speculators on the outposts of civilization who enjoy the blessings of civilization, and are beyond the reach of its laws, will hardly be considered as fair exponents of the system; and however learned or elaborate their dissertations, they will be received with the caution that characterizes the reception of apocryphal writings. If the charges, or a tithe of them, involved in the above statements in relation to the measures resorted to by modern missionaries, were true, none would be more ready than the writer of this article to denounce them as unworthy the spirit of the Gospel, and wholly incompatible with the principles of Christianity. The kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and no embassador of Christ has any warrant or authority for the formation of any alliance with the kings and princes of the earth, as a means of effecting the conversion of their people. The Gospel goes in its uncompromising character to kings and subjects alike, and requires repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, of all, without respect of persons. Its design is to merge all distinctions, having no regard

to country, caste, or color, and to constitute a great brotherhood of man. In the Church of Christ "there is neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond, nor free," but all are one in Christ. No mission can sustain its *Christian* character for a moment that ignores this great fundamental principle, and we are fully persuaded that all evangelical Protestant denominations are constructed upon this principle, and that a corresponding line of policy controls their operations. We say all *evangelical* Protestant denominations; indeed, we need not have been thus specific, for no other than such as believe in the teaching of the Gospel in regard to the native sinfulness of man, and his consequent exposure to everlasting death, are found engaging in missions. With such a belief we may wonder that so little is done for the salvation of the perishing millions of heathen lands, but without it we could not conceive how any efforts, involving, as they do, such great sacrifices, would be made at all.

Roman Catholic missions did not fail because they were constructed upon the belief of the sin and danger of the heathen, but the system of recovery which they adopted was not only not in accordance with the New Testament doctrine of depravity and its deserts, but contrary to and subversive thereof. They not only effectually ignored the operations of the Spirit in producing conviction through the word, but its work in converting the soul, and substituting therefor a mere physical regeneration through the sacraments, as the system of infidelity itself, which would look, if it looked at all practically to the elevation of the heathen, at a system which would not interfere with their religion or customs, rites and ceremonies. Infidels do not believe in revelation, and hence they reject the idea that man, either in an enlightened or barbarous state, is in a depraved and lost condition. In the language of Emerson, they believe that the nearer mankind approach a primitive state, the more pure and virtuous they are; hence all departures from savageism and approximation to civilization and refinement produce a deterioration of morals. The reviewer gravely tells us, that there is a genuine faith at the root of cannibalism and other pagan observances. He would have us believe that Protestant missionaries, by awakening thought and creating faith in Christianity in the heathen mind, not only have a tendency to destroy peace and happiness, but that "brotherly love and social harmony" instantly take their flight at the introduction of the Gospel; and not only so, but the introduction of religious customs in the place of heathen rites and festivities, has been the most frightfully destructive of human life. Were the principles of infidelity embodied in an organization, and an effort made to carry them out, we should have missionaries in the very

centers of religion and civilization, calling the people away from their schools as well as their churches, obliterating the Sabbath, burning down the temples of worship, destroying the Bible, and abolishing all the institutions of Christianity. This has already been tried, but never was a failure so signal. Truth crushed to earth rose again in all her majesty and triumphed over error. Christianity is ordained by Heaven to achieve a victory over all error and sin. The Christian may unite with the apostle and say, "Thanks be unto God, who always maketh us to triumph in Christ." The Gospel system, legitimately carried out, will always prove the God-appointed instrumentality of man's salvation. Its course, however, must be free. It must be brought directly to the heart and conscience of men, and where the contact is direct and the "incorruptible seed" is allowed to take root undisturbed by priests and ceremonies, it invariably accomplishes "that for which it is sent," namely, the salvation of the soul. Roman Catholic missions, having the best conceivable advantages, with the most complete organization, the sanction of kings and the wealth of empires, have failed in their experiment to convert the heathen, because, and for no other reason, they would not allow the "Gospel free course," but added to its pure and simple teachings the "doctrines and commandments of men," thus making it of none effect by their tradition. Protestant missions, without these advantages, unconnected with the State, without the *prestige* of royalty, and without a treasury, having no resources but such as spring voluntarily from hearts burdened with the love of souls, have gone out to the conquest of the world unattended and alone, save by the word and Spirit of God, and so far from proving a failure, have achieved results astounding even to the minds of the most sanguine and hopeful.

In regard to the decadence of the heathen, the reviewer says, there is an exhibition of mortality without a parallel. We have given to us a statement of the mortality in the Pacific Islands, and particularly in Tahiti, which in 1777 contained a population of two hundred thousand, but which now, according to the report of the missionaries, contains only a population of about eight thousand. In the Sandwich Islands, including the whole group, there was a population of four hundred thousand; but now it is estimated that there are only about sixty-five thousand; and it is confidently predicted that the Hawaiian nation is near its end, and asserted that the missionaries who promised them life have brought them death, and that soon the heathen, under the operation of Christianity, will become extinct. If these things be true in relation to the decadence of the Tahiti, Marquesas, and Sandwich Islands, and they

perhaps are in the main correct, we beg leave to differ from the reviewer in regard to the causes which have produced them. We do not for one moment believe, nor are we prepared to give the slightest credence to the assumptions of the reviewer, that this mortality is to be attributed to Christianity; so far from it, it is our firm conviction that it would have been vastly greater if Christianity had not been introduced among them, and the probability is that they would by this time have been almost if not entirely depopulated. We believe that, as a necessary concomitant of the salvation of the soul, the life of the body has been preserved. All missionaries testify that infanticide prevailed to an alarming degree among the Pacific Islanders, and that the children were mostly destroyed before they were born, by means the most startling and revolting, while multitudes were murdered after their birth. Polygamy, instead of increasing the population by the multiplication of wives, only increases the number of murders. It requires but little sagacity to see that heathenism never could people the earth; Christianity alone gives sacredness to human life, and creates principles, motives, and energies, which tend to the preservation of the race. The heathen will melt away and become extinct, unless the soul-saving, life-preserving influences of Christianity are brought to bear upon them. So long as they remain heathen, their infanticide, murderous wars, and human sacrifices, will eventually terminate their existence. The causes which existed before the missionary landed on heathen shores, were of themselves sufficient to have wrought in the end their destruction. For apart from those which originated with their native depravity, and which sprang up spontaneously as poisonous weeds from stagnant marshes; straggling sailors from exploring and trading vessels introduced their vices, and infected them with disease; and, besides, these causes have been kept in operation, increasing every year with the increase of the commerce of the world. The missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, particularly, have been laboring hard to arrest the operation of these fearful causes, and roll back the tide of corruption which has been pouring upon those shores for the last half century; and though they have much to discourage them, yet they discern a constant though slow progress of regeneration among a people once the lowest sunk in intellectual and moral degradation. It is perfectly obvious that much as the sin of licentiousness prevails, it is not by any means what it once was. The climate and soil have much to do in forming the habits and character of a people, and these must not be lost sight of in making up a judgment in relation to the condition of the heathen. We are disposed, perhaps, too readily to expect more from

heathen converts than their condition and circumstances would justify. They can at best be but "babes in Christ," and it will take long years of religious training to develop a Christian manhood. However sudden may be the transition from darkness to light, from a state of sin and rebellion to a state of grace and obedience, yet the transition from heathenism to Christianity is a progressive work, both for the individual and the nation. They must be taken as they are, and under the influence of the Gospel made what they should be, and yet, after all is done, we must not expect them to come up to the standard of perfect Christians. Where much has been given, much will be required; but it is an equally Divine truth, that where little has been given, but little will be required. All the world over, among the most enlightened and Christian as well as savage and barbarous nations, we find circumstances giving and molding human character. In the temperate zone we find industry, intelligence, and virtue to be a general characteristic of the people; while in a tropical climate indolence, ignorance, and vice usually prevail. This difference is not to be found in a difference of nature, for human nature is the same everywhere, but is to be attributed to the climate. It cannot be, under the government of a righteous God, that they hold the same relation in the scale of accountability.

Before closing this article, we wish to call attention to a few facts in relation to the results of modern missions. And first, we affirm, without the fear of valid contradiction, that evangelical missions established within the last half century in different parts of the earth, and the islands of the sea, have not only demonstrated the fact that the heathen can be converted through the agency of the Gospel alone, but that in the very heart of heathenism a high state of civilization has taken place through this instrumentality. The history of the planting of the Gospel in Greenland, by the Moravian missionaries in the year 1733, shows conclusively, that not only can the heathen be converted through the simple agency of a preached Gospel, but that all other means, embracing the system advocated by the reviewer, of educating or indoctrinating them into a state of preparedness for the reception of the Gospel, are unavailing. The results of thirty-eight Protestant missionary societies in Europe and America, show what has been accomplished in the conversion of the heathen. The present number of converts, as far as ascertained, falls little short of two hundred and fifty thousand, and the number of youth receiving religious instruction, from which the most hopeful results are expected to follow, amounts to nearly two hundred thousand more. These societies have missions in successful operation in Western, Southern, Eastern, and Central Africa, the Levant, In-

dia, Ceylon, China, Siam, Burmah, the Indian Archipelago, Australia, Polynesia, among the North American Indians, in Greenland and Labrador, the West Indies, and Guiana; and although as much has not been accomplished as is desirable, yet the enterprise has been attended with a success, under the blessing of God, which evidently shows that Christian missions are not a failure. A work of preparation has been going steadily forward for the last fifty years, during which time the miners and sappers have been laboring with heaven-directed efforts; and "though the vision tarry, in the end it will come," and the strong fortresses of paganism and infidelity alike will be razed to their foundations. We confidently anticipate the approach of the time when "a nation will be born in a day," when "the North shall give up and the South keep not back, and all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest." The Churches of Christ have every encouragement to go on in the work of missions, notwithstanding the howl of infidelity; and instead of relaxing their efforts or withholding their contributions, to increase both a hundredfold, being assured of a final triumph in filling the earth with the knowledge and love of God.

A volume might be filled with most interesting statistics, illustrating the progress of missions in all parts of the heathen world. The mission to the Friendly Islands has been so successful under the labors of Methodist missionaries, that the nation has been converted, and the whole population, from the king, who is a local preacher, down to the lowest subject, attend the Wesleyan ministry. These islands are one hundred and fifty in number, and have all been redeemed by the power of Christianity. The Sandwich Islands are so far Christianized that idolatry has been abolished. The islanders have themselves originated a mission to Micronesia, and sent to them a Sandwich Island missionary, and nothing but the most stolid infidelity can fail to see that the condition of the population in every respect is infinitely better than it was thirty years ago.

Art. VII.—HIBBARD ON THE PSALMS.

The Psalms Chronologically arranged, with Historical Introductions, and a General Introduction to the whole Book. By F. G. Hibbard. In two Parts. 8vo., pp. 589. New-York: Carlton & Porter. 1856.

"The Psalms," says Bishop Horne, (following Athanasius,) "are an epitome of the Bible, adapted to the purposes of devotion." The definition is at once apt and exhaustive. The great facts in the history of mankind and of the Church—the creation of the world, when the morning stars sang together; the beauty of Eden, with its happiness and sorrow; the shepherd lives of the patriarchal era; the woes and wonders of the Egyptian thraldom; the blind wanderings of the Syrian desert, with its miracles, its rebellions, and its fearful sufferings; the settlement in Canaan; the building of the city of God; the splendors and the sins of the kings of Judah and Israel—all these are recited in a strain higher than the "divine song of Troy," and with a freshness of imagery, a fire of noble passion, a wealth of tenderness and love that no uninspired Homer ever reached. Nor is this the only, or chief cause which has made this book in all ages the joy, the glory, and the solace of the Church. It sings not only of the past, but also, under the inspiration from on high, it paints, in words, indeed, but in words instinct with quickening fire, the after glory of the Church of the future; the royal magnificence of "David's greater Son;" the throne and the scepter that are to abide forever; the perpetual priest, anointed with the oil of gladness; the majestic sorrows of the crucifixion; the triumphant victory of the resurrection; and the final conquests of Messiah, establishing his dominion from sea to sea, bringing the kings of the earth to fall before him, and the nations to serve him, sending forth his name to the end of the world; the name that is to endure "as long as the sun;" the name in which all men are to be blessed; the name that is to be above every name forever and forever.

No wonder, then, that the fathers almost exhaust the language of eulogy in their praises of the Psalms; that Basil calls the book a "perfect theology;" that the early Church, following St. Paul, (Eph. v, 19,) adopted the chanting of the Psalms as part of the Christian worship; that to learn them by heart has been thought a necessary preparation for the work of the ministry; that the monks and cenobites of the darker age were only surpassed by the Luthers and Melancthons of the Reformation in their love of these sacred

songs. And to this day, the Christian Church finds in them the best expression of her highest moods of rapture, and of her lowest depths of sorrow; of her strongest sense of faith, and of her brightest hours of hope. There is a Psalter for every language in which Christ is worshiped.

Nor is it any wonder that commentaries, versions, paraphrases, and writings of every class upon the Psalms, have been multiplied almost infinitely. The interpreter of the Scriptures can propose to himself no task more attractive than to throw light upon this inspired anthology; none more promising of rich results than to open new veins in this unfailing mine. In the Jewish schools there are many comments and glosses upon the Psalms; the early Christian literature abounds with homilies, expositions, and commentaries; and to this day, the critical student cannot neglect Origen, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. In the later ages the number increases indefinitely; in every commentary upon the entire Scriptures there is, of course, an exposition of the Psalms; and besides these, some writers have taken up the poetical books of the Bible, and others the Psalter alone, as a separate and peculiar study. It would require more space than we can devote to this entire article, merely to enumerate the titles of these books, or to give even the briefest comments upon all that are worthy of notice; we therefore only name a few of the most important.

Among the best of them is *Venema's* "Commentarius ad Psalmos," (1762–67; 6 vols., 4to.) Indeed, Dr. Clarke tersely remarks, that "there is none like it." In English there is no thoroughly good exposition. *Horne's* "Commentary on the Book of Psalms," (Oxford: 1766; 2 vols., 8vo. New-York: Carters,) has passed through many editions, and is not yet superseded by any book on the Psalms written in English, especially in spiritual and devotional remarks. In point of criticism, it is now of comparatively little value. Bishop *Horsley's* "Translation of the Book of Psalms, with Notes," (London: 1815; 2 vols., 8vo.,) is marked by the singular acuteness that characterizes all the writings of that distinguished prelate; but he is not at all reliable, either for criticism or exposition. We have not seen *French and Skinner's* "Translation of the Book of Psalms, with Notes," (London: 1830; 8vo.,) but it is spoken of by the Eclectic Review as one of the best contributions yet made toward a really satisfactory commentary.

Among the more recent works, we have only to mention *Hengstenberg's* "Commentary," (Edinburgh: Clarke's Library, 3 vols., 8vo.,) and *Alexander's* "Commentary on the Psalms." The former is very full and minute, ample in learning, and profuse even to ex-

cess, both in dissertation and illustration. Hengstenberg is himself in this, as in all his works; industrious and careful, but one-sided, pragmatical, and illiberal. Keeping these faults in mind, the student can use his work to great advantage; indeed, it is indispensable to the theological library. Dr. Alexander's Commentary is founded, to some extent, on Hengstenberg's, but is in all respects a better book; not so formally critical, yet grounded throughout upon a scientific study of the text, and working it out in the exposition with far more clearness and aptness..

Works on the Psalms abound in the German language, and some of them have distinguished merits; but it is not to our purpose now to speak of them. The latest is *Hupfeld's* "Translation and Commentary," (*Die Psalmen übersetzt und ausgelegt*, Gotha, 1855,) of which but one volume has yet appeared, and which is spoken of in very high terms by Continental and English critics.

The work named at the head of this article cannot be classed with any of those mentioned above, for although it serves in many respects the place of a commentary, its aim is primarily very different. Its purpose is to put the reader (not merely the critical, but the common reader) in a position to understand the Book of Psalms, by collecting from all sources the information *essential* to such an understanding, and exhibiting it in a clear and commodious form, by way of introductions to the Psalms, not by notes upon them. To quote Dr. Hibbard's own language, the great idea of the work is "comprehended in the fact, that it is *an attempt to place the reader in exact sympathy with the author of each Psalm at the time of writing*. In order to this, the reader must first be placed in the real circumstances of the sacred lyrist. He must know who he is, where he is, what is his external condition, what his internal exercises, and what the occasion and design of his writing. In this way he naturally glides into the spirit, drift, and sentiment of the Psalm. This method of studying the Psalms, when judiciously pursued, supplies the most important of all human helps to an understanding of their scope, their beauty, and their power."

The following passage sets forth more at large, and with great propriety and beauty of language, the scope of the work:

"It may be said of the Hebrew poets, as of those of all other nations, that the interpretation of their poetry is less dependent on verbal criticism, than on sympathy with the feelings of the author, knowledge of his circumstances, and attention to the scope and drift of his utterances. You must place yourself in his condition, adopt his sentiments, and be floated onward with the current of his feelings, soothed by his consolations, or agitated by the storm of his emotions. Your attention is directed less to words than to things. The meaning of the author is to be determined, less by an appeal to the niceties of philol-

ogy, than by the general scope. The understanding is not supposed to labor hard, and the effect of the piece is not the result of its propositions reduced to logical formulas, or of the meaning of its several words carefully measured by the *usus loquendi*, or of the separate sentences grammatically analyzed, but of the rhetorical embellishment which adorns, and the inspiration which quickens its transparent truths. It is hence that the best preparation for reading any particular Psalm, (so far as mere mental effort is concerned, and supposing the individual to be already somewhat familiar with the Hebrew idiom —which every careful reader of our English Bible must be—and imbued with a general sympathy with the Hebrew mind,) is to acquaint himself with all that knowledge of the Psalm which is simply external to the text itself. In technical language, he should read an introduction to the Psalm, and a syllabus of its argument, before reading the Psalm. Then, if his heart is in sympathy with the devout piety of the Psalmist, he will readily glide into the same channel, and receive the sum total of the beauty and moral effect of the Psalm.

"Philological works on the Psalms, like the learned and excellent volumes of Prof. Hengstenberg and Dr. Alexander, are important, just as the anatomist's labors are necessary to comprehend the structure and normal forces of the animal system; but if we wish to contemplate the beauty and proportions of the grand whole, and observe its living adaptations to practical life—if we would derive profit from the operation of these primal forces, thus analytically laid open by the dissector's knife, or pleasure to ourselves in our association with them—we must take them in another form, synthetically arranged, and clothed and animated with their living beauties. For purposes of devout reading and practical use, the Psalms should be taken as a whole, in their entireness. Each Psalm, when read with a simple view to practical effect, should be read continuously, without interruption of other topics or other investigations, and a general preparation to enter into the spirit and design of the Psalm, should be previously attained by the help of a judicious introduction. Philological and analytical study of the sacred text is necessary, in order to attain a more perfect translation, and to appreciate more fully the idiom, import, and point of the original; but they cannot well be pursued at the same time that the Psalms are read for spiritual and devotional purposes. The object of the present work, is to make the Psalms a more profitable reading-book, by assisting the reader to enter more fully into their general spirit and their scope."—Pp. 12, 13.

No intelligent student of the Scriptures can fail to perceive the eminent excellence of this aim; and a glance at the method of the book will show that its execution is equally excellent. The *object* is to put the Psalms into the hands of the reader, for daily or devotional study, in such a shape that, without referring to other books, he can grasp the meaning of the inspired song, by apprehending its historical occasion, its original application, in a word, all its external relations. The *plan* pursued by Dr. Hibbard is,

1. *To arrange the Psalms in chronological order as far as possible.* The difficulty of this task is very great; so many elements of the problem are wanting that the best solution can be only an approximate one. In the ordinary arrangement of the Psalms in our printed Bibles, it is difficult to detect any order whatever, either with reference to chronology or to matter. The Jews divide the entire Psalter into five parts; but although there is a slight internal

ground for this arrangement, it appears to have no practical value. By whom the collection was made is uncertain; the most probable theory is that which ascribes the work to Ezra and his cotemporaries, (about B. C. 450.) But, even admitting that the arrangement of the present Psalter was made by Ezra, we agree with Dr. Hibbard that it is "assuming too much to suppose, with Dr. Alexander, that the 'authority' 'of his particular design or plan,' with regard to their arrangement, is 'infallible.' We do not suppose that the plan and order in which a particular book may reach us, is to be admitted upon equal authority with the claims of its subject-matter to inspiration; indeed, we cannot suppose it without admitting that the Holy Spirit purposely disarranges chronology. The chronology of many of the books of Scripture needs adjusting; Isaiah and Jeremiah, for instance, are often complicated and perplexed in their present arrangement. It certainly is not the best method of studying Scripture, to take the several books and sections out of their natural order; and we are left to the conclusion that such disarrangements must result from casualties or human ignorance, and are no part of the design of the Holy Spirit, either to dictate or prevent."

In making his arrangement, Dr. Hibbard has made free use of Townsend's Chronological Bible, but has deviated from its order in many instances, on substantial critical grounds. The arrangement thus obtained is far preferable to Calmet's, or, indeed, to any other that we have seen.

2. The next feature of Dr. Hibbard's plan is to *set forth, in a brief introduction to each Psalm, its authorship and the circumstances under which it was written.* The importance of this kind of knowledge to a proper understanding of the Psalms is thus set forth by our author:

"The Bible, whether in its historical or poetical parts, is 'Religion teaching by example.' It describes real characters and real events, and illustrates the active and passive virtues—the operation of the reason, the affections, and the volitions of man, under the varied conditions of actual life. This is peculiarly the case in the Book of Psalms. David, for instance, speaks his own feelings—his joys, his sorrows, his faith, his purposes, his love to God, in all the circumstances of his eventful history. Here is no ideal character presented, but a living man, speaking his real thoughts and feelings. By the wisdom of God, his exercises have been taken and recorded as an example for the instruction, comfort, and admonition of all believers in all subsequent time. The same is true of each author of the Psalms. The moment we retrieve the Psalms from the character of mere products of the imagination, and invest them with the realities of history, so far as to regard them as the exponents of the personal experiences of their authors, that moment we perceive that the personal history of each author at the time of writing, is a legitimate and very important part of a relevant introduction to the particular Psalm, and we feel, very prop-

erly, desirous to know who the author was, where he was at the time of writing, and what were the circumstances which gave rise to his peculiar feelings, and which gave general form, scope, and coloring to the Psalm. The total worth of David's character can never be appreciated, but by connecting the historical events of his life with the Psalms to which those events gave birth; and, on the other hand, those Psalms can never be fully apprehended in their beauty and power, disconnected from the personal experiences of the author. It were easy to illustrate the truthfulness of these remarks, by citations and examples from the Psalms; but the following work, we apprehend, will sufficiently verify to the reader what is here stated. How apposite are the words of the learned De Wette: 'We approve of the labors of modern interpreters, who have endeavored, by the aid of history, to refer the Psalms to the *situation* of the author, by which they were occasioned, and in which they were composed, and to make this the ground of their exposition. In fact, it is impossible that *any* feeling or emotion should be rightly and fully comprehended, without some knowledge of the individual who expresses it, in his distinct personality, and in his relations to the objects which have occasioned it. It is only by such a knowledge one is placed in a situation to sympathize in the emotion expressed, and to enter fully into the soul of the poet.'"—Pp. 14, 15.

It is not to be supposed that the historical occasions of the Psalms can in all cases be ascertained with exactness; after all the study and research spent upon the subject, we are still left to conjecture as to many of them. Dr. Hibbard has made full use of the labors of his predecessors in this field, and the reader of his book will find summed up for his use sometimes in a page, sometimes in less space, the results of many men's labors, which would otherwise have to be sought for in scattered and bulky folios. His method of procedure, in each case, is, first, to examine the Psalm itself carefully, and ascertain what internal light it affords, as to the circumstances of the author at the time of writing, and as to the history of the period. The second source of information is the title or superscription of the Psalm. The opinions of commentators differ greatly as to the authenticity and value of these superscriptions. Many of the ancient commentators consider them of equal authority with the Psalms themselves; and, among the moderns, Tholuck and Hengstenberg assume their correctness and genuineness. Dr. Hibbard's confidence in them does not extend so far; his instinct of historical criticism (a quality which no judicious reader will fail to accord to him) allows him to concede to the title an authority in fixing the date and occasion of a Psalm, only where such title contains a historical allusion, and is corroborated, or at least not contradicted, by other evidence, internal or collateral. His further procedure is thus aptly stated in his own words:

"If the title furnish no light, and the internal spirit, or external allusions of the Psalm, are distinct and positive, intimating the author, his condition and circumstances, his place and time of writing, we then turn naturally to the history of the Hebrew people, or of the individual author, at the time thus in-

dicated, with a view to compare the actual facts of history with the tone, spirit, and allusions of the Psalm. If the correspondence fail here, the want of evidence is decisive. It sometimes occurs that, in the absence of special historic allusions, there is a tone and spirit to the Psalm that indicates unerringly the general condition of the Psalmist at the time; and if by other facts we know the age, or somewhere near the time in which it was written, by the particular tone and drift of the Psalm, carefully compared with the history of the times, we may be able to judge with probability the definite occasion to which it belongs. For instance, if by the title, or the name of the author, or the Chaldaisms occurring in the text, or any special allusion in the Psalm, we find that it belonged to the general period of the captivity, we may be led by the tone and spirit of the Psalm to determine whether it belonged to a period of great depression and discouragement, or to one of lively hope and joy; and if it belonged to a joyful occasion, we may still further judge by its internal evidence, whether it belonged to an occasion of specially religious rejoicing, such as the erection of the great altar, the laying the foundation of the temple, the finishing the temple; or whether the rejoicing was of a more general or national character, as at the promulgation of the decree of Cyrus, or the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah's administration; or, again, if the Psalm denotes affliction and depression, we may, by minutely considering, be reasonably assured whether it speaks the lively, gushing grief of the captives soon after the ruin of their city, or the more hopeful sadness of a later period when the day of their deliverance drew near. We do not propose to enter upon enlarged and detailed illustrations here, but simply to hint to the reader the general course pursued, and the principles by which our inquiries have been conducted. Very many of the Psalms point unmistakably to their own origin; and the more carefully and critically their contents are examined and compared with the facts of history, the more indelibly will the mind be impressed with the historic truthfulness of their statements, the naturalness of the feelings described, and the sincerity of their sentiments."—Pp. 17, 18.

While the considerations above named show the great importance of a knowledge of the historical occasions of the Psalms, in order to a just appreciation of their scope and import, it must not be supposed that their meaning and application can be in any wise limited to the local circumstances which first suggested them. As our author justly remarks, "the sacred lyrists wrote not for themselves, but for the whole Church; not for their own times merely, but for all times." But it is no hinderance to the spiritual uses of a Psalm to know its original application. When we read in Psalm cxxii,

> "I was glad when they said unto me,
> Let us go into the house of the Lord.
> Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem!"

its inspiring words do not the less inflame our love for the assemblies of the saints in our humble Protestant places of worship, because we know that it was first chanted to the sound of the cymbal, by singing men, as David returned, at the head of a mighty host, from Mahanaim to Jerusalem. When the apostles were commanded by the chief priests and elders, to "speak no more, nor teach in

the name of Jesus," we are told that they "went to their own company," and discussing the threatening aspect of the times, decided to obey God rather than man, applying to their own circumstances the grand and triumphant language of the second Psalm,

> "Why do the heathen rage,
> And the people imagine a vain thing?"

and applying it, not the less happily, not the less joyfully, because of their knowledge that David sung it originally in view of the magnificent prophecy, with reference to his own glory and the subsequent greater glory of the kingdom of the Messiah, made to him by God through the mouth of Nathan the prophet. And in many a dark hour of the Church's history, from that day to this, the "*quare fremuerunt gentes*," whether ringing through the vast aisles and along the fretted vaults of mighty cathedrals, or chanted under a palm-tree in the African desert, or sung at midnight in a Cameronian gathering on some Scottish hill-side; or uttered on the plains of Kansas or Oregon, has cheered and fired the hearts of God's suffering and persecuted children, bidding them look beyond the present sorrow and the impending fear, to the hour of triumph when the "King shall be set upon his holy hill of Zion," and the rebellious "judges of the earth" shall be "dashed in picees like a potter's vessel." And as to the personal appropriation of the Psalms to our own individual moods of Christian feeling, they have, when "thus applied," (to quote the beautiful language of Bishop Horne,) "advantages which no fresh compositions, however finely executed, can possibly have; since, besides their incomparable fitness to express our sentiments, they are, at the same time, memorials of, and appeals to, former mercies and deliverances; they are acknowledgments of prophecies accomplished; they point out the connection between the old and new dispensations, thereby teaching us to admire and adore the wisdom of God displayed in both, and furnishing while we read or sing them, an inexhaustible variety of the noblest matter that can engage the contemplations of man."* It is, indeed, in this light that we regard Dr. Hibbard's work as preëminently valuable. As an aid to the devotional reading of the Psalms, no book approaching to it has ever fallen under our notice; and we are satisfied that no Bible reader, having once made use of it, will afterward be willing to dispense with it as a daily companion.

The third feature of Dr. Hibbard's plan is to throw *into a General Introduction* such information as seems most important to a general appreciation of the Psalms, and which yet could not prop-

* Horne on the Psalms, Preface, p. xxviii.

erly be inserted in the special introductions. This part of the work is very elaborate; it is, moreover, valuable not only to the general, but to the critical reader. It is divided into ten sections, which treat, in order, of the historic occasions of the Psalms, their authors, the title of the collection, the superscriptions, the poetry of the Psalms, the form of Hebrew poetry in general, the doctrinal teaching of the Psalms, the vindictive Psalms, (so called,) and the Messianic Psalms. The mere recital of these heads is enough to show how wide is the critical field surveyed in this introduction; and Dr. Hibbard goes over it with great learning, ability, and modesty. Many of the topics invite large discussion; but the brief limit allotted to this article is already transcended.

We close by commending this book to the attention not merely of all theological students and ministers, but of all intelligent readers of the Scripture, as a manual of rare excellence. Dr. Hibbard hints, in his Preface, that he may hereafter elucidate the Hebrew prophets in the same way. We sincerely hope that this intention may be carried out. No man can render a greater service to the Church than to put the word of God, or any portion of it, before the people in such a shape as to give new facilities or new attractions to its perusal. And this is what Dr. Hibbard has already accomplished for the Psalms; we wish him God speed in his further labors!

Art. VIII.—SCHAFF ON AMERICA.

LETTER FROM DR. M'CLINTOCK.

Mr. Editor:—In the Quarterly for January, 1856, there appeared a keen and searching review of Dr. Schaff's book on "The Political, Social, and Ecclesiastical Religious Condition of the United States of North America," from the pen of my friend Professor Nadal, of the Indiana Asbury University. I had intended to add a few notes at the end of that article, dissenting from one or two points made by my friend against Dr. Schaff, but circumstances, which I need not state, hindered me from doing so at the time. With your permission, I will now enter a brief protest, not against the general criticism of Dr. Schaff's book contained in the article, but against its apparent, if not real, charges of an evil *animus* on the part of Dr. Schaff, in his exhibition of American Methodism, before his Berlin audience.

It is very true that Dr. Schaff's language (especially as quoted on page 132 of the review in question) is very strong, and, as I judge, in common with Professor Nadal, in many respects both erroneous and hurtful. But, as the review itself shows, the book contains censures quite as severe, in some cases

more severe, of the peculiarities of other denominations, that to which Dr. SCHAFF belongs not excepted. If an evil intent is to be imputed in the one case, it must be in the other. My own view of the matter is, that there was no such intent in any case. Dr. SCHAFF attempted to give, in brief space, a summary of the excellences and defects of the American Churches, as viewed from his own theological stand-point: his picture was wrought out with rapid strokes; his colors, hastily put on, were now and then put on too strongly, and the result was in some cases anything but a portrait. But this is very different from ascribing to him the *intention* to make a caricature.

Any such imputation is averted effectually by the clear and strong statement of the great mission of Methodism, given by Dr. SCHAFF in other parts of his volume. He recognizes its founders as men of truly apostolic character and labors, and puts the Methodist Church itself among the most important branches of the Church of Christ, especially as it has served the historical purpose of inciting other Churches to a new activity of Christian life. These broad statements with regard to the *essential* elements of Methodism could not be nullified or counteracted, for scientific readers in Germany, by the severe remarks in other parts of the book upon certain *accidental* features of Methodism.

That it was any part of Dr. SCHAFF's intention to "bring our missionaries in Germany into disrepute, to hedge up their way, and to secure their return to America without fruit," I do not for a moment believe. That such a result might follow, with ignorant and prejudiced minds in Germany, from the perusal of the unguarded statements made in some parts of his book, is quite possible; but I have enjoyed and valued Dr. SCHAFF's friendship too long, not to know that no such motive could possibly have inspired his utterances in Berlin. And should any such results appear, I am very sure that he would be one of the first to apply the corrective.

PHILADELPHIA, November 15th, 1856. JOHN M'CLINTOCK.

ART. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*Foreign Reviews.*

THE first external glance at a pile of Foreign Reviews discloses the fact, from mere size and texture, that this kind of literature abroad far surpasses its rival in America. In our country, the *daily sheet*, with its sweeping accumulations of multifarious information, but with its flimsy form and transient existence, very much preoccupies the place of every other periodical. Democracy (taking the word in its national sense) is a newspaper reader. His diurnal is his library; thence come his literature, his politics, his prices current, and often his religion. It supplies his material and impulse of thought; and perhaps kindly does his thinking for him, and so saves him the drudgery of forming his own opinions. But England thinks and reflects on higher topics, in the

more elaborate and conservative form of the Review. These are the depositories, too, of her best mind. The highest models of style and the deepest specimens of thought, have in these periodicals won for their producers the highest name in modern English literature. Every Quarterly arrival opens a few specimens of masterly thought in masterly diction.

A comparison of the Reviews of a given quarter reveals what the great questions are before the public attention. A concurrence of various Quarterlies in furnishing a leader upon some one great topic answers the questions, What is the present phase of public thought? and, What is the present burden on the public heart?

The excitements of the Crimean war having passed away, the state of religious opinions, particularly the advance of Rationalism, forms the subject of four able articles, respectively, in the Church of England Review, the National Review, the British Quarterly, and the (Methodist) London Quarterly. We shall give the contents of several Reviews, with such remarks as may occur, and then take up the topics of these articles in the natural order as a separate matter.

I. The London Quarterly Review, No. 13.—1. Rationalism in the Church of England: 2. Grote's History of Greece: 3. Geological Science and deceased Geologists: 4. Cuba: 5. Etheridge on Hebrew Literature: 6. Thomas Gainsborough: 7. The Foreign Theological Library: 8. Baths and Wash-houses: 9. Bothwell, a Poem: 10. Christian Missions and the Westminster Review.

In material size and external beauty, the London Quarterly is rather eminent than otherwise among its Quarterly brethren. Its metropolitan rather than denominational name is doubtless intended to assure us, that though speaking for a particular religious section, it limits itself within no sectarian public, but is ready to make an audience of Wesley's parish—the world. The name is to us unfortunate; for another Review, which in England is simply "The Quarterly Review," has been incorrectly republished in this country for years as the London Quarterly, to distinguish it from the Edinburgh. Hence the Review before us becomes ambiguous in name, as it comes to the new world.

"*Ambiguam tellure nova* Salamina futuram."

But so well sustained is the style of thought and language within its pages, that its elder brother need no way fear to be disgraced by its junior namesake.

II. The North British Review.—1. The Ottoman Empire: 2. Christian Missions: 3. Literary Tendencies in France—Cousin: 4. Holland: 5. Samuel Rogers and his Times: 6. The Microscope and its Revelations: 7. Life of Frederic Perthes: 8. The Crimean Campaign—Correction of French Misstatements: 9. The Annexation of Oude.

The article on Christian Missions furnishes a partial answer to the attack of the Westminster upon those institutions. It first discriminates the faults and then expands the principles, the benefits, and the prospects of missions before our view.

In the article on French Literature, it is asserted that the men of France are not at the present time pursuers of Truth. They are involved in the *temporal*, and their minds rise not toward the *true*, the *ideal*, the *infinite*. God, therefore, is not in all their thoughts. They have substituted the idolatry of Disorder and of Wealth.

Of Disorder, the high-priests are Victor Hugo and George Sands. Their fundamental principle is that *passion has no law. To love by rule* is with them an absurdity. Hence their intense power of genius is employed in painting the energy of passion breaking the bonds of law, whether conventional, religious, or natural. Footmen in love with princesses, or near relatives burning with the raptures of incest, are ideals with which they debauch the moral sense of their readers.

Of Gold, the prime worshipers are Balzac, Alexandre Dumas, Eugene Sue, and their imitators. Thus Balzac decides that there are not in Paris four hundred *women* worthy of the name; the rest are *housewives.* It takes a million to enable a woman to be above board a *woman.* To *have* is the test of excellence. A man is *worth* what he owns.

To this low level of the age, besides Lamartine, the exceptions are the three Professors Guizot, Villemain, and Cousin. Of these three, Guizot, tempted by the love of power, fell from his integrity. Villemain retired from his professorship pure and aloft. But Cousin, the subject of the present article, since his vacation of the chair, has still endeavored, with a clear, ringing voice, to call the degenerate age to elevation and to honor. He has inaugurated a philosophy over the ruins of demolished sensualism, eclectic in its elements, congenial with every noble constituent of our nature, spiritualistic in its tendencies, and readily allied to the purest emotions of religion. In his work, "The True, the Beautiful, and the Good," he has placed before us everything that philosophy need ask, or humanity grasp. And still later he has drawn forth from the purer atmosphere of the seventeenth century of French history, some of the purest models of human character to exemplify in real life his ennobling philosophy, and win the French nation back from their apostasy. In the portraiture of the characters of Madame de Longueville, Madame de Hautefort, and Jacqueline Pascal, Cousin has endeavored to show his philosophy sublimed by religion, not idealized in fiction, but realized into actual life. He does not merely narrate, but he paints. He does not coolly lecture, but pours the enthusiasm of his soul into the portraiture. In so doing he unconsciously describes himself. In a fallen age he *is* all the lofty model he describes. Through all his course as philosopher, as statesman, as Minister of Public Instruction, and as a peer of France, he has rebuked the age in which he lives. All this the reviewer maintains. It were an ungrateful task to detract from anything so beautifully presented.

III. Church of England Quarterly Review, October, 1856.—1. Revision of the English Bible: 2. French Literature of the Reformation: 3. Revision of the Prayer-Book: 4. Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists: 5. London to Calcutta: 6. The Great City Frauds.

IV. Westminster Review, October, 1856.—1. Alchemy and Alchemists: 2. Buddhism—Mythical and Historical: 3. The Property of Married Women: 4. George Foster: 5. Edinburgh Fifty Years ago: 6. Silly Novels by Lady Novelists: 7. France before the Revolution of '89: 8. Emerson's English Traits.

The article on Alchemy and the Alchemists reviews the same author, and bears a very striking similarity, without identity, to the article with the same title in our July number.

V. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, October, 1856.—1. Harmonies of the Gospels: 2. Tholuck's Guide and Julius: 3. Whately's Future State: 4. Protestantism in Hungary: 5. Kuntz's History of the Old Testament: 6. Governor Bradford's History of the Plymouth Plantation: 7. Free Seats—or Pews? 8. The Acts of the Apostles—Schaff and Baumgarten: 9. Edenheim's History of the Jewish Nation: 10. Sir William Hamilton on the Doctrine of Assurance.

This is a very neat-looking Quarterly, containing both original and selected articles. It has republished from the Methodist Quarterly Review the articles entitled, The Geology of Words, Jephthah's Vow, and The Roman Catholic Press. In the present number, the Article on Pews, from the Episcopalian Church Review, is very sharp, and lays the flagel upon pew-loving churches with a tartness that would do good to the soul of "old-fashioned Methodism."

VI. The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, October, 1856.—1. The Reproduction of Biblical Life in its Bearing on Biblical Exposition: 2. Three Months in the Holy Land: 3. The Divine Law on Capital Punishments and War: 4. The Apocryphal Book of Tobit: 5. The Atonement: 6. Clemens, Romanus, and the Syriac Epistles on Virginity: 7. Remarks on the Hebrew Bible: 8. Logos of St. John: 9. Sheol.

☞ The article on Sheol is also extracted from the Methodist Quarterly Review.

VII. The National Review, October, 1856.—1. The Gowrie Conspiracy: 2. Crime in England and its Treatment: 3. Victor Cousin on Madame de Hautefort and her Cotemporaries: 4. Percy Bysshe Shelly: 5. De Foe as a Novelist: 6. Italy: 7. Sydney Dobell's Poems on the War: 8. Personal Influences on our Present Theology—Newman—Coleridge—Carlyle.

The National Review is marked by eminent ability. Its articles are written with a singular sameness of style, as if all from one author. It is terse and sententious, reminding one of Macaulay, and yet possessing a depth of philosophical implication not exhibited by him. It is decidedly Rationalistic in its tendencies, yet far short of the infidelity of the Westminster.

VIII. The British Quarterly Review, October, 1856.—1. Theology—New *versus* Old: 2. Mendelssohn and his Music: 3. Lord Cockburn's Memorials of his Time: 4. Creation—Cuvier and Blainville: 5. The Cape of Good Hope and British Caffraria: 6. The Igratian Controversy: 7. The Manchester Exhibition: 8. The Cambridge University Bills: 9. Piedmont and Italy.

The English Rationalistic Movement.

Four articles in the Reviews of the quarter throw light on this subject. The first, from the Church Review, is upon Plotinus, one of the philosophers of the Alexandrian school. His philosophy, called Neo-Platonism, is the real source of much of the modern speculation.

Neo-Platonism, the philosophy of the Alexandrian school of the earlier centuries, was a profoundly thought explication of the mysteries of the universe. It was a deep attempt to answer the questions ever occurring to the human mind: How do we know the outer universe? What is God? How comes creation? What the relation between God and man? What is duty?

First Plotinus finds himself at start awakened by two queries: What is truth, and how is it knowable? All that sense perceives is in motion, perpetually changing—ceasing, and becoming. It has all the characteristics of unreliability and unreality, and is, therefore, mere phenomena and show. At start, then, Plotinus abandoned, as absurd, what the materialists held as an axiom—that matter is the sole substance, and sense the sole test of truth. On the contrary, beneath this flimsy outer coating of phenomenon, he recognized, by the transcendent reason, the true substance. This is the *permanent* and the *real.*

But how does the mind go out and discover and know this *reality* in full certainty? Plotinus assumes a maxim to explain this, which seems to us neither proved nor self-evident. The maxim is that "*like knoweth like.*" We know our thoughts because they are ourselves thinking. Mind knows its object, because the object is part and identity with itself. Hence the inference that subject and object are the same. And this "bridges the chasm between the soul and the world!" It does so, by identifying the two opposite banks of the chasm into one, and allowing the chasm "to slide."

But by a process of ascending into our higher faculties, we transcend the merely sensible, and with the eye of *pure reason* we look with *direct intuition* upon the *pure reality,* the cause in all causation, the infinite. "This is ecstasy. It is the liberation of your mind from its finite consciousness. Like can only apprehend like; when you thus cease to be finite, you become one with the infinite." Thus with the highest certainty of the highest faculties, we see the surest reality, God; and if we rightly appreciate the philosophy, are pretty much God ourselves.

Still the question remains, thus transcendently beheld, What is God? In the intense white heat of the conceptions which answer this question, our own logical crucible and tongs, we confess, become about melted to uselessness. God is himself the *changeless*, without motion in space; and how can he evolve changes and fluctuating phenomena? In other words, how can he create? Plotinus rejects the thought of ascribing to the changeless the attributes of personality, namely, consciousness, perception, and will; for this is forming *him* or *it* in the image of man. How, then, does the changeless evolve changes, the motionless propel motion? The answer develops the Neo-Platonic Trinity. Phenomena can only be explained by supposing that the One is not pure simplicity, but plural. In the one Divine nature there are three persons or hypostases. The *first* hypostasis is necessarily conceived as absolute oneness, antecedent to time or space. For absolute unity negates past and future, motion or extension, thought, and, perhaps, even existence; for we are not sure that existence is not limitation. He is therefore the "immanent negative, the inscrutable anonymous." He is to be apprehended in exalted silent ecstasy, as "the NOTHING and the ALL." The second hypostasis proceeded from the first, not by any motion, not by any subtraction, but *raying* forth as eternal splendor from the sun. Thus from inexorable unity we have duality. But this duality is held in synthesis by a third hypostasis, which consists of an intelligence which fuses both into one infinite mind. We have thus plurality —a three one.

From this triune deity, which is neither personal nor pantheistically one with the universe, but which is in its nature necessary causation, arises creation as necessary effect.° Matter being its dark shadow, is rather non-being than being, rather negative than positive. It is moved and wrought into phenomena, and lawed by the super-mundane soul. Order is the prevalence of law; beauty, the victory of the "idea" over the amorphous; goodness is the conformity to the Divine image. Evil is negative; it is the absence of law, order, and goodness, and so impossible to God.

Lastly, what is duty? Duty is possible to the philosopher alone. It consists in mounting above sense, ascending into ecstasy, and dwelling in the vision of the Infinite. Herein, the reviewer holds, was Plotinus's great failure; he made virtue a philosopher's special prerogative, by making it consist in intellectual rather than moral communion with the Deity. Had he accepted the God-man, he would have felt how general humanity, in its secular sphere, was capable of sanctification and perfect virtue. The reviewer thinks his presentation of the system of Plotinus fully shows that it was no folly worthy the universal contempt or disregard which have been the fate of Alexandrianism. We may add, that the items of the system are plentifully found distributed through the anti-materialistic systems of all ages; and especially through the transcendental reactions against Locke and Condillac at the present time. The career of Plotinus's line of thought runs through such successive tracts of beauty and of paradox, as to enchant the fancy while it provokes the ingenuity of lively speculatists.

There are now, according to the article of the NATIONAL REVIEW, three schools of heretical opinion in and about the Anglican Church at the present time, which we will call the Puseyite, the Coleridgian, and Carlylian. The first is Romanizing, the second Rationalizing, and the third Pantheizing. The two latter take in respectively different parts of Neo-Platonism. The article being very extended, we give rather our own impressions from it, than an abridgment.

Puseyism should have been called by Dr. Whately's witty epithet, Newmania, for Dr. Newman was its true leader, both in ability and in the Romish ultimate in which he has landed. According to the National Review, Mr. Newman commenced with skepticism. Universal doubt still pervades him, and Rome and popery are not so much with him sustained by absolute proofs, as volitionally adopted for a repose from doubt. Admit Romanism, and it meets the case. To say that Romanism is only a hypothetical base, is with him no more than can be said of everything else; all, the existence of the external world, the existence of God, my own existence, all are one great fabric of hypothesis, and Romanism is of a piece with the rest, to be accepted or rejected with it. He seems to say within himself, "There is no bottom to these things that I can find; we must therefore *put one there;* and only mind that it be sufficient to hold them in, supposing it to be real." And this explains a phenomenon. John H. Newman and Francis Newman were two talented brothers at Oxford.

° Hence the necessary-creation notion of the eclectic Cousin, a doctrine repugnant to his maintenance of volitional non-necessity in man. See notice of his Psychology in our Book Table.

From the same temper of skepticism, John flings himself upon papal St. Peter as his rock, and Francis has diverged into Theodore Parker's absolute religion, or, pietism founded on the sentiments.

Coleridge was originally, under the philosophy of Locke and the morals of Paley, a tame Unitarian. From this he was emancipated by Kant, and thence guided by Schelling, he found in Neo-Platonism, especially in Plotinus, a bridge, by which he walked back to what he considered orthodox Christianity, and to High Churchianity. He adopted a generalized notion of inspiration, as developed in his "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit," namely, that "the sacred books were not the word of God, but contained the word of God," which enabled him to introduce Neo-Platonism into the New Testament. His "Aids to Reflection" develop his views of depravity and atonement. Christ is one and identical with our race, and our race with him; whereby the race is virtually redeemed; a redemption which is realized by faith. This obscure Universalism culminates in Maurice. Of this school, more or less distinctly, were Thirlwall, Charles Julius Hare, and at one time, perhaps, Trench. Sterling for a time was under Coleridge's influence, and officiated as a pastor in the Church. From Coleridgeism he passed into Carlyleism, and the light within became totally dark!

Thomas Carlyle, having become exceedingly fatigued with the tame æsthetics of Dr. Blair, the materialism of Locke, and the utilitarianism of Paley, finally ran mad, and wrote his Sartor Resartus! In this book he taught that all visible things being mere phenomena, were properly but *clothes;* they were but the outside, of which the reality was the wonderful interior. This was a startling discovery, and Thomas grew famous by it. Thomas could write very sensible and pure English, (witness his life of Schiller,) but when he did so, nobody paid any attention to him; and so he was obliged to play "mad Tom" to gather an audience. Thomas considered our instincts as true indexes to the hidden reality wrapped in the above-named clothes; hence earnestness (and what may be called fanaticism) was a part of his plan. Subsequently, Thomas broached his theory of unconsciousness, in which he taught that blind spontaneity is a perfection. Self-knowledge is a disease. Genius performs its miracles without being aware of it. Hence infinite perfection, in its universal operations, does not know what it is about. God is unconscious. He is therefore impersonal. Thus we arrive by a private route at Pantheism. Thomas next teaches that all special religious opinions are mere phenomena, under which the essential truth, indicated by the instinctive sentiments, lurks. A true philosopher, then, is discharged from all narrow schools, and yet acknowledges them all. He is a universal liberalist and a universal indifferentist. And so we have Carlyleism. It is *Pantheism* between the opposite poles of *fanaticism* and *indifferentism.*

Upon Thomas we have three remarks to make. 1. He excels in the *outrageous;* especially in his style of language; and hence he is very exciting to sophomores, and all tastes sophomorically inclined. In that class he makes terrible havoc. 2. He pleases the self-complacent gentlemen who love to look with a patronizing air upon all opinions, but believe none. With this set Thomas is an oracle. 3. Thomas supplies notions for all "fools," especi-

ally of David's sort. Surely "the fool" must sympathize exquisitely with a God that "does not know what it is about"—an omnipotent idiot, or rather, since Pantheism denies the Divine personality, an omnipotent idiocy. The universe of Carlyle's Pantheism is an infinite fooldom; a very congenial and very spacious home for witless gentlemen.

Rather of the Pantheist school is Mr. Jowett, whose Commentary upon Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans, is reviewed in the article of the LONDON QUARTERLY; and also Mr. M'Naught on Inspiration. Mr. M'Naught enlarges the theory of inspiration so far as to banish all infallibility, and make it consist in whatever is mentally good in man or beast. Progression may be called the key of Mr. Jowett's pantheizing exegesis. The human race sprung up spontaneously, ages uncounted ago; the religious sentiment became developed earlier than the moral; the atonement contradicts the moral sense; the Old Testament was an early but unauthoritative point of progress; Christ and the apostles were another step in the grand stair-flight, of which Mr. Jowett is at a grade a few pegs higher. It is, therefore, condescension in Mr. Jowett to write a commentary on the apostle. He is able, or, at least, ought to be able, to write better text himself than that he comments upon. Mr. Jowett displays accomplished scholarship, and his personal qualities are said to render Jowettism specially popular with young England at Oxford. Christian Pantheism is a novel combination: a pantheizer acting the exegete is a curiosity.

The first article of the BRITISH QUARTERLY gives an evangelical view of the Rationalist movement, somewhat as follows: The reviewer first deals some happy strokes at the boasts of skeptics, that religious faith is waning in England. The very desperate energies of their own blows, he says, prove the contrary; since men do not summon all their powers to slay the dying. He affirms, that never was religion so aggressive as now; and that even the debates of religious men are the leisurely contests of conscious security and strength.

While maintaining the stand-point of an umpire, he reads a keen inventory of misdoings of the Rationalists, which constitute a plentiful stock for repentance. 1. *Ignorance.* Maurice men know all about and even admire far-off paganisms and mediæval superstitions; but ignorantly impute to their evangelical neighbors, dead dogmas and a want of piety, the reverse of fact. 2. *Unfairness.* From the above ignorance, or other cause, they impute to the Evangelicals a belief in a commercial atonement, a neglect of Christ as our exemplar, a desire to be freed from punishment rather than from sin, and affirm that holiness is but scantily urged in their pulpits. The fact is, Evangelicism alone, in its doctrine of the sanctifying gift of the Spirit, makes due provision on this vital point. 3. *Superficiality.* The old divines, Augustine, among the fathers, Luther, of reformers, Cartwright, of the Puritans, John Howe, among Nonconformists, were not shallow men. They were not deficient in deep experience. On the great points of man's fall, his depth of ruin, his recovery, they evaded no difficulty. They had all the premises that we have for right conclusions. In geology, in chemistry, we are in advance. But in those unchangeable things, God, sin, conscience, con-

demnation, faith, salvation, they had all the elements that we can have. These have been cognized by as intuitive and as logical minds as are likely to arise.

Are the new theologists unparalleled giants, and their theology extraordinarily deep and clear? The men do not look stupendous, and their theology is hazy and ajar. "They use the terms law, and right, and moral government, but always in the most slattern sense." 4. *Unfaithfulness.* Of the two great classes, one assume the credit of the Christian name long after they have abjured the last fragment of Christianity; and the other, orthodox men, hanging about the outskirts of Evangelicism, play into the hands of the anti-Christian operators, either from false candor or secret favor. 5. *Dogmatism.* The assumptions of these gentlemen, beautiful preachers of modesty though they often are, are much larger than their size. Their boasts of orthodox decay, is like the talk of people without eyes. Morell, for instance, claims that faith is waning, and that the general tone of Christian publications is *apologetic!* A glance at any publisher's catalogue will refute the assertion. Bolingbroke, a century ago, and later, the French Revolutionists, boasted that they would soon crush Christianity. Yet never was Christianity so strong and strengthening as now. While Morell is preaching Germanism to reluctant England, Germany is resuming her ancient faith.

On the other hand, the reviewer charges a few sins on the Evangelicals. A want of recognition of *natural virtues;* a *narrowness*, which, under pretense of preaching Christ, banished from the pulpit many great themes, and even by an Antinomian curve, refused to lay down the law and denounce sin; an illiberality toward individualisms of opinion, which, in demonstrating a heresy, made no allowance for necessary peculiarity of mind. Henry More arrived at a most saintly Christianity through Neo-Platonism, and John Foster found a doubt of eternal punishment a necessary mental relief.

Yet, on the whole, laxity, and not proscription, is the great danger. Confessing faults and yielding non-essentials for unity, the Evangelicals may firmly stand on their old foundations.

II.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. Bibliotheca Sacra.—1. Dr. Lepsius's Universal Linguistic Alphabet: 2. The Scriptural Authority and Obligation of the Sabbath examined: 3. The Bible in Schools: 4. The Mosaic Narrative of the Creation considered grammatically and in its Relations to Science: 5. Bashan, Ituræa, Kenath: 6. Works of Rev. Augustus Toplady: 7. Taylor's Memoir of Judge Phillips: 8. Theological and Literary Intelligence.

The first of the above articles gives a biographical notice of Lepsius, the celebrated Egyptologist, with a list of his various works in archæology. Lepsius completed his university studies in 1833. In association with Chevalier Bunsen in Germany, Italy, and briefly in England, he has prosecuted his researches in Egyptian antiquities with eminent success. He has been for several years past professor in the University of Berlin.

The work particularly noticed in the article is an able essay toward the construction of a scientific alphabet, founded on a profound phonetic and physiological analysis, for languages as yet unreduced to writing or imperfectly so. It would also serve to transmit the proper names of one language to another. Indeed, it would be a common medium for orthoepical exchange between the different dialects of the world. It proposes, however, no change in the established alphabets of the different nations, holding all such attempts as impracticable. Steps have been taken, or seem to be in contemplation, for the adoption of this alphabet by the various missionary societies of Europe and America. No doubt great advantages would result from a uniform method of alphabetic representation by all our great and world-wide organizations.

The article on Toplady is interesting, and, we might say, even amusing. The talents, asperity, piety, and whole-souled sublapsarian Calvinism of Toplady, present a variety of rather unique points, which the writer has brought out with no little clearness and impartiality. The following extract shows what sort of Calvinists have existed, and perhaps are not yet wholly extinct:

"Election and reprobation he held to be doctrines revealed in the Bible, and not otherwise discoverable. Yet his view of God's government was such as to compel him to say, that it would be casting imputation on the wisdom of God to suppose, if he saves any, that he saves them without a decree. Election and reprobation thus become the most prominent themes in all his theological writings. It would be impossible to exaggerate his estimate of their importance. They exercised a kind of tyranny over his mind. Reprobation was an 'awful' theme, on which he looked with trembling, but with composure; for he was enabled, in the meantime, to hide himself, in the Divine election, as his 'ark of refuge.' The foreordination of God seemed to him to be God himself working in the world. To deny this was atheism. It was not simply denying the revealed word of God; it was denying the decree, the plan, the will of God—God willing, planning, decreeing in the world; which he considered a denial of God's existence. Election was, in his system of theology, what causes are in a philosophy of nature—'the bond which connects and keeps together the whole,' without which it is 'a system of sand. Election seemed, to him, 'so blended and woven with the entire scheme of Gospel doctrine, that when the former is excluded, the latter bleeds to death.'" P. 817.

We also extract a passage touching Toplady's treatment of Wesley:

"To Wesley's charge, that his view of predestination made God the author of sin, and made it God's fault, not that of Judas, that Judas betrayed Christ, he replies: 'Without the least heat or emotion, I plainly say, Mr. Wesley lies.'" P. 820.

"This last trait was exhibited, to a disgraceful extent, in his controversy with Wesley. He was impatient because others did not see as he saw; he was provoked, needlessly, by Wesley's representation of his views; he despised Wesley's followers, and all their movements. Wesley's ability he rather unwillingly admits." Pp. 848, 849.

Yet Toplady seemed to abuse Mr. Wesley very much as a conscientious duty, and with a feeling of religious self-approbation. He lived very permanently with the professed witness of his own acceptance with God. How singularly do grace and nature combine in human character, as if God made allowance for human imperfection even in imparting the fullness of his blessed Spirit! The following is a brief account of his "Saturday Assurances:"

"Assurances they are, indeed: so clear, positive, and satisfactory, I never knew them once fail, or deceive my trust. I have often been dejected and fearful at the

approach of a Sabbath on which I was to minister publicly; and God has frequently been better to me than my unbelieving fears; but, on those happy days when previous assurances have been given of his help and presence on the Sunday following, those assurances have always been made good. The Lord never once disappointed my hope, when he has said previously to my soul, 'I will be with thee.'"

Such "Saturday Assurances," for all our ministry, would be a great source of Sunday power.

II. Princeton Review, October, 1856.—1. The Bible, the Missal, and the Breviary: 2. The Sacred Writings of the Parsees: 3. Baird's Religion in America: 4. The Matter of Preaching: 5. The Church—its Perpetuity: 6. Egyptology: 7. Eli Smith's Arabic Bible.

III. Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, October, 1856.—1. The Papuans—Negritos: 2. Professor Sasnett's Views of Female Education: 3. The Atonement—its Vicariousness: 4. Paul, the twelfth Apostle: 5. California, Past, Present, and Future: 6. A Cursory Review of Professor Sassnett's Theory of Female Education: 7. Thoughts on the Internal Structure of the Earth, and the Natural Causes by which the Deluge was produced: 8. The Book of Judith.

This periodical, similar in size and style to the Quarterly of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is ably conducted by Dr. Doggett.

Our attention is specially attracted by the first article, namely, that upon the Papuans. These Papuans are the most degraded and most ferocious of the human race. How shall they be saved from that sure consumption by which barbarous tribes perish before the march of civilization? To save them by missionaries, by conquest, or by commerce, is severally proved impracticable. But it is abundantly proved that they become mild, civilized, and even ingenious *by slavery*. The candid and conscientious writer repudiates any justification of the slave trade from this instance. That trade he pronounces a moral offense, and no benefit of the offense can justify the offender. Nor does he therefrom justify the retention of slavery after the slave has become civilized, far less its perpetuation or extension. He simply uses it to raise the query, Is slavery, in all cases, an evil? There is but one ill-tempered line in the article.

Professor Larrabee, of Summerville; Alabama, writes with much logical point in reply to Professor Sassnett on female education. There is also a second article on the same subject, written in a sprightly style, in defense of the sex, by Mrs. Martin, of Unionville, S. C. Mrs. Martin denies the existence of sex in the soul. But the young prince, in the fairy tale, who married a cat transformed by elfin power into a beautiful lady, found, when his bride jumped out of bed at the sound of a mouse, that the feline soul was more than skin deep or body deep either. Mayhap it is as true of the feminine as of the feline soul. We should not think much of a man with a woman's soul in him; and may Mercy preserve us from the vice-versa monster.

The Quarterly is soon to be removed from Richmond to the Southern Book Concern at Nashville, but is still to remain under charge of Dr. Doggett, residing at Richmond. It was first established in 1846, and placed under the editorship of the late Dr. Bascom. It has just closed its tenth volume.

IV. The Christian Review, October, 1856.—1. Campbellism Reviewed: 2. Traducianism and Creatianism: 3. The Dutch Republic; its Rise and its Antagonists: 4. Biographical Literature: 5. The Influence of Physical Debility on Religious Experience: 7. Mythology and Revelation: 8. Notices of new Publications: 9. Literary and Theological Intelligence.

The second article is a subtle discussion, from the German, of the question, whether souls are born from the parent or immediately created. It maintains, with much ability, the former view. The question is not without its argument, or its theological bearings.

V. The North American Review, October, 1856.—1. Heine's Lutèce: 2. Biographical Dictionaries: 3. A Chapter on Novels: 4. Present State of the Jewish People in Learning and Culture: 5. Wilson's Treatise on Logic: 6. The Character of Franklin: 7. Leslie's Handbook: 8. Edgar Allen Poe: 9. Portugal's Glory and Decay: 10. Literature in France under the Empire: 11. Recent Books on England: 12. Life of William Plumer: 13. Consolations of Solitude.

VI. The Theological and Literary Journal, October, 1856.—1. The Perpetuity of the Human Race: 2. The Whitbyan Hypothesis respecting Christ's Second Coming a Novelty: 3. The Mystery revealed to Paul: 4. The Chronology of the Old Testament: 5. The Bearing of the Geological Theory of the Age of the World on the Inspiration of the Bible: 6. Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation: 7. Notes on Scripture: 8. The Parables of the New Testament: 9. The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John: 10. A Designation and Exposition of the figures of Isaiah, chapter xxxv.

This Quarterly is mainly devoted to the support of the Millenarian hypothesis. This theory meets a singular fortune. A few able and ardent, not to say enthusiastic divines, preach, write, and publish plentifully upon the subject, without apparently the slightest appreciable public effect. Nobody answers them, and nobody believes them. In a body of forty ministers, lately, the question could not be discussed because no one held its views.

VII. The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany, November. 1856.—1. Analogy of Nature and the Bible: 2. The Law of Burial and Sentiment of Death: 3. Modern Spiritualism: 4. President Lord's Defense of Slavery: 5. A Homily in Verse: 6. Relations of Reason and Faith.

The elegant leader of the more orthodox Unitarians. In this work the earlier productions of Channing awakened the attention of the public to his resplendent talents. The review, in this number, of President Lord is very *destructive*.

VIII. The New-Englander, November, 1856.—1. The Hypothesis, its Place in Reasoning. 2. The Puritan Clergy of New-England: 3. Mrs. Stowe's New Novel: 4. National Sins and their Retribution: 5. The last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay: 6. Recent Aspects of International Law: 7. Emerson's English Traits: 8. God on the side of the Oppressed.

The small, but learned and able, organ of the venerable Yale, or at least of its school of thought. Six of its eight articles have some reference to the anti-slavery controversy, in which it gallantly leads.

IX. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, September, 1856.—1. The Huguenots: 2. The Scotch-Irish Element of Presbyterianism: 3. John Huss and his Writings: 4. The Deputation to India: 5. The General Assembly of 1856: 6. Literary and Theological Intelligence.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

1.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Helps to the Promotion of Revivals*, by Rev. J. V. Watson, D. D., Editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate." (12mo., pp. 223. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1856.) A dying legacy from one of the most gifted minds of the Church. Dr. Watson, in the midst of great infirmities, exhibited rare powers. Without early scholastic advantages, he rose, by the native vigor and brilliancy of his own mind, to an eminence in the pulpit, upon the platform, and in the editorial chair, which few with the happiest external aids have been able to attain. He excelled not in the processes of regular and adamantine logic, but saw things with a clear-sighted, intuitive sagacity. He was no thorough-bred metaphysician; and yet he blended a rare subtlety of perception with that transparency of imagination, in which the nicest discriminations of truth are readily detected. He had never mastered the technical accuracies of language; yet he handled the powers of the English tongue with a mastery, a range, and sometimes a creativeness, which, while it needed the pruning hand of severe criticism, attested the possession of the gift of genius, and rendered him possessor of a great popular sway. He often failed in purity of taste; and yet seldom are found a more exquisite tone of esthetic refinement, or a richer exuberance in the production of the varied forms of imaginative beauty. With his full share of the alloy of humanity, he possessed a most noble and generous soul, a trueness of friendship, an earnestness of piety, an unswerving fidelity to the cause of his Divine Master, and a most fearless firmness in the maintenance of the great cause of right and justice against the proud oppressor. The Church had but just completed the measurement of his true dimensions; had but just begun fully to ascertain his true value, and assign him his inevitable position among her choice spirits. She is conscious, yet but just conscious, of her great loss in the departure of one of her truest and most brilliant sons to his higher service. Had it pleased Almighty God to grant him a healthful frame of body, he had, in the measure of human age, years of great service in him. Humanity and religion would have drawn large installments from his ever-willing treasury of powers. Had a large physical strength waited to execute the volitions of his ardent soul, he would have exulted in wreaking his powers upon the accomplishment of masses of good. But the living spirit maintained a constant struggle with the corporeal wreck. His attenuated frame feebly obeying the rapid impulses of the soul; his pale features, singularly lighted by the eye burning with the intensity of powerful conception; his panting chest heaving for the breath to form the vocal conductor of electric thought, were perpetual reminders to his friends of his brief delay,

and mementoes to himself to hurry his task before the damp shades were upon him. How did his triumphant spirit, amid the parting fragments of its tenement, pour forth the last products of its glorious energies? Who that read for the latter few months the columns of the Northwestern Christian Advocate, could have imagined that its copious flow of rich thought were the last utterances dictated from the couch of an expiring man, the magnificent strains, ringing through the wide air, of the dying swan? They seemed to flow as long as the heart beat, and stop with its closing collapse. The echoes were yet rolling while the freed spirit was ascending. These editorial columns, at the call of the readers, and by the aid of friends, were collected into material for the beautiful volume before us, and sent to the present editor with the earnest supplication of the author, that our editorial supervision, as well as the printer's labors, might be hastened with lightning speed, *that he might see his volume before he died.* He was obeyed with all the pressure of our mind and our machinery. But in the race between the *power press* and death, the mighty conqueror conquered. So must bow human submission before the Divine decree.

The volume is a legacy worthy of the author, and a boon to the Church. It abounds with suggestions of great practical wisdom, with discriminations of great value, colored, but no way falsified, with the hues of an attractive fancy, and expressed in sentences of ever-varying beauty. No minister but may read it, both to promote a revival in his own soul, and inspire and guide him to promote a revival in the soul of the Church. No layman but may read it with clear perception of the lessons, cautions, and incitements it furnishes, and abundant increase of his own usefulness in the Church of God. Few, we think, will commence without finishing it. Few will peruse it without being rewarded by it. And few, we could wish, will neglect to purchase and peruse it.

Revivals, their definition and nature, their hindrances and promotions; the class-meeting and the protracted meeting; the need of aggressive enterprise and of cherishing our gains; the law of kindness and of forgiveness; the needs of piety and intelligence in the Church; the demand for a variety of ministerial talent, for piety, and for pastoral visiting; the harmlessness of a degree of excitement; faith in revivals; and, finally, holiness, form the series of its topics.

We may add that a volume of "Sketches," from the same pen, is now in press; and that a further volume or volumes of Lectures, Essays, and Sermons will follow.

(2.) "*Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, by Dr. HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated from the German, for Clark's Foreign and Theological Library. First American edition, revised after the fourth German edition, by A. C. KENDRICK, D.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester. To which is prefixed OLSHAUSEN Proofs of the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament, translated by DAVID FOSDICK, Jr." (Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 621. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1856.) Olshausen is undoubtedly the best commentator on the New Testament that the Germany of our day has furnished

to the Christian Church. Indeed, we know no commentary in our own language, in all respects, comparable to it. No extended commentator seems to have a more intuitive power of seizing, as if by a sacred sympathy with the mind of the inspired writer, the true vein of pure thought that runs through the words of the sacred text. We agree with Isaac Taylor, that Mr. Wesley was specially endowed with the intuitive power; and this rendered him unsurpassed in the power of seizing, as by a flash of mind, the intent of the sacred word, and expressing its meaning with the conciseness of a stratagem. For this reason, had he devoted his life to it, he would have scarce found a competitor in extended commentary. This same intuitive power is possessed to a marvel by Olshausen. The drift of thought is luminously revealed. The unmarked connections and transitions are exquisitely developed. The symmetrical proportions of entire passages, and their adjustment in entire pieces, are impressively presented. The Biblical scholar is frequently surprised and delighted with fresh and unexpected views of the entire scope of the sacred author.

The work is pervaded by a spiritual and devout reverence for the word of revelation. The author is no dry, lifeless M'Knight or Whitby. A warm glow of heart and soul animates the whole. At the same time we are sorry to say, that there are now and then traces of the wounds received, even by the best German divines, in their great Armageddon with modern rationalism. There are points in which the American Church will differ from him, and none the less differ from him after all the learning and all the logic which he and his compeers can furnish, have been fully examined and coolly appreciated. It is only the firm, healthy *spirit* that is required to defy all the contagion of the rationalistic pestilence. But let us, who are safe in this matter, do ample justice to men like Tholuck, Neander, and Olshausen. They must have possessed a mighty share of this same healthful spirit, to preserve them, not from the contagion, but truly amid the contagion, and to enable them even to neutralize and conquer it. Let us be indulgent to them of some concessions that seem by them needlessly made to the demands of rationalism, and reverently acknowledge the heroic power with which they bore the brunt and rolled back the tide of battle. Thus much let us know, that the American Church has nothing now to gain by loosening the cords of her faith down to the lax standard of even these brave defenders of the faith.

Professor Kendrick, we doubt not, has done his work well. We remember him as a college mate, and at that time a marvel of a linguist. He has added some timely notes, and that not too many, at those passages where the American student is to be put upon his guard. He has blown off some of the Teutonic haze that dimmed the Edinburgh translation, and has given us clear, fresh Saxon English. The work has fallen into competent hands.

The Commentary is without the text, and is very much in a dissertational form. It presumes some slight knowledge of the Greek, which should be before the eye of the student. Then you may read the book through. If you be a true Biblical student, it will pay in the rich enjoyment of the copious illustration it will pour upon the sacred text.

"A big book is a big evil," said the old Greek proverb; and so it is *in the*

matter of price. This volume will damage you two dollars. How many volumes are to come we do not find said. But do not, like the "discontented pendulum," cast up sum totals; but buy singly, and have faith to expect that your second two dollars will be ready and waiting for the next volume to appear.

We hope that the enterprising publishers, as well as editor, will find a publication like this no losing job.

(3.) "*The Gospel Ministry:* its Characteristics and Qualifications, by Rev. ALFRED BRUNSON, A.M." (New-York: Printed for the author, 200 Mulberry-street, 1856.) The author of this Essay has been for many years an itinerant minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, as such, may be deemed entitled to express a free opinion in regard to its polity. The essay was first written and read to the ministerial association of his district; and by the unanimous request thereof, it was rewritten, enlarged, and presented to the solemn consideration of the Church. It is dedicated to Bishop Janes, to whom he says:

> "At your last visit to, and presiding over the Wisconsin Annual Conference, you took occasion, from the scarcity of laborers among us, and from the attendant incidents tending to call our young men, who are called of God to the ministry, from the regular work to the preparatory school, to urge upon your cabinet and upon the conference, the imperious necessity of attending more effectually to them, and securing their services before they were allured away in the vain hope of attaining knowledge to better advantage than it can be done in the itinerancy."

This extract indicates the author's position. He sustains it with ability and general good temper.

(4.) "*The Last of the Epistles;* a Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Jude, by FREDERIC GARDINER, M. A., Rector of Trinity Church, Lewiston, Maine." (12mo., pp. 275. Boston: Jewett & Co.) A beautiful monograph upon a most wonderful Scripture fragment, St. Jude's, so called, *Epistle.* The commentator, by a dextrous expedient, brings together a popular and practical exposition along the line of the text, and flings the erudition into the form of exegetical dissertations for the scholar, by itself. The volume is printed and bound by the Jewetts in so elegant a form, that careless observers might not suspect the depth of the research it conceals.

There is an excursus upon the agapæ, or love-feasts of the early Church, which Methodist Episcopalians would do well to examine. There is also a valuable excursus on the Book of Enoch, from which some have said that Jude makes quotation. There is also a critical appendix upon the peculiar relations between the Epistles of Peter and Jude.

(5.) "*Cyclopædia of Sermons,* containing Sketches of Sermons on the Parables and Miracles of Christ, on Christian Missions, on Scripture Characters, and Incidents, by JABEZ BURNS, D.D." (8vo., pp. 667. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.) This may be a good book if *well* used. But it may be misused to the detriment of the minister, and the depreciation of the standard of pulpit excellence

in the Church. As substitutes for original thought, as crutches for immediate support, the more sermon skeletons are let alone the more harmless they will prove.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(6.) "*Elements of Psychology*, by VICTOR COUSIN. Translated from the French, with Introduction and Notes, by CALEB S. HENRY, D.D. Fourth improved Edition, revised according to the Author's latest Corrections." (12mo., pp. 568. New-York: Ivison & Phinney, 1856.) It is pleasant to welcome this fourth edition of Cousin's noble and ennobling philosophy, furnished by Ivison & Phinney, with a fittingly graceful attire. We know not how many years it is—somewhere in our young manhood—that Professor Henry gave his translation before the American public; and he may well congratulate himself upon the ample attention it has received, and the extensive influence it has exerted over the public mind. It was a successful performance.

In this edition, Professor Henry prefixes an extended introduction, in which he replies with great earnestness to an attack upon Cousin and himself, made some years since, in the pages of the Princeton Review. That attack imputed to Cousin the belief of Pantheism and Fatalism, founded upon certain adduced passages, and charged upon his system. Now, in behalf of the reviewer, we must say, that there are passages in Cousin's writings, which, to us, have appeared to mean, if they mean anything, respectively, pantheism, necessary creation, and fatalism. There are whole pages that read wonderfully fatalistic. Yet, inasmuch as these are passing passages, not occurring in his formal deliverance of himself in his systematic philosophy on those points, but really irreconcilable with the fundamental purpose and most explicit structure of that system, the fair result is, that Cousin is not heretical on those points, but *inconsistent*. Whatever the source from which the eclectic philosopher has selected these errors, he ought to see the contradictory bearing of those passages and strike them out. They have confused and bewildered his friends, and obscured his success, and diminished the number of his admirers. But to deal with him as the Reviewer does, disregard his entire professed expositions on each topic of his system, and found upon isolated passages, imputations of belief in principles, which it is the very purpose of his system to refute, is, we should think, simply stepping out of the pale of honorable discussion. This, Dr. Henry exposes with a keenness bordering upon personal sensitiveness. The fact is, that Cousin, though rather an intuitive than a logical thinker, though slightly inconsistent and given to splendid generalizations rather than to patient and close ratiocinations, is a noble, lofty-minded, virtuous philosopher. None did more than he to snatch the French mind from a brackish and bottomless quagmire of materialistic, fatalistic atheism. If France is not now noble, free, and good, it is not because she has not been well counseled by Cousin.

We do not endorse all the specialities of Cousin's philosophy. But excepting the above errors, there is nothing in its general positions, nothing in its spirit, adverse to the Gospel; nothing which does not chord with the dictates of

revelation. Of how few philosophies can this be said. It cannot be truly affirmed of Locke, of Hume, of Edwards. The believers in the philosophy of those men are Christians by being bad logicians. How sincerely Cousin feels the congeniality between his philosophy and the Gospel, we rejoice to see evinced by the following beautiful words:

> "Far be from you that sad philosophy which preaches to you materialism and atheism as doctrines to regenerate the world; they kill, it is true, but they do not regenerate. Nor listen you to those superficial spirits who give themselves out as profound thinkers, because, after Voltaire, they have discovered difficulties in Christianity; measure your progress in philosophy by your progress in tender veneration for the Gospel."

(7.) "*A System of Moral Science*, by LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., author of 'Rational Psychology,' etc. Third Edition." (12mo., pp. 418. New-York: Ivison & Phinney, 1856.)

(8.) "*Empirical Psychology;* or, the Human as given in Consciousness. For the use of Colleges and Academies, by LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., Union College, author of Rational Psychology, Moral Science, etc." (Pp. 400. Second edition. New-York: Ivison & Phinney, 1857.) The publications of Professor Hickok have secured him a high place among American metaphysicians. They present, on the whole, the clearest, completest, and most demonstrative analysis of the transcendental philosophy in the English language. The materialistic and fatalistic philosophy, so ably developed by Hobbes, and baptized and initiated into Christianity by Locke, was completely *run into the ground* by Hume. The feeble reaction of the Scotch school, systematized and demonstrated by Kant, is now fully inaugurated as the clearly dominant philosophy of our day. This philosophy, in its great outlines, as presented by Professor Hickok, is noble, and perhaps true. It is a Christian philosophy. It harmonizes and blends with the transcendentalism of St. Paul, and the entire New Testament and the Old. To our own minds it nearly identifies the Gospel and philosophy as one.

We are believers in the transcendental doctrines, but we are not admirers of what is considered, by some, the transcendental style of expression. We say *considered by some;* for we do not consider the peculiar sing song or the round of set phrases, adopted by many writers of this school, and which has exposed the very term transcendental to contempt, as essential to its adequate statement. A full elucidation of this philosophy is perfectly easy, without abandoning the natural healthful tone of the English-American mind, or the clear simplicity of the English philosophical style. We are sorry, very sorry to say, that in the adoption of this *uberior cantus*, Dr. Hickok has gone the whole figure. The sickly hue of its depravity is overspreading and total. From end to end his books are written in a most un-English, and we could almost say, unearthly, billowy rhythm; reminding us, in spite of its high polish, of the chant heard at Shaker dances and Hard-shell Baptist conventicles. We are cloyed, glutted, and sweetened to death, with its luscious flow of molasses melody. We are obliged to say, Prithee, Professor, you are expounding the common sense philosophy; do talk it in a common sense

style. We deprecate the diluvial catastrophe of being overspread and overwhelmed by an inundation of this style, pouring upon us from professors' chairs and college halls. The very titles of Professor Hickok's publications imbed the set phrases of the cantus. *Rational and empirical*, as epithets, suggest to ordinary ears the notion of *reasonable and quack;* and seem most applicable as antithetical epithets of the professional and non-professional practitioners of medicine. And then come the pet formulæ, *given in consciousness, wait upon experience, find the human mind, in the light of consciousness, will in liberty*, et cetera and ad infinitum. From the suffocating air of these heated and perfumed chambers we rush into the quarters of Reid and Berkeley, to get a fresh whiff of "*pure English, undefiled.*"

If any of our metaphysical brethren need a little amusement to stir up the torpor of a dyspeptic diaphragm, we prescribe them the following recipe: Take Dr. Hickok's Rational Psychology, hand it to a well-read, old-fashioned Lockian, who prides himself on knowing a profound thing or two about metaphysics, and bid him read a page *ad aperturam libri.* Lockian will open mid-book and commence reading. The magnificent periods made up of old familiar words in unfamiliar meaning, will roll before his eye, and yet so elude his understanding, as to discomfit his self-complacency. He will renew the battle, and catch faint echoes that seem to mean, and yet afford him no idea, until his own perplexity turns to risibility, and you and he join in a chorus of sympathetic laughter, several times renewed. The effect is very delectable and highly medicinal.

But whosoever will commence with the beginning of Professor Hickok's Rational Psychology, and carefully acquire his definitions, and take his successive steps, will find a grand, transparent, and most ennobling system of philosophy rise up before his contemplations. He will find it a fine piece of architecture, in which the *true*, the *good*, and the *beautiful* are compositely blended. We envy him not if he does not feel disposed to appropriate it, in its grand outlines, as his own.

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(9.) "*Modern Greece;* a Narrative of a Residence in that Country, by HENRY M. BAIRD, M. A. Illustrated by about sixty Engravings." (12mo., pp. 375. New-York: Harper & Brothers.) It was the enviable destiny of Mr. Baird, (son of the Rev. Dr. Baird,) in accordance with the ancient custom, suspended for many ages, to resort to Athens for the completion of his education. Scholarlike, he gives us full details of the intellectual, religious, and classical interests of Greece, very much to the exclusion of the political. His enthusiasm as a student, is less displayed in the earnestness of his style, which is marked by an even amenity, than by the completeness with which he visited and sketched the various localities of historic interest with which Greece so richly abounds.

Mr. Baird's account of the educational progress of Greece is unexpectedly cheering. The University of Athens is a noble institution, manned with a corps of forty-six able professors, furnished with a library of seventy thousand

volumes, and attended by seven hundred and fifty students. Of these more than half are from Greek families, resident in Turkey; so that "Free Greece" is educating her whole race for a future high destiny. The lectures of the professors are free; and ordinarily, it is interesting to note, crowded, in addition to the students, by the "town's people." Mr. Baird found the professors talented, learned, and affable; proud to receive a student from America, and hopeful that he was the first of a coming procession.

Never can the true classical scholar tire of retraveling with every new pilgrim, the itinerarium of this true classic land. Mr. Baird encountered no apparent difficulties from the turbulence of the population or the assaults of brigands. He has no desperate adventures to record, to vary the reader's uninterrupted attention to the modern remains of ancient glory.

The Athenian genius still seems to possess the same traits of elasticity and ever-springing life, without, it may be, that powerful base of character, which is necessary to a great political state. Her language is wonderfully unchanged, being far nearer to the classic model than Italian is to Latin. Her scholars plausibly maintain, that with its singular sameness of vowel sounds and its close adherence to the accents, it is essentially unchanged in pronunciation. During the last fifty years, Athens has almost regenerated her language, pruning away redundant forms, banishing its foreign acquisitions, and resuming the classic idioms. So rapid has been this process, that the professors have been obliged each year to revise the Atticism of their lectures; and even the common people of the town have often so far outstripped the rural sections as to be occasionally unintelligible. In literature, in addition to the great name of Coray, modern Greece is able to reckon a splendid list of scholars, historians, and poets. There are more newspapers published in Athens, than in any other city of equal size in the world. Fully conscious of her brilliant ancestry, Athens aspires at the present day to emulate her ancient intellectual glory, and unless untoward political events prevent, she will again become the abode of the sciences and the muses.

The best judges affirm, that the failure of Greece to realize the full hopes of her ardent well wishers, has resulted from the government rather than from the people. A numerically scanty race in the presence of the gigantic nationalities of Europe, Greece, at the close of that revolution in which she performed prodigies of valor unsurpassed in her classic story, was arbitrarily severed in two, and but a segment rendered independent, under the government of an imported German boy. Surrounded by a court and cabinet of Germans, King Otho distanced the Greek statesmen from his government, and ruled with an unlimited despotism and a reckless prodigality. A firm and brave rebellion extorted a constitution, the freest in Europe; drove the Mynheers from court; and established a freedom which, though hampered by court corruption, has never yet submitted to a *coup d'état*.

(10.) "*History of Greece*, by GEORGE GROTE, Esq." (Vol. xii, 12mo., pp. 590. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1856.) We cannot tell just now, how many years it is since Mitford published his elaborate History of Greece, in which he surprised the world with the discovery that the Athenian "*Many*,"

or Democracy, was the object of the just condemnation of history, that Demosthenes was a pugnacious demagogue, and Philip of Macedon, a model prince. So plausible did the views of this stupendous tory historic pamphlet, of some eight volumes, appear; so fresh and novel, so apparent to the broad common sense of the nineteenth century, that the literary world seemed brought to a stand. The verdict of ages appeared likely to be reversed.

But the reign of Mitford soon passed away. The scholarly work of Thirlwall, with masterly research and decisive result, reassured the faith of the world in its reading of Hellenic story. And now, with a research not less complete, and a common sense far more actual, Mr. Grote has more than confirmed the conclusions of Thirlwall. A man of the world, a London banker, a member of Parliament, a radical in politics, he surveys the scene of Grecian politics with the same advantages for developing their workings, as Gibbon claims that he derived from his own military service for describing the evolutions of war. The reputation of the Athenian democracy is safe in his hands. Demosthenes still stands majestic in history, his noble, yet sorrowful features, unshaded by the transient cloud of English high toryism. And we may, perhaps, be now assured that the most brilliant era of ancient history is so fully set in the clear broad light of modern research, as that no change will ever come over the opinion of the literary world upon the subject.

Mr. Grote's great work is now complete, and its entire amount is placed by the Harper press before the American public. The present volume contains the history of Alexander, including the events that transpired until his cotemporary generation passed off the stage. Mr. Grote had intended to give a full view of the characters and philosophies of Plato and Aristotle; but the subject was too large for the limits of his work. He reserves this topic for an independent volume, which he has yet to publish, on the Greek philosophy during the fourth century before Christ.

(11.) "*Autobiography of Peter Cartwright*, the Backwoods Preacher. Edited by W. P. Strickland." (12mo., pp. 525. New-York: Carlton & Porter.) Peter Cartwright, judging from his many re-elections to the General Conference, from the popular stories of which he is the hero, and from the laudatory notices of some of our editors, has many admirers. Such will doubtless buy, read, and admire, his self-drawn picture. We are not, and never have been, among that number of laudators; and if we were so disposed, we should be cured of the peculiarity by numerous passages in this book, and especially by the following specimen:

> "It is true, many of these advocates for an improved and educated ministry among us, speak in rapturous and exalted strains concerning the old, illiterate pioneers that planted Methodism and Churches in early and frontier times; but I take no flattering unction to my soul from these extorted concessions from these velvet-mouthed and downy D.D.'s; for their real sentiments, if they clearly express them, are, that we were indebted to the ignorance of the people for our success."

The unamiable nature that can thus perversely construe the expressions of kindly feeling, ought not to wonder if kindly feeling should withhold its expression. We may in justice add, that the general editor is wholly irre-

sponsible for this publication. It, nevertheless, has its value, as a contribution to history; a value which would have been greatly increased by a more thorough revision, decided as, we understand, the editorial retrenchments were.

(12.) "*The Pocket Diary*, for 1857." (18mo., pp. 223. New York: Carlton & Porter.) We find this beautiful utility on our editorial table. It has not taken us long to analyze its contents. Its pure unwritten pages are the very reality to which Locke compared the new-born human mind, upon which experience has made no registry. It contains a ruled blank page for every day of the coming year, upon which its memoranda may be jotted; and so, from year to year, by using these annuals, you may become an autobiographer. And so it will be seen that it is under the biographical head that we rank it. By and by you may read your own history as a man reads the life of his friend. The written page may be more faithful than memory itself; but as your eye glances along its retrospective record, each trace may be the nucleus of a hundred events and scenes half forgotten; the stem on which whole clusters of balmy or bitter memories are hanging.

We can recommend it as being, *as yet*, a very innocent book. It contains no heresy against any particular truth, no incendiarism against any peculiar institution. It is neutral in politics and safe on every question. The only objection we have is, that it is a little too nice for use. Unless you can write a very dainty hand, with a "lady's pen," you are not fit to write in it at all. We understand, also, that it is sold ridiculously cheap; and that Carlton & Porter have a variety of sizes of the same kind of indispensable.

(13.) "*English Traits*, by R. W. Emerson." (12mo., pp. 312. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.) We are not among the special admirers of Mr. Emerson, or of the school of pseudo-transcendentalists, of which he is an acknowledged master. We hold them to be nuisances and him a charlatan. We hold no man to be a philosopher worthy our attention, who does not at least attempt to clothe just thought in exactitude of language, and either to present great truth clearly before the mind, or train the faculties to grapple with its serious problems. When this is done with a master power, even failure does not prevent our acknowledging the effort of a master mind. But when a man ignores or doubts even the reality of truth, and abandons even the pretense of consistent thought, surrenders himself over to speculative reverie, and employs his hours in intellectual vapor-painting, we do not consider a high degree of success in that department as a proof of talent, or as a claim upon our study or attention. The art of limning nebulæ is not a high or difficult attainment, and is of very little productive value when attained. Those who enter into sympathy with such reveries, may enjoy the dreamy luxury and admire the effeminate dreamer. But the time has been badly spent. The mind has taken no bracing tonic such as a true manly philosophy brings. It has obtained no great view of truth; it is no better prepared to achieve the battle of life or grapple with the great problems of eternity.

Of the emasculating effect of this mental indulgence, Mr. Emerson himself

is a sorrowful specimen. His mind is nerveless, and exhausts itself in a phantasmagoria of aimless and unsubstantial brilliancies. His faculties are expended in evolving quaint points and unexpected conceits, clothed in dainty phrase. There is no actuality to be discovered or sought, only *seemings;* and one seeming is as good as another; and that one seeming contradicts another is no proof that such seemings are any more false than any other. Hence reality disappears from the world, and truth from the soul. The universe, God and man, are fused into "such stuff as dreams are made of."

Of all his works, however, the present book comes nearest to being of some value. Indeed, the volume may be considered a condescension. The dweller *in nubibus* humbles himself to tread the terra firma. He consents that there are somethings. He admits, at least by hypothesis, an England; and, on hypothesis that England is, he tells what kind of an England it is to his perception. Of course, his quaint optics see it in quaint lights; and with many there is a curiosity to know how he who has only been accustomed to seeing Aeryland will view England. How will he who has employed his vocabulary only about seemings talk about things? To them the zest arises from the fact that he will see things as nobody else sees them. On the whole, much benefit arises to Mr. Emerson, from the fact that he writes about a conceded reality. It serves as a regulator to his faculties, and hems him into something like common sense. Yet even here, one peculiarity of his mind becomes, from the very experiment, perhaps, the more palpable. Not having the capacity to utter energetic thought in a full even flow, Mr. Emerson ekes out his thoughts by drops and jets. Each sentence stands very much as an independent enunciation upon the subject. He talks in mottoes. His style is not in the majestic strain of the organ, but in the constant thump, thump, thump, of a bad player on the piano.

It is curious to read Emerson's account of his visit to his brother mystic, Coleridge. That veteran opium-eater had long ceased to converse; his only performance in society being to evolve his poppy fumes in the form of cloudy metaphysics upon his victims. Mr. Emerson was by compulsion a mute in the scene. The "dialogue was all monologue." "The visit," says Mr. Emerson, "was rather a spectacle than a conversation." We think it was a pair of spectacles.

(14.) "*The Life of Rev. John Clark*, by Rev. B. M. HALL, with an Introduction by BISHOP MORRIS." (12mo., pp. 276. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1856.) John Clark was one of those happily endowed beings that win every man they meet for a friend, at first sight, and without trying. Such men have only to be as they are, and to act as they feel, and the consequence spontaneously follows. His manly, well-rounded frame, clear, sunny face, musical voice, and carelessly easy manner, were much; but when a magnanimous heart at the center, rendered still nobler by the grace of God, gave a spring to all the movements, and a tone to all the words of this noble sum of externals, then there was a *man*—a natural, high-souled, loving, and lovable man. So he seemed to us upon a slight, but well-remembered acquaintance.

John Clark was born in Northern New-York, and spent most of his life in

the region of the Empire State, that embosoms those most beautiful of lakes, Champlain and George. Its healthful air seemed to inspire his frame and soul with manly strength. A poor apprentice boy in the tanyard, he was converted, and manifested such talent and grace, that his noble master, though an unconverted man, seemed "moved by the Holy Ghost," to dismiss him from his bonds, at no small loss, to preach the everlasting Gospel. He entered the itinerancy, and preached for some years with great faithfulness and power in his native Troy Conference. Thence he entered the missionary field, and labored with great efficiency among the Indians of the Northwest Territory. Texas was his next missionary field, whence he returned to his own native conference, whence he went again to the Northwest. While pastor of one of the Chicago Churches, he was exposed, by his faithful labors, to a fatal attack of the cholera, and died like a noble warrior, in the prime of his years, and with his harness on.

It is a fact worth noting, that Mr. Clark was the adviser of Mrs. Garrett, when she made that munificent bequest, by which the Biblical Institute, which bears her name, was endowed and founded. We cannot but hope that this noble Institute will be guided by the caution implied in Mr. Clark's replies to President Nott; and that it will effect all the benefits he hoped, and none of the evils that the president suggested. Its friends and pupils have good cause to cherish the memory of John Clark.

It was with eminent propriety that his reverend brother, of the same conference, Mr. Hall, was selected to write his memoir; and well has he discharged his trust. It is commenced with an introduction by Bishop Morris, written in the bishop's usual pure and Franklin-like style. We are expecting that this will be a favorite "Life" with the public. We cherish the assurance that John Clark will still live, in his biography, to delight his many admiring friends, and to bless the Church with the power of a long-surviving example. So good men live even on earth a double life; and the Church finds she has two jewels where she counted but one.

(15.) "*California*, in Doors and Out; or, how we Farm, Mine, and Live Generally, in the Golden State, by ELIZA W. FARNHAM." (12mo., pp, 508. New-York: Dix, Edwards, & Co., 1856.) Such is the title of a well-written book, by a woman not altogether unknown to the public. Early in the year 1849, a project of female emigration to California was discussed to some extent in the newspapers of New-York City. It was introduced by a "Circular" from Mrs. Farnham, proposing to form a company of single women, not under twenty-five years of age, to proceed to that land of promise. The project was never realized. Mrs. Farnham, however, went to California, and was among the first female emigrants from this country. The book before us is the result of her experience and observation. It is not so much a picture of what California now is, as of what it was; and a sketch of the changes it has passed through to reach its present condition. It contains much information, and many well-drawn descriptions and interesting incidents, sadly real, no doubt, of California life; a country where multiplied changes increase life's experiences a thousandfold, crowding years into days.

Mrs. Farnham became a *practical* farmer in the delightful valley of Santa Cruz; the generous soil and genial skies of which are glowingly described. The moral and social evils of California are fearlessly dealt with, the vail is sufficiently drawn aside to induce the exclamation as we turn from the picture, "O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united!" And this, too, from Mrs. Farnham, whose theory of morality, we would judge from the book, scarcely reaches the standard as fixed by Christianity. We suppose the book reflects with great accuracy, the moral and intellectual character of the writer. Woman's rights and woman's mission are very prominently presented, yet not offensively so. Consistently enough, woman is the leading character of the volume, "in doors and out." She is the personification of fortitude and fondness in the midst of the train of suffering emigrants across the desert, and the angel presence in the canvass tent or mud hut on the mountain-side. The book is all it promises on the title page, and those who have the interest and time to read it, will find it entertaining and instructive. L.

(16.) We have two small volumes from London, (John Mason, 66 Paternoster-Row,) containing precious memorials of eight Wesleyan ministers, who lived, labored, died, and went to heaven.

Seven of them were missionaries in the West Indies. Revs. Jason Chatterton, William Rotherham, Richard Ridyard, Samuel Pritchard, John S. Ellison, John E. S. Williams, and Henry Andrews. These were all swept away within a few months of each other, and their extended obituaries are gathered into a small volume by Rev. John Corlett, entitled "The Beautiful Feet." How poetic, appropriate, and Scriptural!

The other bears the title "The Good Soldier," and is a brief memoir of Rev. Hugh Beech, by his son. L.

(17.) "*Studies from History*, vol. ii. Savonarola and Dawn of the Reformation. Melancthon and Spirit of the Reformation, by Rev. WILLIAM H. RULE, D.D., author of the Brand of Dominic, Celebrated Jesuits, etc." (12mo., pp. 220. London: John Mason.) This is one of a series of works of great merit upon the Reformation and the Romanist controversy, by a gentleman whose circumstances of life have led him to a thorough examination of the entire subject.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(18.) "*Topics of Jurisprudence connected with Conditions of Freedom and Bondage*, by JOHN C. HURD, Counselor at Law." (8vo., pp. 113. New-York: D. Van Nostrand.) This weighty pamphlet contains the first two chapters of a forthcoming elaborate work on the law of freedom and bondage in the United States. The topics of the entire chapters, amounting to twenty-five, are given in the Introduction. The discussion is to be apparently passionless and fundamental; grounded in the most thorough metaphysical ascertainment of natural right. It discusses, in historical order, the principles of the law of nations, the laws of the British empire, and the enactments, constitu

tional and legislative, during our colonial, revolutionary, and constitutional history, as bearing upon the subject of freedom and bondage. Thence are deduced the true principles of the Constitution as applicable to the apprehension of fugitives from justice or from labor. The proper construction of the constitutional clauses upon this point, the manner of their execution, the powers of Congress over the subject, and the necessity and propriety of the actual legislation, are brought under calm review.

Nothing is more propitious upon *the great question* of the age and nation, than the coming forward of minds trained to ultimate and fundamental research and calm judicial thought, to the free and fearless discussion. Intense feeling and bold, intrepid action have, indeed, their proper place; but it is *thought*, at once unshrinking and conservative, that assigns their place and directs their energies. Many have long entertained the deep suspicion, that the decisions of our highest courts, selected and shaped as these courts have been, have manufactured spurious constitution upon this subject for our nation. Judicial decisions are amenable, like everything else, to the scrutinies of history, and of fundamental public opinion. And when that review shall have been completely achieved, we should not wonder if some future Mansfield of America shall be fully sustained in rising above the entire current of corrupt precedent, and reasserting the primitive intention of the framers of the Constitution.

We cannot say, from the attention which we have been able to give these two introductory chapters, at what conclusions the author ultimately arrives. We commend his discussions to the attention of the immense class of earnest but honest thinkers whose minds are now intently engaged upon its topics.

(19.) The Rev. W. A. Scott, D.D., a popular clergyman, lately of New-Orleans, has issued three discourses, delivered at various times before the Mercantile Library Association of San Francisco, California, which requested their publication. A somewhat careful perusal of the volume satisfies us that the reputation of this author, which suffered so severely at the hands of the reviewers of his "Lectures to Young Men," will scarcely be improved by the "*Trade and Letters, their Journeyings around the World.*" The work is deficient in method, point, and power; and the Appendices are by far the most interesting part of the book, but revealing too clearly the source of the author's materials. He regards great cities as founded for purposes of safety and trade, demanding, therefore, art and labor to provide the means of defense and commerce, and for this purpose calling out the genius and skill of their citizens. As wealth and refinement increase, a taste for the fine arts arises in the very place where commercial success has furnished the means by which the painter, the sculptor, the musician, the orator, the professor, and the author, can be compensated for their toil. Thus the places of trade become the home of letters. According to our author, trade thus becomes essential to the progress of nations, and their advancement will be just in the ratio of skill in the employment of capital in productive and commercial enterprises, embracing all the industrial, useful, and ornamental arts. The third lecture is on the moral influence of the commercial spirit of the age. This, notwithstanding reckless

speculations, dishonesty, selfishness, outrage, and oppression, which are but the illegitimate children of commerce, he finds to be good. Trade is but the employment of the energies of each man in furnishing others with what may promote their happiness. Its effect must be to call forth our best powers, liberalize our views, and create a mutuality of interest. He says nothing of its relations to the missionary work, (a serious omission certainly,) but he eloquently presents the tendencies of commerce to overcome the spirit of war. The interests of trade have already commanded the soldier to sheath his sword, and war is declared and peace concluded, more at the bourse and exchange than in the halls of parliament or congress. The producer is superseding the destroyer; the army of the warehouse prevailing over the army of the bayonet; and the ledger has become one of God's instruments to beat swords into plowshares. We cannot commend the work very highly; but our outline will show that those who have not access to better and larger works on this subject, may read this one with some profit. (Carter & Brothers, New-York.) R.

(20.) "*A History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension, or Restriction*, by HORACE GREELEY." (8vo., pp. 164. New-York: Dix, Edwards, & Co., 1856.)

"*Political Essays*, by PARKE GODWIN. From contributions to Putnam's Magazine." (12mo., pp. 345. New-York: Dix, Edwards, & Co., 1856.)

"*The Duty of the American Scholar to Politics and the Times.* An Oration delivered on Tuesday, August 5th, 1856, before the Literary Societies of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., by GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS." (8vo., pp. 46. New-York: Dix, Edwards, & Co., 1856.)

Though perhaps the great stirrings of the political world have called these productions forth, yet they partake very much the character of permanent intellectual efforts on a great and permanent question.

The history by Mr. Grecley is mainly documentary in its character, and possesses great value for all sides of the question, as a matter of reference as well as for the historian in the way of material.

Mr. Godwin's work is made up of essays already published in Putnam's Magazine; and in accordance with the character of that work, it preserves a tone of literary purity and elevation, very refreshing in these days of coarse and fanatical extravagance upon both sides of the great question. Mr. Godwin is the manly, conservative advocate of free discussion, yet opposed, like the great mass of anti-slavery thinkers, to any invasion of the prerogatives of the Constitution conferred upon any class of men in the Union.

Mr. Curtis's address is emphatically a politico-literary performance. It aims to show the American scholar that the struggle for freedom, at the present moment transpiring in our country, is identical with the great battles for the same cause in past ages, embalmed in classic records and consecrated among the choicest memories of the world. His justification for bringing forward such a topic before a literary audience, was the high and exceptional character of the crisis and the momentous question at stake.

(21.) "*Signs of the Times*, Letters to Ernst Moritz Arndt on the Dangers to Religious Liberty in the present State of the World, by C. C. BUNSEN, D.C.L., Ph.D. Translated from the German by Susanna Winkworth, author of Life of Niebuhr, etc." (12mo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.) Chevalier Bunsen is at the present time one of the eminent names of Europe. He is celebrated for the encyclopædiac variety of his acquirements. He is a philosopher, a statesman, a theologian, and a savant; an earnest Christian in spite of individualisms, and a powerful champion of free Christian thought and well-regulated civil liberty. He is a man for the age, and the age respectfully listens when he stands up to read the "Signs of the Times."

The book has a confused documentary look, and deals so much in Germanic details, that it needed a better analysis prefixed than is found in the index. It consists of ten letters addressed to Arndt, the poet, and is really a trumpet blast of alarm upon the encroachments of the Romish hierarchy, aided by Puseyism, upon the religious liberties of Christendom. Two signs, one favorable and the other threatening, does the author descry. The first is the free and grand development of the principle of VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION as exhibited in the commerce, manufactures, public works, and political and religious organisms, that have sprung up in England, Canada, and the United States. This is the embodiment and movement of the spirit of organic freedom, formative, progressive, conservative, and aggressive. The second is despotic hierarchism, determined to maintain the supremacy of a sacerdotal oligarchy with inquisitorial energy, at whatever expense of blood. This, like most oligarchies, is obstinate, unlearning, and at the present time, apparently succeeding.

The first letter opens the subject, and gives an outline of the two great Signs. It is singular that Bunsen, in tracing the vast developments of the American Protestant Church, at home and through its missions in the Sandwich Islands, "the Oceanic Isles," and the continents, should christen the whole as Baptists.

The second letter was written on the eve of the eleventh centennial commemoration of Winfred, or, as he is Romanically called, St. Boniface. This saint is the so-called Apostle of Germany, as being the converter of the Germans to Christianity. On occasion of this commemoration, it seems that Bishop Von Ketteler, the Roman Catholic Primate, and Boniface's successor in the See of Mayence, had issued a Pastoral Epistle, eulogizing St. Boniface, and claiming him as the founder of German Unity, as well as of German Christianity. The Chevalier bestows a hearty and earnest scathing upon the impudence of the Romish prelate.

The third letter strips Boniface of his Apostleship. Bunsen maintains that the truer apostle is Ulphilas, the Gothic translator of the Gospels, in the fourth century. The Celtic missionaries from Bangor and other points of the free old British Church, had evangelized Germany before the time of Boniface. Boniface was the Apostle of Popery rather than of Christianity in Germany.

The next five letters chastise the Romish Bishop of Strasburg for his famous "tiara sermon," so called for its apostrophe to Victoria to restore the tiara, which she had stolen, to its true owner, the pope. Bunsen also here exposes the popish plot of the Synod of Wurtsburg, for overthrowing the great religious

pacification between Catholic and Protestant Germany, established two centuries ago, at the celebrated Peace of Westphalia. From this plot, operations were commenced in 1853, in the kingdom of Baden, as the most favorable spot, and continued, until the compromise of last year stayed their proceedings. The plot is still in process of prosecution.

The sixth and seventh letters treat of the wide and bold system of Romish aggression throughout Europe; the view is sustained by an appendix, detailing the facts of the daring persecutions which Rome has perpetrated within the last few years.

The eighth furnishes the Chevalier's remedy. It is the establishment of liberty of conscience; the restoration to the PEOPLE of Europe of those religious rights of which the oligarchy of princes and pontiffs has for centuries robbed them.

The last two letters are a sweeping refutation of the unprotestant "Discourse on Toleration," of the Protestant Professor Stahl.

The whole closes with a lofty pæan for the triumphs yet to come "in the history of our world," in which the noble Chevalier "shouts like a Methodist."

"HALLELUIAH! From sunrise to midnight flames the power and might of the Lord: who will stay his thunder-bolts?

"HALLELUIAH! Into all hands looks thine eye of love; and thy truth endures for everlasting!

"HALLELUIAH! We are redeemed from the yoke of the oppressor! No one shall build his kingdom again forever; for the Lord hath spoken it by his wondrous deeds. HALLELUIAH!"

We find it reported in the papers that the battle for toleration goes bravely on. Schenkel, of Heidleberg, and the eloquent Krummacher, court preacher at Potsdam, have taken side for the toleration of all sects, not dangerous to public peace or morals. Even the king is said, as a Protestant prince should, to favor that cause.

V. *Belles Lettres.*

(22.) "*Perversion;* or, the Causes and Consequences of Infidelity, by Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M.A." (Pp. 495. New-York: Wiley & Halsted.) This volume contains a graphic illustration of the causes and effects of infidelity in general, and of its modern phases in particular. Its author, whose "Life and Epistles of St. Paul" have procured for him an enviable reputation both in Europe and America, has proved himself equally competent to trace the movements of an apostle and a Church, and to pen a fiction of thrilling interest and of excellent moral tendency. Though not prepared to commend unqualifiedly, even *moral* and *religious fictions*, we cannot but regard the work before us as eminently "a book for the times." Never before have we met with a volume which so clearly traced the origin and effects of the numerous and spacious forms of modern infidelity, or so fully evinced its dangerous character and tendencies in all its forms. Indeed, the design of the book is to indicate the intimate connection between opinion and practice, and to demonstrate that moral deterioration and the loss of happiness and peace *do* and *will* —as a rule—result from skepticism, whatever may be its form, and however

it may be induced. Skillfully, indeed, does the author trace the career of his hero through one and another phase of error; graphically does he describe his unrest amid them all; and thrillingly does he portray his peace, and joy, and hope, when, in the Bible as Divine, and in the Christ whom it reveals, he finds "a resting place for his weary heart." We commend this book to all, and especially to those who are prone to regard religious opinions as of no importance, or to indulge in positive skepticism. T.

(23.) "*Lays of Ancient Rome*, with Ivry and the Armada, by THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY." (18mo., pp. 181. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co., 1856.) Poetry not unworthy the greatest master of her language that England has produced. It has merit sufficient for one poet to have lived upon. And yet it is rather politics in splendid rhythm and rhyme than the true *spirituel* poetry. It has the practical old Romanic temper rather than the subtle Teutonic element.

The preface exhibits in full splendor the range of thought and power of style of "miracle Macaulay." Scanty as are his materials, his luminous mastery of their entirety compels them, as by a charm, to marshal themselves, "like nimble servitors," in the exact spontaneous order to complete his argument and secure his conclusions. Macaulay is of the firm opinion that there existed a splendid ballad literature, anterior to the historic age, which embodied the popular legends that were subsequently framed into the so-called *history* of early Rome. These ballads, he imaginatively attempts to reproduce. As ballad has been wrought into history, so he takes the history and rhymes it back again to ballad. As a sport of genius, or rather of great talent enacting the part of genius, it is eminently successful. Probably, in the entire world of thought, Mr. Macaulay could never have found a field of poetic attempt so suited to his own truly Romanic mind.

But we would like to whisper a secret into the ear of Mr. Macaulay, and all the world besides. This age of spontaneous native poetry in early Rome, whose luxuriant wealth Mr. Macaulay laments as fatally lost, never existed. There never was any spontaneous poetry in any part of Roman history, because there was no spontaneous poetry in any part of the Roman soul. Earliest Greece was poetical. Her ante-Homeric bards were true larks of the morning-dawn. Homer was the culminating noontide of an unsurpassed day-spring. But the Roman mind was practical, politic, and iron. The poets of her mythic age were about of the caliber of the Dr. Ladd and Philip Freneau of our American Revolution. When Rome had done her natural work of conquering the known world, she had leisure and wealth to sit down and *study* poetry and other literature. She sent her sons to Athens, to refine their own coarse metal, and procure by hard rubbing, a polish. By due impregnation of Attic air, she accomplished a Virgil, who adapted Homer to Latin history and language. Horace, her truest poet, founded his highest boast on having imported the Alcaic verse from Greece to Latium. Of every Latin poet, you can name the Greek original; unless Horace be excepted. So well did Rome herself, in her Augustan era, know this, that Virgil (Æn. VI, 847) roundly tells the Romans that they had no soul for æsthetics, and had better stick to

politics. And this passage from Virgil is not mere illustration. It is good *proof* that Virgil saw no indication of poetic soul in any early ballad literature of his country. Daniel's empire image, in which Greece was *silver* and Rome *iron*, asserts the same fact. And the iron of Daniel's age was a rigid substance. Modern art had not then made it limber and playful; drawing it out with waxen ductility into flaring vines and pumpkin blossoms; wreathing it into festoons of adamantine daffodils, to adorn the porticoes of our commercial palaces. Now, your iron men in their earlier age and lower grades, are coarse and ruffian. Their poetry is personal balderdash, like,

> General Jackson are a hoss,
> And so are Colonel Johnson;

or prosaic annals set to tin-pan music, like,

> On the fourteenth of October
> At Lewiston our army lay,
> Bright and early the next morning
> We set sail for Canada.

This is about the level of Mr. Macaulay's lamented ballad age of Rome. We imagine ourselves to know about as well as if we had just arrived from that quarter. Mr. Macaulay's genius is not poetic, but Romanic; but it is Augustan Romanic; and by pure force of culture and talent, he has himself produced more poetry in one verse, (whatever he may pretend to the contrary,) than early Rome produced through all her ante-historical period. We accept the brilliant equivalent, and care not a fig for the lost *quid pro quo*.

(24.) "*Wunnisoo; or, the Vale of Hoosatonnuk.* A Poem, with Notes, by William Allen, D.D., late President of Bowdoin College." (12mo., pp. 237. Boston: J. P. Jewett, 1856.) To define poetry has been considered very nearly impossible. If Dr. Whately be correct in affirming that all composition in meter is poetry, then this production of the ex-President of Bowdoin College is, unquestionably, nothing else than poetry. If a definition that we once undertook to hammer out, as an exercise, or perhaps proof, of our own acuteness, be the true one, namely, that "*Poetry is emotional thought in rhythmical language*," then this book is partly poetry and partly something else. If the more transcendental view be taken, such as a gentle lady, full of sensibility and so forth, intends, when at a certain passage she exclaims, That *is* poetry! then this nicely bound volume, however fine its paper, or exquisite its type, or cheap its price, is not alloyed with a particle of that particular ingredient. The notes are unquestionable prose. If, however, without taking into view the difficult problem of prose or poetry, we consider these stanzas as an elegant and pious employment of the leisure hours of a venerable literary gentleman, rather printed than published, for a wide circle of friends, then we think, that time might be much worse spent, and friends more unpardonably bored, than the composition or presentation of this elegant volume implies.

(25.) "*Dred;* a Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp, by HARRIET BEECHER STOWE." (2 vols., 12mo., pp. 329, 370. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1856.) This is the second count of the great indictment which the authoress of Uncle Tom has brought against a peculiar institution in her country, before the bar of the civilized world. To her it is given, feeble woman as she is, to stand before that high court and command its breathless audience, while she speaks, with a polyglottal voice, that peals in every language, through all the palaces and cottages of Christendom. Single-handed woman as she is, charged with many a womanly weakness, the powerful defendant stands perforce arraigned at her summons; and with all his influences and all his might is unable to soothe her or to crush. So mighty and world-wide is her power, that the arraigned is scarce able to make an audible plea; sympathy from helplessness seems flowing to his side; and judgment seems going by default. Just or unjust, what the world's verdict is, not a doubt exists.

Such being the moral import of this book, what is its literary grade? We answer, had Uncle Tom never been written, this book would have awakened public attention, and have soon gone the length and breadth of the civilized world; not, indeed, with so startling a power as Uncle Tom did, but yet with a rush. It now stands in inevitable and severe comparison with its predecessor. That was written all unconsciously, and by chapters, of pure and lonely inspiration. This is written with all the world looking on, to see if she can meet the *encore* of her first performance. She has not equaled; and still she has not failed. Yet to her belongs the praise, conceded by the London Times, of having twice touched the center of the target. That is incomparable archery. Henceforth the authoress is a power. Uncle Tom is not the happy accident of an inspired idiot. Harriet Beecher Stowe is unsurpassed in her two only performances, by any two best of Walter Scott's. She is unsurpassed by any master of English fiction except Defoe and Bunyan. She is unsurpassed by any English prose writer in description; surpassed in the life-like dramatic by Shakspeare alone.

Upon the character of Dred there are very earnest opposite opinions, in regard to which we avow a betweenity. The Christian Examiner (American Unitarian) pronounces him a "nightmare monstrosity," "a humbug," and all other conceivable abominations. On the other hand, the Westminster Review, looking, perhaps, through the enchantment of distance, pronounces Dred "equal to the best things in Old Mortality." Now, to say that Dred is an *impossibility, a transcendental monster*, is saying nothing to the purpose. Harvey Birch is an impossibility; "Norna of the fitful head," in Scott's Pirate, is a transcendentalism; to say nothing of the Caliban of the Tempest, or the Witches of Macbeth. A novelist has a right, not only to the height of the extraordinary, but to all the supernatural that popular illusion or prevalent superstition allows. Dred has the ubiquity of Harvey Birch, the transcendentalism of Norna, and a *something more* which is in the author's favor, provided she had the elements of popular imagination out of which to make it. Now, Dred is the African prince, of extraordinary natural endowments, strung up to a superhuman tension, with that of the supernatural, which the spiritualistic temper of the present day suggests and sustains. There can be no doubt,

that had the popular mind, in Scott's day, possessed one half the amount of spiritualistic temper that is now in circulation, he would have never hesitated to use it as an element in romance. Allow Mrs. Stowe this privilege, (and it is this she plainly intended to claim,) and all that belongs to Dred's *character* is within the allowable range of fiction. She manufactures nothing more than she has material for. But when, on the other hand, we come to the camp-meeting scene, and Dred is made to leap from tree-top to tree-top, and to pour down volumes of audible oratory upon an American audience, undiscovered, a dash of the ludicrous impossible comes across us, by which all illusion is broken, as of old the witch's spell was dispersed by the cock crow. That instant we are no longer at the Carolina Camp-meeting, but here in our study, laughing over the nonsense. Such tree-top gymnastics are, indeed, often performed by American black squirrels, but never by American black bipeds. When, indeed, Mrs. Stowe sent Eliza across the Ohio on floating ice-cakes, she furnished us book to prove it possible. Let us hear of the live humanity skimming the tree-tops, and we yield the point.

It was a sad moment when the cholera got into Mrs. Stowe's book. It killed off the incomparable Nina; and both Mrs. Stowe and Clayton scarcely seem to care enough about her to bury her decently. Amy Robsart, in Kenilworth, drops through a fatal trap-door, as unceremoniously as Nina drops out by the cholera; but then how does Scott afterward weave her sad fate into mystery, legend, and song. And then Mrs. Stowe spreads her cholera so summarily, that it reminds us of the *total massacre of all the characters* in the Titus Andronicus of the pseudo-Shakspeare, which has rendered that drama the laughing-stock of literature. Indeed, Mrs. Stowe's book itself, at that point, not only takes the cholera, but is to all intents dead. We are seized with sympathetic qualms ourself, and hurry to the end amid alarming symptoms.

Mrs. Stowe is fearlessly belligerent. There are streaks of the Henry Ward Beecher Broad-Church theology in her book, which do not much improve it. There are bold attacks upon the doctrines of Calvinism in it, which sound refreshing from the daughter of Lyman Beecher. Moreover, there are in the appendix some remarkable documents, which seem to prove that Mrs. Stowe is not well posted up in regard to the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the present time, on the subject of slavery.

(26.) "*Poems* of the late FRANCIS S. KEY, Esq., author of the Star Spangled Banner. With an Introductory Letter by Chief Justice Taney." (18mo., pp. 203. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1856.) Had our early history produced many lyrics like the Star Spangled Banner, we should hardly have adduced its barren area in our notice of Macaulay's Lays, as a model of the prosaic. Our heroic age was certainly not a poetic age. Hence, one streak of spirited poetry like this splendid song thrilled the popular heart like a bugle blast from Gloryland. Had the author produced a few equals to it, he would have taken rank with Campbell as a lyrist; and instead of being the subject of a memorial from a circle of friends, like this neat octodecimo, would have become our national minstrel. The other poems of the volume, though inferior to the leader, are interesting and even surprising, when we consider

they were pure jets of ideality, flung up from the fountains of feeling, through the fissures and crevices of a mass of unpoetical professional business. The Banner song is unintelligible, unless accompanied by its story; and this, Judge Taney has superabundantly supplied. One half the space would have been better occupied with a brief memoir of the author; and a likeness should have been prefixed.

VI.—*Educational and Juvenile.*

(27.) "*A Manual of Chemistry;* Designed as a Text-book for Colleges and other Seminaries of Learning. Sixth Revised Edition, Rewritten and Restereotyped, with many new Illustrations, by JOHN JOHNSTON, LL.D., Professor of Natural Science in the Wesleyan University." Perhaps there is so little distinctively of Turner left in this manual, as to render it a proper subject for raising the metaphysical question of identity. Dr. Johnston enjoys the high satisfaction of a professor, whose ambition and ability have enabled him to dispense instruction from text-books stamped with his own imprint, and shaped to his own views. The issue of the sixth edition gives ample assurance of a *success.* The book has swelled and improved in its dimensions somewhat, but has not become either too corpulent or too costly for manual use. The revisions are important and valuable, and the work may be safely recommended with additional credentials of its high excellence for the purposes of the collegiate and academic instructor.

(28.) "*An Atlas of Classical Geography,* constructed by WILLIAM HUGHES, and edited by GEORGE LONG, with a Sketch of Ancient Geography. Containing fifty-two Maps and Plans, of twenty-six plates, with Index of Places." (8vo. pp. 76. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea, 1856.) The extended title of this Atlas, here given, truly and fully describes its scope; and we may add, that the splendor of its execution entirely fills out the promise of the title. The sketch of Ancient Geography matching each map, is admirably adapted to supply that amount of preparatory knowledge of Ancient Geography to render reference easy for the student, in his entire course of ancient history and the ancient classics. The Atlas is not only complete as to countries and kingdoms, but it is rich in plans of city foundations, army routes, and battle-fields.

Our observation of the classical schools and colleges of our country, strongly impresses us with the belief that this part of the curriculum is most sadly neglected, and that by this neglect an immense share, both of the interest and the value of the course, is lost. From his first book at the preparatory school, to his last classic at the university, the scholar should go through, *map in hand.* "Chronology and geography," says some one, "are the two eyes of history;" and the scholar who goes through antiquity without the latter, "goes it blind."

(29.) "*Chefs d'Œuvre de Jean Racine,* prepared for the use of Colleges and Schools. With Explanatory Notes and References to the 'New French Method,' by LOUIS FASQUELLE, LL.D., Professor of Modern Languages in

the University of Michigan." (12mo., pp. 320. New-York: Ivison & Phinney, 1856.) This forms the seventh volume of the valuable French series of our ancient friend and collaborator, Professor Fasquelle. If our personal reminiscences render us not partial in our estimate, this *course* stands without a rival in our language. It commences with an elementary method in some measure original, and leads the pupil by easy advances, yet with thorough discipline, through successive steps, until the present book introduces him into the highest and most healthful literature of the seventeenth century. Let the scholar follow such a guide, and he cannot fail, with due application, to be master of the most elegant dialect and the richest literature of the Continent of Europe.

This volume embraces Les Plaideurs, Andromaque, Iphegénie, Esther, Athalie. Plentiful explanatory notes are added at the end of each scene. This selection, therefore, places in the hands of the American scholar, with generous aids, the choice masterpieces of the writer whom Voltaire and the unanimous voice of the nation have pronounced the most perfect of French poets.

(30.) "*The Means and Ends of Universal Education*, by IRA MAYHEW, A.M., Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan." (12mo., pp. 407.) Mr. Mayhew, for many years the well-known superintendent of Public Instruction in the State of Michigan, (reëlected, we are gratified to say, since the book was put into our hands,) was requested by the Legislature to embody his Educational Lectures, delivered at various times, through that State, in a volume. It has met with general approbation from the friends of the cause throughout the country. This is its fourth edition. It is not a work of trivial value or transient interest. Its worth is permanent, and it ought to pass through a hundred editions. It embodies principles which all young persons ought to amalgamate into their own minds and make a part of themselves.

(31.) "*Comment on parle á Paris;* or, French as spoken in Paris. For the use of Pupils and Travelers, by MADAME PEYRACE." (12mo., pp. 252. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1856.) Madame Peyrace has ingeniously relieved the dryness of an ordinary colloquial phrase book, by framing the whole into a little romance. The interest of agreeable narrative is well maintained, in addition to the benefit to be derived from a familiarity with the best models of French conversational style.

(32.) "*A Child's History of Rome*, by JOHN BONNER." (2 vols., 18mo., pp. 307. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1856.) Two smart little octodecimos, in red coats; exhibiting pictures that are not mere fancy pieces, but genuine illustrations of ancient objects; and telling truth, separate from the fictions, in a very sprightly style. Mr. Bonner knows how to talk to the boys.

(33.) "*The Young American's Life of Fremont*, by FRANCIS C. WOODWORTH." (18mo., pp. 282. New-York and Auburn: Miller, Orton, & Mul-

ligan, 1856.) The story of the popular Pathfinder, whose fortune has been to plant the stars and stripes at land's height, is here told for Young America with great life and freshness.

(34.) Carlton & Porter have published the following: "Poor Nelly; or, the Golden Mushroom. An Old Lady's Story." 18mo., pp. 244.

"Boys and Girls' Illustrated Olio." Square 12mo., pp. 181.

"The Sunday Shop." 18mo., pp. 74.

"Margaret Elizabeth, only Daughter of Rev. Albert Des Brisay." 18mo., pp. 236.

"Fields and Woodlands; or, Plaquemine and Green Bank," 18mo., pp. 163.

"The Little Water-Cress Sellers." 18mo., pp. 80.

"The Life of Robert R. Roberts, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by Benjamin St. James Fry." 18mo., pp. 126.

"A Winter at Wood Lawn; or, the Armor of Light Illustrated. By the author of 'Four Days in July.'" Square 12mo., pp. 271. An unusually beautiful little volume.

VII.—*Miscellaneous.*

(35.) "*The American Poulterer's Companion.* A Practical Treatise on the Breeding, etc., of Domestic Poultry. A New Edition, Enlarged and Improved, by C. N. Bement. With one Hundred and Twenty Illustrations on Wood and Stone." (8vo., pp. 304. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1856.) This book is "illustrated with portraits of fowls," many of which, so far as we are acquainted with the originals, are good likenesses. It has among them a variety of noble-looking cocks, whose spirited military air indicates little disposition to be hen-pecked, as the brave Marlborough was. We have some fine specimens of our Christmas favorite, the turkey; the honest bird which Franklin advised to place upon the American flag, instead of the robber eagle. The white swans, with their graceful, curving necks, suggest the poetical myth of their semi-celestial strains in dying; and we are happy to learn that they are naturalized among the "domestic fowls." There is almost an entire village also of model hen coops, poultry houses, etc., which must be eligible residences for feathered people. We suggest to our rural brethren to look at this manual; as they may derive from it some immediate, and, we believe, some ultimate advantage.

(36.) "*Tales of Sweden and the Norsemen.*" (12mo., pp. 364. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1856.) Some drops of native mythic honey from the great "Northern hive." These legends have a peculiar, solemn, yet healthful spirit. They are congenial in temper with the earliest traditional lore of our English ancestry, and have, some of them, an undying interest for every successive generation.

(37.) "*Fireside Reading*, in Five Volumes. Edited by D. W. Clark, D.D." (12mo., pp. 443. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe.) We have received from

the Cincinnati Methodist Book Concern five handsome volumes, embraced under the general title of "Fireside Reading." They are intended by the editor to furnish a range of interesting and instructive secular reading for the people. The subject of the volumes are, "Travels and Adventures;" "Historical Sketches;" "Traits and Anecdotes of Birds, Fishes, and Reptiles;" and "True Tales for the Spare Hour."

It will be seen that works of mere imagination are excluded. It is believed that there is variety of interest, of the amplest kind, to be found within the domains of truth. And such works deposit in the mind positive and substantive knowledge, that makes the reader a more knowing man. It is so much superadded value amalgamated into the person.

The volumes are each complete, and salable separately. We hope that our young folks will give these books a *try*, and that the publishers will be obliged to prosecute the series energetically.

VIII.—*Periodicals.*

(38.) "*Ladies' Repository*, Rev. D. W. Clark, D.D., Editor." We had it in our heart to say some pleasant things of Dr. Clark and his Repository; but his huge subscription list came into our thoughts, and we determined to keep our compliments for those who need them. Dr. Clark counts up thirty-one thousand, and yet is calling lustily for more! Will he please be satisfied when he gets all the Methodist Church and "the rest of mankind?" If this will suffice, we wish him its speedy accomplishment.

(39.) "*The National Magazine*, December, 1856. Rev. Dr. Floy, Editor." This December number finely winds up a noble volume. Its subscription list is sixteen thousand. We are not good at arithmetic, but we have a notion that the Ladies' Repository was as small as the National, when it was as young. We are prophesying that, with its present character, the National will be as large when it becomes as old.

(40.) "*The Opal.* November, 1856. Edited by the Patients of the State Lunatic Asylum, Utica, New-York." We rather suppose that this periodical is unique in literature. Its contributors do not quite gibe, intellectually, with the rest of the world. They are like watches that keep not time with the great chronometry of the universe. And the document bears inimitable marks of genuineness. There is the quavering from the straight line of thought; the shooting off at a tangent; the running the sentence into a tangle; the "fetching a compass," and coming out where they began, that it would be difficult to counterfeit. The pages themselves indicate a certain tranquillity, benevolence, and gratitude of disposition. Bating the failures above mentioned, we see much crazier periodicals from professedly sane quarters; and know of some madder men, that are unfortunately at large. There are editors, that upon particular topics seem to foam at the mouth, like hydrophobes at the sight of water, in most unfavorable comparison with these slightly unsteady, but comparatively tranquil brethren. We do think the world might enjoy an ineffable

repose if its insane men and madmen could be provided as tight an asylum, and set to so innocent a business as the filling the columns of this magazine.

The Opal does suggest some sweet, if melancholy, reflections. When we call to mind the sufferings of this unfortunate class of humanity in former times, the neglect and the scorn, the scourges and the jails, to which they have been accustomed, it is delightful to think that modern Christian benevolence has provided such a home and such a solace of misfortune. Their wavering utterances seem like the touching prattle of houseless orphans, gathered from the storm into a homelike shelter. And how beautiful the thought of giving them this employment, to centralize their faculties, and lead them into regular and healthful action! Such items of increasing humanity do come up to indicate that the world is becoming, not only more knowing, but *better*. They cheer the hopes of the Christian, and renerve the labors of the philanthropist.

Putnam's Magazine and Harper's Magazine and Story Books are regular comers. Harper's Weekly appears in January. When the Daily?

Of the following we only give the titles:

"*Lake Ngami;* or, Explorations and Discoveries, during four Years' Wanderings in the Wilds of Southwestern Africa, by CHARLES JOHN ANDERSSON. With Numerous Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 521. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1856.)

"*The Inner Life of the Christian*, by FREDERIC A. RAUCH, D.D, First President of Marshall College, and author of Psychology, etc. Edited by E. V. GERHART, President of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa." (Pp. 333. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1856.) This work may receive some further notice.

"*Daisy's Necklace*, and what Became of it, by T. B. ALDRICH." (12mo., pp. 225. New-York: Derby & Jackson, 1857.)

"*Audubon, the Naturalist of the New World*, by Mrs. HORACE St. JOHN." (18mo., pp. 311. New-York: Francis & Co., 1856.)

"*Aurelian;* or, Rome in the Third Century, by WILLIAM WARE, Author of Zenobia, etc." (12mo., pp. 250. New-York: Francis & Co., 1856.) This is the fifth edition of this truly classical historieal romance of Professor Ware's.

Art. XI.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS STATE OF EUROPE.

NOVEMBER, 1856.

Since we wrote our last review of the religious state of Europe, on May 15th, (Methodist Quarterly Review, July, 1856, p. 497,) Europe has had a bright Church history. In many denominations, in many places, and in many respects the increase of religious life has been obvious and considerable. The works of Protestantism in particular, on more than one occasion, have been more grand than anything the past history of the Church knows of. The Roman Church has likewise to record several gains; but to the friend of religion they cannot be a source of equal joy. While there are still many pious souls in that Church, such as Fenelon, whose proceedings and triumphs are watched by us with a sincere interest, the papal government has remained as unchristian as ever, and has used its influence with the princes of Europe to stir up new persecutions against Protestants. One observation may be made in all countries of Protestant as well as Catholic Europe. The nations are earnestly seeking religion; they prefer to try it again with a corrupted form of Christianity rather than to remain without religion. Religion regains in the estimation of the people the place due to her, and is again recognized as the most important matter, not only of the individual, but also of the nation. The Athenæum Français, a French literary paper of high standing, pointed lately to a striking proof of this change of public opinion in Europe. One of the first French scholars, Silvester de Sacy, chief editor of the Voltairean Journal des Debats, is editing a collection of standard devotional works of the Roman Church, and has succeeded in obtaining for it the general patronage of the French press, and a large circulation among the higher classes of French society. Who would have believed ten years ago, the Athenæum justly remarks, in the possibility of so great and so sudden a change? There is not one leading paper in Europe, that will refuse to make the same acknowledgment. The Greek Church in Russia and Turkey is the only ecclesiastical body, on which the new religious spirit which pervades Europe, seems to have as yet little influence. But the political and literary intercourse of these nations with the rest of Europe, cannot fail to bring on soon a change in their religious affairs also. In the following lines we design to select from the vast number of religious events in Europe during these last six months, the more important ones, to arrange them in a proper order, and thus to give to our readers a brief, and, at the same time, comprehensive view of the great religious movements that agitated the minds of the two hundred and fifty-eight millions of European Christians.

PROTESTANTISM.

Nothing has more retarded the progress and propagation of European Protestantism, than the want of union among the various denominations. The many parties into which the reformation of the sixteenth century split itself, and which were separated from each other by creed, language, and nationality, came rarely in contact with each other except as foes. Only because there was a real void in the Protestant world, the merely external uniformity of the Roman Church was able to call forth those fatal Romanizing movements in the Protestant Churches of England, Germany, and Scandinavia. It is the high merit of the "Evangelical Alliance," to have opposed to the Roman or Romanizing phantom of a merely external uniformity of the Christian Church, the vital idea of a confederation of all evangelical denominations the basis of that which is common to all of them. In our first Quarterly Review of the religious state of Europe, (Methodist Quarterly Review, April, 1856, p. 323,) we briefly discussed the great importance of the Evangelical Alliance for Europe. We are happy to-day to state that the idea of such a Protestant union has gained many new and warm friends. In the month of September, the British branch of the Evangelical Alliance celebrated its tenth conference at Glasgow, the meetings of which were, as usual, characterized by much affection and oneness of spirit. A new branch of the Alliance has been formed during the year in Turkey, which intends particularly to publish and spread the Turkish Bible. The glowing discourses of the celebrated court preacher Krummacher, of Berlin, on the proceed-

ings of the last year's conference at Paris, have awakened the interest of the King of Prussia, who has extended to the Alliance a cordial invitation to meet next year in Berlin, which invitation has been accepted. There can be no doubt, that in proportion as the objects of the Alliance become more known in Europe, than they are at present, it will grow fast in extent and number of members. Such an event would be momentous for the future destinies of Europe. Protestantism appears now already, notwithstanding all its disunion, stronger than the Roman Church; but the day when it succeeds in uniting its forces against the common enemy, Rome will find herself face to face with an adversary such as she never had before.

The English Church History of the present year, has no brighter page than that which relates to *the religious anniversaries*. Not less than seventy-nine religious anniversaries were celebrated from April 29th to June 19th. If we include the anniversaries of a purely charitable kind, the number rises to two hundred and ten. Almost all societies were able to report, notwithstanding the war, a considerable increase of receipts over the preceding year. Among them we find seventeen missionary societies, with an aggregate income of two and a half millions of dollars, an amount nearly three times as much as the contributions of the whole Roman Catholic world to the missionary cause! Twenty-six home missionary societies had collected over $1,000,000; six tract and book societies, $100,000; forty-eight benevolent, aid, and other relief and charitable societies, nearly $700,000; fifteen reformatory societies and penitentiaries, $100,000; thirty-four hospitals and medical charities, $500,000; thirty-three societies for social amelioration, including temperance societies, ragged schools, and the like, about $350,000; and fourteen others, unclassified, about $100,000. The grand total of the receipts of all these societies the last year was a little more than $6,000,000. Numbers like these are an irrefutable proof of the ascendency of Protestantism in Europe, and form the outline of a history more noble than the world has ever witnessed before. They are the glory of Protestantism, but equally the glory of England, which in the aggregate amount of religious works, equals or surpasses the remainder of Protestant Europe taken together.

The more such a spirit pervades the English Church, the less the Romanizing tendencies of *the Puseyites* can be expected to make progress. They have been unfortunate, indeed, during the present year; their history is a history of defeats. The Archbishop of Canterbury has decided, that one of the leading men of the party, Archdeacon Denison, of Bath and Wells, has affirmed doctrines contrary and repugnant to the Thirty-nine Articles. This sentence hits not the archdeacon alone, but one of the favorite opinions of the party, which believes, with the old Lutherans, in the real presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine, and in the reception of Christ, irrespective of faith, on the part of the recipient. Much as we wish the speedy overthrow of Puseyism, we think there are two points in this decision which reflect no credit on either his grace the archbishop or the Church of England, of which he is the first dignitary. The archbishop was willing, for the sake of peace, to tolerate the archdeacon's heresy in the Church, and went through with his case only when compelled to do so by a secular court; and, secondly, the archbishop declined to qualify the heresy as anti-scriptural, and to hear a defense of Denison for the conformity of his doctrines with the Scripture, but condemned them merely as unchurchly; a bad precedent for subsequent decisions. There will be, undoubtedly, an appeal, first to the Court of Arches, and then to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, and the Christian world will again be scandalized by seeing a secular court assume the right of deciding, for a Christian community of some twenty millions of souls, a theological question on which archbishops and archdeacons were unable to agree. Puseyites see that the greatest danger for their future is the want of patronage on the part of the bishops. Bishop Philpotts, of Exeter, is the only member of the episcopacy who keeps himself unwaveringly on their side, aided now and anon by the Bishop of Oxford. It was therefore to be expected, that they would make extraordinary efforts to obtain for members of their party the vacant sees of London and Durham, at least one of the two. Yet all their efforts have proved fruitless; Lord Palmerston has thought it safer to appoint divines of whose theological opinions nothing else is known, but that they will be now High Churchmen. A new point of similarity between the Puseyistic doctrines and Romanism has lately turned up. The Bishop of Exeter imitates the rigor of the

Roman Archbishop of Vienna, excluding Protestants from the public Catholic cemeteries. Thus the Anglican bishop refuses to consecrate a cemetery, unless a sufficiently high wall separates the Dissenter graves from those of the Churchmen. But as there is no government in England which is willing to force such a law upon an indignant population, the bishop has the mortification to see that the communities of his diocese will probably prefer to be without a consecrated cemetery, than to endorse such fanaticism. Thus High Churchism is losing ground, having but few supporters among the bishops, and still fewer among the people. Only at the universities, in particular at Oxford, they are not yet dying out. So it seems, at least, from the disgraceful conduct of the undergraduates at the lectures of Father Gavazzi, whom they greeted with groans, while they cheered Pusey, and proposed cheers even for Cardinal Wiseman and the pope.

The sittings of *Parliament* have been much occupied with religious and theological questions. A majority of the House of Commons has again declared its readiness to admit the Jews to Parliament; but the House of Lords insists on excluding every one who is not a Christian. Mr. Heywood's motion for a revision of the Bible has met with much opposition. Dr. Cumming has come out strongly against it, and the Earl of Shaftesbury has declared, that he considers an attempt at revising the Bible as ten times worse than the worst kind of Tractarianism. In Parliament, Mr. Heywood found so little support that he withdrew the motion. The attention of Parliament has again been drawn to some of the most glaring abuses of the Established Church, which have been discussed in both houses in a manner more apt to undermine the last remainder of respect to the ecclesiastical authority, than to abolish the abuses. A correspondence of the Bishop of Bangor, with some respected members of his clergy who desired to have for their congregations more than one Divine service on Sunday, betrayed on the part of the bishop so much ridiculous arrogance, as to induce the Marquis of Blandford to urge in the House of Lords, the expedience of giving to some bishops a coadjutor with a see in partibus, (which would be another imitation of a Romish custom.) At the same time it called forth one of the thundering articles of the "Times" against the Establishment, which asserted that six, at least, of the Anglican bishops were entirely incapacitated for their duties, but that their absence was little felt by the people, as the whole episcopacy had become superfluous. The wish of two of the incapacitated bishops, those of London and Durham, to resign, if the Parliament allowed them the moderate pensions of £6,000 and £4,500 respectively, disclosed again a dissension among their brethren on the Episcopal bench, the Bishops of Exeter and Oxford considering the wish of resignation contrary to the apostolic tradition, while the Archbishop of Canterbury thought, that only an enemy of the Church would be willing to leave two dioceses of the Church without a bishop.

Among the abuses that disgrace the Church of England, none is more shocking than *the public sale of Church benefices* in the auction mart. Not less than thirty advertisements of this kind were lately found in one number of the Ecclesiastical Gazette!! The high and sacred office of a clergyman is made as marketable a commodity as a bale of cotton, or a hogshead of sugar, and the Church appears to be indifferent to the crying iniquity. A clergyman seldom raises his voice against it, a bishop never. To a foreigner it must appear almost incredible that such a state of things can continue among a nation which contributes so liberally to religious societies, and works so zealously for the propagation of Christianity.

But now already the greater part of the glory which England as a nation earns for her religious zeal, is due to *the Dissenters*. Considering the proportion of population, all of them do more than the Church of England. *The Wesleyans* are ahead of all other denominations. Their missionary society had a larger income (£119,000) than the Church of England Missionary Society, (£115,000,) although they have not one knight or baron belonging to their denomination, and no more than 263,000 members, while three fourths of the aristocracy and the wealthy families, and a majority of the population, belong to the Church of England. Their Church appears this year in a very flourishing condition; the increase of members over last year is three thousand, of Sunday-school scholars, twenty thousand, and seventeen thousand members on probation. Much zeal has also been displayed by *the Baptists and Congregationalists*. The missionary society of the latter, the "London Missionary Society," has of all missionary societies the largest increase of income over last year, not less than £22,000.

But a literary contest, arising from the doubtful orthodoxy of the "Rivulet," a hymn book edited by a Congregationalist clergyman, has damaged the ministerial reputation of some of the foremost men of the Independent Churches, and awakened great fear for the general orthodoxy of the nonconforming pulpit.

The Unitarians have celebrated their centenary at Norwich. They admit internal stagnation; but console themselves with the thought that their principles are rapidly leavening society. They have three hundred and fourteen congregations in Great Britain.

GERMANY has had an increased number of *ecclesiastical assemblies and anniversaries.* The progress in religious zeal has been at least equal, if not superior to that of any other conntry; still, owing to the after effects of the long reign of indifferentism and infidelity, the German Protestants do not yet come up to England, France, and Switzerland. A number of new missionary societies has been formed; every party in the state Churches acknowledges its duty to promote the missionary cause; children's missionary festivals and children's missionary papers secure a lively interest for it in the rising generation; the missionary establishments of Berlin and Leipsic have been considerably enlarged; and the coöperation of all Protestant governments awakens still greater hopes for the future. But the income of the largest Lutheran Missionary Society, which celebrated its anniversary at Leipsic, on June 25th, did not exceed twenty-two thousand thalers, (for the last ten months,) inclusive of some contributions from Sweden and Russia; and the sectarian quarrels between the Societies of Leipsic and Basil continue to injure the common cause. The two most attractive anniversaries were those of *the Church Diet* at Lubeck, September 9th, 10th, and 11th, and of *the Gustavus Adolphus Association* at Bremen, September 4th, 5th, and 6th. The former united, as usual, many of those illustrious divines who have established their reputation as teachers of Evangelical Protestantism throughout the world. The discussions on the best means of promoting the kingdom of God, and of counteracting the disastrous influence of the new materialistic literature of Germany, will furnish to Protestants of all countries many a new weapon in a contest that has to be fought in every part of the world. Many admirers of the illustrious assembly, in and out of Germany, will therefore be sorry, that it will be henceforth convened no oftener than once every other year. The Gustavus Adolphus Association, the common "Church Extension Society" of the Protestant German Churches, reported that their income from November 6th, 1854, to November 6th, 1855, had been eighty-three thousand thalers, an increase of six thousand thalers over the preceding year, and that for the current year already upward of ninety thousand thalers had been either collected or pledged. The society has again been bitterly attacked by the High Church party of the Lutherans, and in some small states which are entirely under the influence of this party (Mecklenburg and Dessem) the branch societies have been dissolved. But in most parts of Germany, the people begin to rally around this association as a bulwark against the Romanizing current that threatens to carry off a considerable part of the Lutheran clergy. The extreme Lutherans charge the whole association with Rationalism; but the fact, that men like Tholuck are members of the central executive committee suffices to secure the active coöperation of thousands of the most orthodox Christians of the land. Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland, have joined this association, which has already planted several hundred new evangelical congregations, and whose aid was this year again solicited by representatives of the Protestant Churches of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, France, Algiers, Asia Minor, and Egypt.

The unfortunate position in which *the United Evangelical Church* finds herself, continues to be productive of bitter hostility among the various parties, and to waste much time and labor that might be usefully devoted to better purposes. The proceedings of the General Assembly, which the Lutheran Associations of the Prussian State Church held at Wittenberg, in May, leave no doubt, that the Lutheran party in Prussia is greatly in the ascendency. The consistories of all provinces, whose Protestant population belonged formerly to the Lutheran Church, are now in the hands of the Lutherans, and two provinces, Pomerania and Silesia, asserted that the "Union" existed in their midst only by name, but no longer in fact, as most of their congregations had re-established the old Lutheran worship. These Lutheran movements among the clergy have, however, but few sympathizers among the laity, and the magistrates of some of the largest cities have agreed to appoint for the charges, of which they are patrons, none but ardent lovers of the

union. The governments are divided, some repristinating and some persecuting Lutheranism. The King of Prussia, who, by appointments like that of Dr. Stahl, has aided so much in calling forth the present state of things, is now supposed to be again inclined the other way, and to disfavor the ultra Lutheran tendencies. At least, the invitation tendered to the Evangelical Alliance to meet next year in Berlin, is generally considered as a change of mind, as the sectarian spirit of the Lutherans dislikes nothing more than the idea of the Evangelical Alliance. Under these circumstances, the General Synod of the Evangelical Prussian Church, which is to convene early in the next year, is expected by all parties with great anxiety.

The hope of seeing old Lutheranism soon reappear in Prussia and the other states which still adhere to the union, tends to increases the activity of *the Lutheran State Churches* of Germany. The Protestant Churches in the Kingdoms of Saxony, Hanover, and Bavaria, in the two Mecklenburgs, and several smaller states, are at present under the sway of Lutheran High Churchmen. The mentioned states, together with Wirtenberg, held in May a third conference at Dresden, for deliberating on the expedience of introducing a common Lutheran liturgy. The "*Separated Lutherans*" *of Prussia*, who seceded from the State Church when it submitted to the union, and who count some forty thousand members, intended to open their quadrennial General Assembly at Breslau, on September 18th, and to adopt measures for effecting a closer union with the other Lutheran Church governments of Germany. Their present relation to the Lutheran party of the Evangelical State Church was considered as so amicable that the practicability of a return of the whole denomination to the State Church was to come up for consideration. The essential points of reformation, on which the Lutheran Churches and the Lutheran party of the Evangelical Churches agree, are no union in Divine worship with the Reformed Church, return to the catechism of Luther, introduction of a rigid Church discipline, and of excommunication, which shall be pronounced by the clergy alone, without coöperation of the congregation, and in particular, the reëstablishment of private confession, previous to which the parishioners are urgently recommended to appear personally before the minister. At a conference in the Prussian province Saxony, one speaker recommended, with the consent of the conference, the reintroduction of the German mass, by which, as a leading organ of the party explains, the mass of the Middle Ages is understood, purified only from some Roman errors. Many other voices demand the establishment of episcopacy, and believe in the necessity of an unbroken apostolic succession. No wonder, if from the ranks of such a ministry many secessions take place to the Church of Rome.

Also *the German Reformed Church* has held many conferences, in which a better organization of their scattered congregations has been a principal subject of deliberation. In Hanover, they have petitioned the government against their candidates for the ministry being any longer examined by Lutheran clergymen, and in Frankfort, a free association for promoting the interests of the Reformed Church has been formed, in which also the Reformed Churches of Holland will take part. In several places a tendency is growing among them of returning to the strict Calvinistic doctrine of predestination.

The Methodists and Baptists have been active and prospering, and will continue to increase in proposition as the people become acquainted with their doctrines. *The Irvingites* have attracted more than common attention; but little is known of their number, as they advise their members to remain in the State Churches, until they are strong enough to form a congregation of their own.

In several provinces of AUSTRIA, *the plan of a new constitution* has been submitted by the government to the Protestant Churches. With several particulars of this new scheme, great dissatisfaction has been expressed in Transylvania. In Hungary a number of flourishing *Protestant colleges* is threatened with dissolution by the partiality of the government, and several ministers of Bohemia have been threatened with deposition if they make known the wants of their congregations in any place out of the borders of Austria. The circulars of the Roman bishops which exclude Protestants from the public cemeteries have been confirmed by the government. The number of churches and schools is steadily on the increase, owing especially to the liberal assistance of the Gustavus Adolphus Association, and five Protestant periodicals are laboring for the Protestant interests; but religious life is still in stagnation, and the influence of the great number of mixed marriages is so disastrous, that the Protestant congre-

gations of Vienna report for the last year only two hundred and fifty-three baptisms, to four hundred and sixty-four deaths.

In SWITZERLAND, the *anniversaries* of the "Association of Swiss Preachers," at Geneva, attended by two hundred clergymen, and of the Missionary and similar societies of Basil, indicate that Evangelical Protestantism in advancing and Rationalism on the decrease. The Protestant Aid Society, which has the same aim as the German Gustavus Adolphus Association, collected thirty thousand francs, the double amount of what the kingdom of Wirtenburg contributed, although both countries have nearly the same amount of Evangelical population. But a correspondent of the Church Gazette of Hengstenberg complains that in the German part of Switzerland, all the old governments of almost all the cantons show themselves indifferent or hostile to the Church; that the Rationalists have still a majority in almost every synod, and that every move in the right direction proceeds from private Christian associations, not from the synods; that the Church shows too much of timidity toward the governments; that the theological faculties of Zurich and Berne continue under the control of Rationalism. A want that makes itself very deeply felt in every Protestant canton of Switzerland, is the *great scarcity of ministers* and of candidates for the ministry. Some governments, as that of Zurich, have appointed a committee to devise the means of remedying this evil; others draw foreigners into the land, and the free Church of the canton of Valois has established a society for promoting the study of theology.

FRANCE has celebrated a number of uncommonly interesting *anniversaries*. They are second only to England, but far ahead of the whole continent of Europe. The more numerous ecclesiastical bodies of Germany and Scandinavia acknowledge that the small band of French Protestants does more than they. Of still greater importance it is, to see Romish periodicals holding out to their Church these "heretical" associations as an example to be imitated. *The contest of parties* is still going on, as it will undoubtedly as long as an Evangelical and a Rationalistic party exist together in the same Church. The Rationalists have made great efforts to awaken a more general interest in the "General Christian Alliance" which was founded by them some years ago. But it seems as if they have not been very successful, although the endeavor of the Romish clergy to have the meetings of the Alliance and its organ ("La Vie Humanine") suppressed by the government proved fruitless. In some provinces of France prefects of ultramontane sentiments have closed Protestant chapels and schools, and the Bishop of Arras has made an attempt of enforcing the attendance at the mass on the part of all Protestant children attending Catholic schools, but the emperor has put a stop to such proceeding by declaring it as his will that the Protestants should continue to enjoy religious liberty.

Great hopes were expressed at the beginning of the present year for SPAIN. But when, relying on the provisions of the new constitution, a Protestant preacher appeared in public in Barcelona, the minister of justice, Arias Aria, caused him to be arrested. He was released by the judge appealing to article ii of the constitution; and a large number of inhabitants of Barcelona thanked Mr. Nice, the editor of a paper of Barcelona, for his bold defense of the good rights of Protestants against the priest party; but the well-known aversion of the queen to granting any concession to Protestants, proved a great barrier to the propagation of Protestantism. A number of Protestant books has been widely circulated and well received, and filled the bishops with the greatest alarm. The government found it necessary, in order to satisfy the bishops, to forbid the importation and circulation of any Protestant work. Quite recently the imprisonment of Don Angel Herreros de Mora, in whom the Protestant movements of Spain had found a well-qualified leader, has filled the friends of Protestantism and of religious liberty with new sadness, and has left but little hope for the ensuing years.

The Protestants of ITALY have continued to enjoy the protection of a liberal legislation in *Sardinia*. New substantial churches, school-houses, and hospitals, are in the course of building, a new appearance to the eye of an Italian, and which the Roman Church will find more difficult to destroy than in the sixteenth century, if ever a change in the policy of Sardinia should take place. Liberal collections are at present being made in England, to supply the Waldenses with a printing press, and in general with more means for carrying on the work of evangelization. Numerous conversions to Protestantism are reported from Turin, La Spezia,

Novara, and other places, mostly in consequence of the excommunications, which the Roman Church is now hurling against so many of her refractory children. In *Tuscany*, the Protestants have been subjected to new persecutions. Protestantism seems here to spread, although secretly, yet with extraordinary rapidity, and it has been stated on good authority that no less than ten thousands Tuscans are prepared to join the Protestant Church. The trial of Ruggeri, accused of his conversion to Protestantism as of a crime, has turned out a great triumph for the Protestant cause. An eminent lawyer, Salvagroli, has eloquently defended the right of every Tuscan subject to embrace Protestantism, and to profess without being molested his Protestant belief, and Ruggeri has been acquitted.

The State Churches of SWEDEN and DENMARK comprehend at last the necessity of thoroughgoing reforms. In Denmark, various proposals for the erection of a Supreme Ecclesiastical Council will soon be before the Legislature. The High Church party wishes it to be formed exclusively by the bishops of the country, but a majority of the clergy of the legislature and of the people, demand that it shall contain, besides the bishops, representatives of the lower clergy of the university, and of the congregations, and that the president of it shall be elected by the council itself. A leader of the High Lutherans, Dr. Rudelbach, complained lately against a Lutheran assembly in Leipsic, that their Church was in great danger in Denmark, the opposing "Free National party," of which Rev. Mr. Grundvig is the leader, gaining more ground every day. In Sweden, committees have been appointed for revising the Catechism, the Liturgy, and the Book of Psalms; they have prepared their projects of reform which are ready for discussion by the Diet. Moreover, the grand Governor of Stockholm has been charged by the king to prepare an official report "on the ameliorations to be introduced in the direction of the cure of souls in the capital," and a committee has been formed to lay a bill concerning such ameliorations before the diet.

The Protestants of PRUSSIA praise the new appointments of Emperor Alexander for the highest places in the Church, especially that of Dr. Ullmann (a man of high merits, who had been deposed under Nicholas) for Bishop of the Evangelical Church, and Vice-president of the General Consistory of St. Petersburgh.

In TURKEY the Protestants are still enjoying the blessings of religious liberty. They are no longer confined to meeting-houses, but are now erecting churches. The Protestant Armenians, who possess already two churches in Asia Minor, are building a third one at Has Kjoi, near Constantinople. An English chapel has been built in one of the suburbs of Constantinople, the chapel of the British embassy is repaired, and the German congregation has laid the foundation of a new school, which soon will be followed by a church. The Bible Society of Constantinople is very active, and the German Evangelical Hospital has to be enlarged. A couple of months since the first converted Turkish family celebrated weekly Divine service, and many of the Moslems appear to become interested in the spiritual Christianity, which they now see exemplified by Protestant Armenians.

In GREECE, the American missionary, Dr. King, has enjoyed unusual opportunity for preaching, and also for preparing native preachers, whom Providence may hereafter employ as evangelists.

ROMANISM.

In our survey of the Roman Catholic Church history, we start from ROME, the center of the Church. The rising and falling of the papal power depends principally on the attitude of the European governments. Rome knows that if the Church were separated throughout Europe from the state, or the nations permitted to regulate their public affairs according to the wishes of the majority, she would suffer enormous losses. Therefore, she labors with greater zeal and attention for the establishment of favorable alliances with governments, than for fostering the germs of religious life among the people. His holiness the pope has reason, we think, to be satisfied with the result of these last six months. His relations to the princes of Europe have decidedly improved. Only Sardinia has remained in open hostility; Spain has desisted from her opposition, and, unless one or several new revolutions should break out during the two remaining months of the year, will enter the new year as one of the most Catholic governments; Prussia and Russia have made great concessions, and Wirtemberg, Baden, with some other duodecimo states of Germany, will probably follow their example before next January, and Austria is more and more acting in a manner as if she disputed with every other

state the honor of being the pope's most obedient handmaid.

In SARDINIA, the organization of a systematic resistance to the laws of the state, which manifests itself among the clergy, has induced Minister Ratazzi to issue (May 9th) a circular to the attorneys of the state, to proceed with the full rigor of the law against any ecclesiastical encroachment. The bishops of Savoy, the most Ultramontane province of Sardinia, have answered to it (July 3d) with a new unanimous protest against the validity of some obnoxious laws, to which protest, subsequently, all bishops of the kingdom have given in their adhesion. The government takes little notice of such protests, but prepares new measures for annulling the ecclesiastical prerogatives and privileges, which are still in existence, and for placing the clergy before the law on a level with the rest of the population. Public opinion is so satisfied with this course of the government, that both the pope and the bishops have seen themselves forced partially to abrogate those censures of the Church, which, under the present state of things, hardly one subject of Sardinia can avoid violating, e. g., the censures against reading heretical newspapers, buying former Church property, etc.

In FRANCE, the zeal of the Roman Catholic laity has again called into existence several *new religious associations*, among which a missionary association for Africa, and a society for founding and enlarging Catholic schools in the East, are likely to be the most efficient for promoting the interest of Rome. A victory over *Gallicanism* had been won by the submission of the Archbishop of Paris to the introduction of the Roman liturgy; but at the same time the new anti-ultramontane paper, L'Observateur Catholique, is extending its circulation and influence to an alarming extent. Of a still graver character is a *dissension among the Ultramontane party* itself, respecting the "Univers." The bold and dauntless, but, therefore, also repulsive defense of all absurdities of Romanism by the "Univers" has long ago involved this paper in a hot controversy with "Le Correspondent," the bi-monthly organ of those Catholic savans, who are engaged in the tantalus-like attempt to harmonize the tenets of Romanism with the progress of Christian civilization. A fierce attack made on the Univers by a contributor of the "Correspondent," M. de Falloux, in a pamphlet, "The Catholic Party, what it has been and what it has become," has been followed by another pamphlet, "The Univers judged by itself," which, by skillfully compiling some of the most shocking assertions of the Univers, presented a picture which scared everybody, the Univers itself not excepted. The general rumor in France is, that Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, the most learned of all French bishops, and member of the Academy, is the author of this pamphlet. The Univers pretends that some quotations willfully misrepresent its views, and has brought a suit against the publisher, which is to commence on November 29th. The Univers is of all Catholic papers of the globe the most Ultramontane and a pet of the pope. A large number of French cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, would consider its suppression as a heavy blow against the Church. Many of them have, therefore, come to the rescue of the Univers. As it is well known that the pope patronizes the Univers, no bishop dares to come out publicly against it, but the "Ami de la Religion," the organ of the Archbishop of Paris, ventures the timid asseveration, that a majority of the French bishops are dissatisfied with the course of the Univers. The Archbishop of Paris is endeavoring to prevent a public suit which would expose the Catholic party to new ridicule. A remarkable incident in this contest is the alliance of the governmental press with the Univers; first, because the Univers is an ardent supporter of Louis Napoleon, and, secondly, because all the prominent assailants of the Univers are political opponents of the government. *The relation of Louis Napoleon to the Church of Rome* continues to be mysterious; for it, as well as for his politics in general, History ought to surname him The Inexplicable. He has highly offended the Ultramontane party by some appointments, but at the same time he labors to form a strong Napoleonic party among the bishops.

In SPAIN, at the beginning of the period of which we give a survey, *the sale of Church property* was progressing everywhere without disturbance, even in the Basquish provinces, where at first a great number of town councils offered a faint resistance. The liberal policy in Church affairs remained unchanged when O'Donnell overthrew the influence of Espartero; and Catholic demonstrations in some cities, as in Seville, where the sister of the queen and the Duke of Montpensier took part in them, seemed to find but little sympathy among the majority of the people.

But the well-known resolution of the queen, to use all means for effecting a full reconciliation with the pope, became a welcome pretext for the merely conservative party, (the "Moderados,") the decidedly Reactionary and a portion of the Carlist, to rally for the overthrow of O'Donnell. *A new ministry*, with Narvaez as president, has been formed, and at once stopped the sale of Church property, and complied with all the other demands of the Episcopate.

Germany has had this time the most brilliant Catholic assemblies. *The Synod of the Austrian Bishops*, from April 6th to June 17th, which assembled sixty-two out of eighty-three Roman, united Greek, and united Armenian bishops of the empire, is likely to be in its results the most consequential Catholic Synod of the present century; at all events, more consequential than the Roman Synod of 1854, which consented to the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The resolutions of the Synod are at present discussed at Rome by a Sacred Congregation of Ecclesiastical Affairs Extraordinary, and the approbation of the pope and the coöperation of the emperor are expected for them very soon. Austria finds it thus far for its advantage to be the standard-bearer of political Ultramontanism; and the Church uses skillfully the political schemes of the government, to bring one portion of public affairs after another under her absolute control. After having secured the control of public instruction in all elementary schools and colleges, and after having caused all houses of correction to be intrusted to religious orders, the bishops now labor to secure that soon the disbursement of all public funds for the support of the poor, shall be placed under the superintendence and supreme guidance of the Church, a measure which would make the priests the absolute rulers of a vast number of smaller towns. The principal design is undoubtedly the reëstablishment of National German synods, as soon as it may seem to the bishops that the right point of time has come, and the governments will have no objection to it. *Religious orders and associations* have increased this time in an uncommon ratio; but still the association of S. Boniface, for founding Catholic churches in Protestant parts of Germany, received during the last year from the twenty-four millions of German Catholics, no more than thirty-six thousand thalers, while the income of the Gustavus Adolphus Association, founded for a similar purpose by the seventeen millions of Protestant Germans, rose to over ninety thousand thalers. The associations for Christian art held their first General Assembly at Cologne, in September. Efforts are being made by some powerful associations to obtain a strong Catholic majority in Parliament; also to arrest the tide of German Catholic emigration to America, and turn it toward Catholic Eastern Austria. *The Roman influence on the educational institutes* of Catholic Germany has everywhere extended. Austria has given several of her public colleges to the Jesuits, and many more have been promised to them; and several recent appointments to the rectorship of Catholic Colleges of Prussia, seem to indicate that even in the first Protestant state of Germany the holding of Ultramontane views is a recommendation for a rapid advancement in public office.

In Belgium, the last *elections for the legislature* have increased the Catholic majority, and encouraged the bishops to carry or more boldly their war of extermination against *the state universities* of Ghent and Liege. The Minister of the Interior, M. de Decker, has, on his side, enjoined the professors to refrain from any attack on the Catholic Church, as otherwise, he would be bound to suppress utterances of that kind, a duty which he would fulfill with firmness.

In Great Britain, the Bishops of Ireland held *a National Synod* in June, in which they complain of the predominance of Protestantism in the national schools. The split between the Irish National party on one side, and Rome and the majority of Irish bishops on the other, becomes greater and more threatening. *The "Tablet,"* the leading Catholic organ, is openly at war with the Archbishop of Dublin, and the contributions to the support of the Catholic University of Dublin are becoming so scanty as to raise the fear that the whole undertaking may turn out a failure. The English Church has again received the accession of several Puseyites, but by the death of the young *Earl of Shrewsbury*, the first and richest earldom of England passes from Catholic to Protestant possessors, and the Roman Church loses a family, more liberally than which no Catholic family of the globe has contributed for religious purposes.

In Scandinavia, a band of *six Catholic missionaries* has quite unexpectedly established themselves in the northern part of Norway. They have created an extraordinary excitement in a region that had

not seen a priest since the sixteenth century. They were, however, well received, made large purchases of land, and think of founding an educational institution. In Christiana, the capital of Norway, *the first Catholic Church* was solemnly consecrated on August 24th. It is dedicated to St. Olave, an ancient Norwegian king and saint, and the consecration was performed by the Right Rev. Mr. Hudack, Vicar Apostolic of Scandinavia, who claims to be a regular descendant of the saint.

The prospects in RUSSIA are uncommonly bright. A committee has been appointed by the emperor to examine and redress *the grievances of the Catholic population.* Mr. Kisseleff, who passes for a particular friend of the Roman Church, has been sent as embassador to Rome, and has carried on the negotiations for regulating the Catholic affairs of Russia so successfully as to enable the pope to fill in the Consistory of September several *Episcopal Sees*, (including the two Archbishoprics of Warsaw and Moghilev,) which had been vacant for many years, with zealous adherents. *The pope's embassador* to the coronation of Moscow has been most flatteringly received by the emperor and the Russian authorities, and *Father Gagarin*, a Russian prince by birth, but now a Jesuit, expressed in a pamphlet published under the title, "Will Russia become Catholic?" the hope to see soon Emperor Alexander, with the whole Russian clergy, join the Church of Rome.

TURKEY continues to be governed under the predominant *influence of France*, which finds it in its interest to increase as much as possible the number of French Catholic missionaries, churches, and schools. The French society for founding Christian schools in Turkey, which is presided over by a marshal (Bosquet) and an admiral, (Mathieu,) enjoys the most active coöperation of the French government, and has already sent to Turkey a new supply of monks and nuns. *Austria* will not remain behind France, and quite recently founded a Catholic seminary at Diacovar, to educate priests for the one hundred and twenty thousand Catholics of the Turkish province of Bosnia. Thus, the political patronage which the Roman Church enjoys in Turkey, is at present greater than that of any other Christian denomination; but the results of her labors, as far as we can ascertain, remain far behind what the Protestant missionaries of America have achieved.

THE GREEK CHURCH.

It is a sad spectacle to compare with the vitality of Protestantism, or even with the activity of Romanism, the continuing lethargy of the Greek Church. In RUSSIA, she has not been able yet to draw any advantage from the milder disposition of Alexander I., who has been already so beneficent to the Protestant Churches and to Romanism. The most important news as to the Russian Church would be (if it is correct) a notice in the above mentioned pamphlet of Father Gagarin. According to him, the Russian statesmen have become alarmed at the condition of utter prostration in which the Church obviously finds herself. They think, therefore, of abolishing the "Holy Synod," the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, which, in the name of the emperor, presides over the administration of the Church, of convoking a general council, and re-establishing the dignity of a Russian patriarch, which was abolished under Peter the Great. In the meanwhile, renewed efforts have been made to effect a reconciliation of the numerous sects of the Greek Church with the State Church. In the ministry of the interior, a new department has been established for bringing all trials for offenses against the Established Church to a conclusion, and a work of the Archbishop of Kasan, on the old orthodox Church, expressly written for the conversion of the Greek sects, has come out in a third edition. In TURKEY, several Greek Churches have been destroyed by the fanaticism of the Mohammedan population; but the danger which threatens Greek Christianity from this side is not serious, as Turkey lives only at the mercy of the Christian governments of Europe, and Abdul Medjib has given sufficient proofs that he considers the carrying through of the religious reform a sacred duty. More dangerous for the Church will be the many new cases of that persecution which members of the Greek Church have to suffer when they fail to pay to their bishops at the appointed time, the heavy Church taxes. Heavy bodily chastisement is inflicted on them, their churches are closed, and even burial denied to the dead. This state of things cannot last long. It must call forth either stronger reformatory movements in the Greek Church itself, or the secession of large masses to Protestantism and the Church of Rome.

LITERARY ITEMS.

God Revealed in the Process of Creation, and by the manifestation of the Lord Jesus, by JAMES B. WALKER, of Cincinnati, author of "The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," is reviewed with high commendation in the Eclectic Review.

Perversion, a religious fiction, by CONYBEARE, (noticed in our book-table,) is considered so important a work as to have been made the subject of elaborate articles in both the Edinburgh and National Reviews. The latter styles it the "Hard Church Novel."

Faith and its Effects, by MRS. PHŒBE PALMER, is commended by the London Quarterly. "It is rich in the best experiences of Christian life."

Among foreign works not heretofore noticed, are,

The Mosaic Dispensation, considered as introductory to Christianity, by REV. E. A. LITTON. Eight Bampton sermons.

Hebrew Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib, by EDWARD STRACHEY, Esq. A work of a class somewhat new. It avails itself of the Assyrian discoveries, and combining them with all other existent means, investigates the Hebrew constitution, the state of popular opinion and parties, the authenticity of the book of Isaiah, and the position of the prophets as Divine moralists in their day.

The Doctrine of Inspiration, being an inquiry concerning the infallibility, inspiration, and authority of Holy Writ, by the REV. JOHN M'NAUGHT, M.A. This work occupies extreme Rationalistic ground, and the author was excluded for heterodoxy from a society of the clergy at Liverpool, in regard to which act he endeavored to excite public sympathy. His definition of inspiration is, "that action of the Divine Spirit by which, apart from an idea of infallibility, all that is good in man, beast, or matter, is originated and sustained." "Milton and Shakspeare, and Bacon, and Canticles, and the Apocalypse, and the sermon on the Mount, and the eighth chapter of Romans, are in our estimation all inspired."

A Translation and Commentary of the Book of Psalms, of Rev. A. F. THOLUCK, by REV. J. L. MOMBERT.

The Logic of Christian Faith, being a dissertation on Skepticism, Pantheism, the *a priori* argument, the *a posteriori* argument, the intuitional argument, and revelation, by PATRICK EDWARD DOVE, of Edinburgh. This work is spoken of in very high terms. Mr. Dove is the author of several works of deep philosophic Christian thought.

Rationale of Justification by Faith, London, by an anonymous author, is an essay to sustain the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice on intuitional grounds.

The necessary Existence of God, by WILLIAM GILLESPIE. This work is pronounced by Sir William Hamilton to be "among the very best specimens of speculative philosophy which this country has latterly produced." The same author has published an able refutation of Strauss, entitled, "The Truth of the Evangelical History of our Lord Jesus Christ."

An Inquiry into Speculative and Experimental Philosophy, with special reference to Mr. Calderwood's and Professor Ferrier's recent publications, and to Hegel's Doctrine, by A. VERA, London. Mr. Vera has confident hopes of the results that speculative philosophy will yet produce, and a strong conviction that most of the evils of the day arise from neglect of it. The time will come when metaphysical truth will be demonstrated, and its ideas be shown to possess an objective validity. He even calls Sir William Hamilton a skeptic, because he rejected "the philosophy of the unconditioned."

The Life of Rev Dr. Beaumont, by his son. 8vo.; pp. 426.

Among Continental publications, we may mention:

Der heilige Thomas, Erzbischof von Canterbury und Primas von ganz England, und sein Kampf für die Freiheit der Kirche. The holy Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, and his Contest for the Freedom of the Church, by F. J. BUSS. Mentz. 8vo., pp. 730.

Die Persönlichkeit Gottes und des Menschen, etc., by DR. DRECHSLER, of Dresden. The Personality of God and Man.

Der moderne Pantheismus, von der intellectuellen und moralischen Seite, by DR. G. O. PIPER, Bernberg. 8vo.

Theologie der Thatsachen wider die Theologie der Rhetorik, by A. F. C. VILMAR.

Kalender Evangelische, Jahrbuch f. 1857. Mit Beitragen von Arndt, Dorn, Fink, Hagenbach, etc., etc. Heraus gegeben von F. PIPER, Berlin; pp. 224.

Theological Writings of the Ancient Egyptians. For the first time translated from the Turin Papyrus, by Professor G. SEYFFARTH.

Art. XII.—EDITORIAL.

Some thirty years have passed, if the memory from which we write be accurate, since the germ of our Quarterly appeared in the form of a Methodist monthly magazine. Subsequently, under the charge of the venerable Dr. Bangs, it became a Quarterly, but from insufficient means and the manifold other labors of the editor, it possessed rather a crude and unformed character. Under Doctors Luckey, Peck, and M'Clintock, it received successive touches of improvement. It has never, we believe, been a pecuniarily profitable part of our publishing establishment; yet, with an enlightened and liberal policy, the General Conference has persisted in retaining it in operation for its more than pecuniary value.

With the proper pecuniary appliances, there would be no difficulty in maintaining the high literary stand it has the reputation of having attained. The best talent of Europe and America is purchasable; and brought into requisition, would place it even in a much higher than its past position. But this absolute excellence might be a relative defect and a practical failure. The most desirable excellence is adaptation; the suiting the publication to the wants of its own public. To adjust the Quarterly to the tastes of our Church and ministry; to make it a felt want and a beneficent supply; to render it a means of calling out, exercising, and cultivating our home talent; to make it tell in the course of a few years in a manifest public improvement, is a problem which to solve would be a success. And though pecuniary result has not been the primary object of its existence, and cannot be indeed abundantly expected, yet the rise of its present struggling list would be an assurance of its usefulness, and a means of usefulness on a larger scale.

There can be no great change expected or made in the staple character of our Quarterly. To change its character would be to change its position, and how can it change position without trenching upon the premises of some of its neighbors? The ground of popular magazine literature is arrogated by the National; feminine taste is to be supplied by the Repository; while the broad field of the popular and perpetual is filled by the Advocates, rolling off their leaves as countless as the leaves of Vallambrosa. What is left for the Quarterly? The grave and permanent essay, the deeper and more thoughtful discussion, the critical review, the philological disquisition, the metaphysical analysis, the theological argument, the Biblical exegesis, the various forms of higher thought and classic style, which we wish to bind in fixed volume, and assign a place on our library shelves. The demand for the brief and sketchy class of articles can be carried too far. The demand for attention to home and current matters may be excessive. For articles of that special class, that class of tastes must go to their proper periodical. Yet our writers must learn the art to make solid thought attractive. The avoidance of prolixity, the freedom from the redundant, the pithy spirited condensation, the happy turn of phrase and combination of idea may be brought into play upon the profoundest topics. To blend the felicitous diction with the precious thought, is the very problem of the able writer. To work this problem is the task of our contributors; and the attainment of the solution will be the success of our work.

The great name of Sir William Hamilton will attract attention to the first article of our number and our volume; and we venture to say, that the brilliancy of the article itself will fasten it. It is a production whose quality would have done no discredit to the pen of Sir William himself.

President Collins has set an example to the gentlemen of our universities and higher seminaries to wield their pen for the pages of the Quarterly. We are well aware that the professor's chair, especially in *our* colleges, is no sinecure, and that *literary leisure* with them is very much a myth. Yet many a line of thought springs up directly in their own path, which many of them are well able to lay out upon paper with interest and power.

The valuable article on English Methodism is not the first contribution that we have had from able pens of our Church across the water, and we have made special arrangements that it shall not be the last. We are expecting articles from that quarter, which will be read with special interest.

The treatise on the Central Idea of Christianity, besides accomplishing other good results, has called a new and welcome contributor into the pages of the Quarterly.

The subject of popery is so trite, and so much a bore to many minds, that pieces on that subject are skipped of course. And yet it might be well to study a while in the article upon the Council of Trent, by what sort of workmen modern popery was hammered out. The writer is new to our pages; and though a young man, is no ordinary master of this subject.

The author of the article on Missions is a veteran at the pen; but we believe he is the fourth writer whose first Review article appears in this number.

The review of Hibbard on the Psalms is *not* the writer's maiden effort. Its only defect is its brevity; we hope those who cannot emulate the excellence will imitate the fault.

The value of the contents of the various Quarterlies heretofore inserted, in indicating the drift of public thought, suggested the idea that some running commentary, with condensations and occasional extracts, would conduce still further to the same object. The late arrival of the Foreign Reviews and the newness of the attempt render our first specimen imperfect. The continuance will depend upon the apparent interest.

Our Intelligence department, as it covers a double quarter, is unusually extended.

On the whole, we find this number is, with the exception of two articles, in some sense, occupied with foreign topics. Our next, we expect, will be mainly upon home matters.

P. S. We have received from the author of our first article the following note:

"Since the notice of Sir William Hamilton's Remains was written and in print, we have been favored with the following extract from a recent letter, received from Professor Fraser, Sir William's successor in the University of Edinburgh. It restricts in an important manner, and much to our regret, the expectations we had ventured to express in regard to the posthumous treatises of the lamented philosopher. Professor Fraser says: 'I believe Sir William Hamilton has not left any *formal* posthumous work. But his *Class Lectures* are nearly in a state for publication, as they were left in great completeness. It is probable that some of them may be published soon. ° ° ° I fear little more of Reid can be looked for, unless the gatherings in his common-place book.'"

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1857.

Art. I.—PHILOSOPHY OF SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

1. *Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, Bart.*, by O. W. Wight. New-York: 1855.
2. *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform*, by Sir William Hamilton, Bart. Second edition. London and Edinburgh: 1853.
3. *Sir William Hamilton and his Philosophy*, from the Princeton Review.

The Princeton Reviewer, who has won an eminent reputation by his perspicuous appreciation of the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, has postponed the consideration of that philosopher's logical views to the estimate of his metaphysical system. So far as we venture upon the examination of the former, we shall take the liberty of reversing this order, because logic precedes metaphysics in a methodical classification of the sciences,* if the two are dissevered; and because this course appears to us most convenient in the study of Sir William's doctrine.

That his Logic and Metaphysics interacted upon each other, is evident from a comparison of their correspondences. This intercommunion of influences must have attended the whole process of his intellectual evolution, so that it would be impossible for us, and might have been difficult for himself, to decide which department of philosophy earliest received its definite constitution at his hands, if either can be called definite, when both were left undeveloped and incomplete. There was, undoubtedly, a continuous flow of ascending and descending currents passing, like the imperceptible streams of electricity, from the one to the other, and maintaining equilibrium in their expansion. His favorite dogma of the thorough-going

* Leibnitz, Præf. ad Mar. Nizolium, § iv. David, Interp. x. Categ. Schol. Aristot., p. 26 a 33, and p. 26, b 1–4. Ampère, Classif. des Sciences, vol. ii, chap. i, § 1, pp. 9–18. In Sir William Hamilton's Alphabet of Thought, the elements of logic precede those of metaphysics. The Introduction to Kant's Logic may be consulted.

quantification of the predicate was produced after the promulgation of his theory of the conditioned,* and we suspect that the later tenet was, in some measure, suggested by the earlier. But we are very imperfectly informed of the precise steps which led to the adoption of either.

To prevent misapprehension, however, we must state, notwithstanding the hazard of the statement, that we do not concur with Sir William Hamilton, and other great logicians, in drawing a precise line of demarcation between Logic and Metaphysics. We adhere to the pristine procedure of the founder and legislator of logical science, at any rate until Aristotle has been more thoroughly understood, and his errors more conclusively demonstrated than has yet been done. Persius, or Perianus, an assailant of the Peripatetic school, first proclaimed in express terms the tenet which required such a sanctimonious separation in the theses proposed as a challenge to the doctors of Padua, in 1575.† That the formal laws of thought employed in the process of reasoning constitute the subject-matter of logical science, had been more or less distinctly held by orthodox logicians from the days of Aristotle downward.‡ But it appears to us impossible to arrive at the discovery of those laws, without investigating the essential character of thought, the capacities of the mind especially employed in ratiocination, the constitution of language, and the significance of terms. Persius consistently excluded the last two branches, by relegating the proverbially difficult Hermeneutics of Aristotle to the domain of grammar. If we rightly apprehend Sir William, he would scarcely have assented to this mutilation.§ Logic may, it is true, borrow from Metaphysics the conclusions which may serve as its premises; and such is the procedure advocated by the very respectable modern sect of the separatists. But, from this dangerous obligation, it results that Logic will be at the mercy of all the fluctuations of philosophy, without being able to control them, in the absence of any legitimate jurisdiction, and that it must renounce its high prerogative of being the queen of the sciences, *regina scientiarum;* a prerogative essential to the avail-

* "Were it necessary, abundant evidence might be at once obtained to prove that Sir William Hamilton taught his new doctrine (the New Analytic) five years earlier than the above date," (1845, 1846.) Baynes, Pref., p. viii. Sir William gives a more precise indication of the time, assigning to 1840 the formal enunciation of the doctrine, and to 1833 the conviction of its necessity, though its original conception is implied to have been earlier. Discuss., Appendix II, Logical (A.,) p. 650, vide p. 162. The theory of the conditioned was propounded in the Edinburgh Review in October, 1829.

† St. Hilaire, De la Logique d'Aristote, § 3, ch. xii, vol. ii, pp. 257, 258.

‡ Hamilton, Discuss., pp. 138. 139. § Ibid., p. 137, note.

able exercise of its natural functions. The practical purpose of Logic is to expose and prevent false reasoning, to overthrow and confute sophistry. Such was the design contemplated by Aristotle in its original constitution; such the end proposed by Socrates and Plato in their imperfect tentatives. This is the evidence of the history of philosophy; and the historical testimony cannot be prudently disregarded in the settlement of this question. For, descending to later times, we find that the fortunes of Logic have waxed and waned with the mutations of metaphysical opinion; that the reformation of philosophy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries occasioned a gradually increasing neglect of logical studies; that that reformation commenced by a rebellion, more or less acrimonious and complete, against logical restraints; that the Ramists and many of the Cartesians, including John Milton among the former, frittered away the substance of the science, till it was regarded as a toy, as an ingenious intellectual puzzle, by the philosophers of Port Royal,* and at last pronounced by the historian, the eulogist, the translator, and in some degree the resuscitator of the Organon, to be a mere exercise of reflections.† While such has been its fate among its professed friends, Logic has fared still worse at the hands of its enemies. It has been condemned, mutilated, travestied, cashiered, by all the cohorts who pretended to follow in the footsteps of Bacon, and enlisted under the banner of Locke. A general repudiation of its claims, an utter ignorance of its character, have been the result. It became an occult and unknown science in the British isles,‡ and very generally on the continent of Europe, lingering out a doubtful existence in the Catholic schools and ancient universities. It was delivered over in Britain to the mockeries of Watts, to the insult of Reid's expository abridgment of the Organon, to the unintelligent sneers of Dugald Stewart. This was a natural consequence of attempting too rigid a demarcation between Logic and Metaphysics. It introduced a distinction of which the negligent and the impatient gladly availed themselves to ignore an arduous study. It, moreover, sanctioned an unwarrantable subordination which invited contempt, and inflicted ruin on the dethroned majesty.

We cheerfully acquiesce in the imposition of the most rigid restrictions on the doctrine of the syllogism, and its immediate dependencies; but we can neither assent to the exclusion of fallacies, material as well as formal, nor renounce those introductory investigations which prepare the theory of demonstration. The syllogism consists of propositions, the proposition of terms.

* St. Hilaire, Logique d'Aristote., Pref, vol i, pp. cxxxiv–vi.

† Ibid., pp. xli, xlvii. ‡ Ibid., p. clii; cf. Hamilton, Discuss., pp. 119–128.

The ideas expressed by names or terms must be analyzed in order to discover their nature, import, and essential differences. We must push our inquiries beyond the proposition and the name, if we would not leave Logic with no higher purpose than was assigned to it by the Port Royalists. The whole of Sir William Hamilton's doctrine of the quantification of the predicate, and of the distinction between the quantities of breadth and depth, revolves around the notions of genus, species, and difference. His fundamental postulate, "that we be allowed to state in language what is contained in thought,"* necessitates an examination into the contents, character, and limitations of ideas. Their classification for the purpose of arriving at adequacy of conception and accuracy of predication, introduces us to the categories, and with the categories we stretch out into the sea of Metaphysics.

We deem it, then, more judicious not to separate Logic entirely from Metaphysics; and in this course, we are sustained by the example, if not by the precepts of Aristotle,† by the procedure of the great schoolmen and of Hegel; by the tenor of Kant's remarks;‡ and by the involuntary procedure of Sir William Hamilton himself. It seems, at any rate, a wiser plan for the present than to pursue the inapprehensible phantom of an imaginary purism, till it leads us through difficulties and perplexities to the rejection of all the treatises of the Organon of Aristotle from the domain of Logic; a result to which Sir William Hamilton was hastening.§ With Leibnitz, and Kant, and Hegel, we are content to take the Logic of Aristotle as it came from the hands of its author, in all its essential characteristics. We think this reverential spirit more consonant with the interests of true science than the captiousness of Sir William.|| And we think also, that, notwithstanding his own valuable labors, and those of M. St. Hilaire, and the still more valuable commentaries of recent German scholars, the observation of Hegel is still appropriate, that "the treasures of Aristotle are as little known as they are precious." The study of Logic has but lately been revived; before we attempt to legislate afresh on the subject, let us learn; before we censure Aristotle, let us be very certain that we understand him. That the latter requirement has not been always fulfilled by Sir William Hamilton is manifest from his criticism on Aristotle's views of the functions and character of Induction.

* Baynes, New Analytic, p. 4. Hamilton, Discuss., p. 650.

† Vide St. Hilaire, De la Log. d'Aristote, II Partie, § 2, vol. ii, pp. 27, 28. III Partie, § 1, vol. ii, pp. 115, 116.

‡ In the Introduction to his Logic.

§ St. Hilaire, Log. d'Aristote, Pref., vol. i, p. xx.

|| Ibid., Pref., vol. i, p. cxlii. Sed v. Discuss., p. 142, note.

A false philosophy presupposes fallacy in its premises or in its deductions; it inevitably generates fallacy and sophistry in the reasonings of those by whom it is accepted. In either case, redress must be sought by a recurrence to logical accuracy, which alone might have prevented the occurrence of the danger. The neglect, the abandonment, the misapprehension of the conditions of correct reasoning preceded the rise of the error; but the error once disseminated, infects the canon by which its presence should be detected and exposed. Hence it becomes necessary to revise the canon, and to extirpate the weeds entwined with it, before hoping to reform permanently the mistaken philosophy, or to eradicate the evils engendered by it. In undertaking this revision, it is too common a practice to deem that the canon itself requires alteration instead of elucidation, and reconstruction instead of rectification. To this tendency Sir William Hamilton has yielded in his avidity for innovation; but, even in his search for novelty, he retains his hold on the great principles confirmed by the prestige of a long antiquity, with the tenacity characteristic of a superior intelligence; humbling himself before the great authority of successive centuries, and exercising his own independence only in subordination to the accumulated wisdom of his illustrious predecessors.

In the criticisms to be hazarded by us on his logical doctrines, we are conscious of great liability to error and misapprehension. Our judgment we acknowledge to be neither fully informed, nor definitely settled; and in the absence of the Lectures on Logic to his class in the University of Edinburgh, much remains suspicious, which might win acquiescence if sufficiently explained.

The thorough-going quantification of the predicate, a peculiarly cumbrous and awkward designation, is the most characteristic and extensive of Sir William's innovations in Logic. This innovation was, perhaps, rendered inevitable by the general tone of his philosophical opinions.

To insure the conclusiveness of any course of demonstration, the cogency of any single inference, there must be agreement in regard to the premises. The terms must not be used by the one side in a larger, by the other in a narrower signification; nor must they be left so indeterminate as to admit of the contraction or expansion of their meaning. The agreement must be complete and permanent, not in language merely, but in thought. Precautionary measures are required to guard against a danger more frequently incurred than is readily supposed. It is common in the philosophical writings of late generations. It is the constant blunder of Hume; it is not absent even from the critique of the Pure Reason of Kant. This

fruitful source of error must be closed, and no device required for the purpose can be too rigid; only it must be required, and it should be effectual.

In accordance with this conviction, Sir William Hamilton has deemed it expedient to introduce more stringent limitations into the formal enunciation of the members of the syllogism than had been deemed indispensable before. The precise restriction of the predicate was, indeed, peculiarly incumbent on a philosophy which recognized only conditional knowledge. To Aristotle, to the Schoolmen, to those who admitted the possibility of an imperfect knowledge beyond the compass of formal science, beyond the reach of definitions, and of definite conditions,* who admitted, indeed, that all knowledge partook of this imperfection, it might be sufficient to limit the special subject of discourse, without being equally solicitous of limiting the extent to which the attributes of that subject were exhausted by being applied to it. To them the attempt might seem superfluous; perhaps they recognized that it was hazardous, and that it imposed a limitation in language on the forms of thought which was foreign to the spontaneous habits of the intellect.† Hence, they rejected the doctrine propounded by the New Analytic, not rashly, nor incognizantly, but from a consideration of its impropriety. The precision desired virtually seeks to limit the unlimited, to measure the unmeasurable, to gauge the abstract and indefinite, to make straight that which is crooked, and to number that which is wanting. Thus, it compels us, by a curious but common relapse, to fall back into errors and dangers similar to those apprehended from systems of the absolute and the unconditioned.

There was a maxim among the Schoolmen, sufficient to answer all the really important purposes contemplated by the habitual quantification of the predicate: "*Prædicata tenentur formaliter, et subjecta materialiter.*"‡

A much more signal service is rendered by giving renewed prominence to a wide but delicate distinction between the extension and comprehension of quantity. The distinction is ancient, but had fallen into general oblivion, with the other precepts of logic.

In the process of definition, and of division, and of discovery, or of hunting for middle terms, according to the language of Aristotle,

° Aristot., Analyt. Post., lib. II, ch. xix; Metaph., vi, xv; III, III, et Schol., p. 650, pp. 19, 20.

† This is denied, of course, by Hamilton, Discuss., pp. 650, 685, and by his disciple, Baynes, pp. 4–13. Their position establishes an undesirable affinity with the dogmas of Hume.

‡ S. Thomæ Aquin., Summa Theolog., Ps. I, Qu. xiii, Art. 12.

the procedure is either from the particular to the general, or from the general to the particular; not indifferently, but in compliance with the requirements of the case. The general is the genus, or universal, the whole, if we regard species; the particular is the species, or in the ultimate reduction, the individual; the whole, if we regard properties. Extension, therefore, relates to generic simplicity; comprehension to specific variety. The former, in its highest manifestation, is the *genus generalissimum;* the latter the *species specialissima,* or the individual. The individual is a congeries of properties; the genus, the residuum of abstractions. The individual is a whole, really existing, and incapable of division logically into subordinate parts, but it is separable from all other things by multitudinous differences. The genus is a mere creation of the mind, a logical artifice,* having no existence except in the individuals contained under it; but divisible into species or individuals by the addition of specific differences. Thus, in ascending the scale of generalization, properties diminish, and species become wider, till we arrive at the *summum genus,* or substance, whose property and essence are one and identical, but which includes under it the intelligible and material creation, all species, all forms, all realities, extending on all sides to embrace everything within the entire sphere of the universe. In descending the same scale, properties are successively added, and the range of species is contracted, till we reach the lowest round, and find in the individual the largest association of coëxistent properties, the comprehension of all the successions of specific differences.

Totality in extension or breadth, and totality in comprehension or depth, are sufficiently contrasted. The former is employed in the process of deduction; the latter in that of induction.† The two methods are thus reciprocally inverse; and by establishing their correlations, the analogies and differences of both are revealed, and they may be reduced to a common type.

It is scarcely legitimate, however, to conclude from this contrast, that deduction is dependent upon induction.‡ It is still worse to fall into the blunder of Mill, and to regard all reasoning as essentially inductive.§ It would be much more appropriate to consider induction as dependent upon deduction, as there is a general postulate latent behind every induction, which gives to it its validity,

* Hamilton, Discuss., pp. 161–701. Princeton Reviewer, p. 37. A curious and profound exemplification of this point may be found in Proudhon's Analysis of Seriation, Creation de l'Ordre, ch. iii, § 4, pp. 142–166.

† Hamilton, Discuss., p. 161.

‡ Ibid., p. 162.

§ Mill, Logic, b. II, ch. iii, pp. 122–137.

namely, that the operations of nature are uniform, and that multiplied correspondences indicate the universality of a law.* Neither statement would be entirely correct. Deduction and induction are rather interdependent than the one habitually dependent upon the other. The first principles of knowledge, the *immediate* principles of philosophy, that is to say, those which are accredited without the intervention of a middle term, which are intuitive, indemonstrable, axiomatic, or which constitute fundamental beliefs, are not reached by induction, are obviously not obtained by deduction. They furnish the foundations for deductions and inductions, but are anterior to either; they are known without learning and without investigation.† This is the doctrine of Aristotle.

Sir William Hamilton has accurately discriminated the diverse significations in which the equivocal phrase, Induction, has been habitually, and often incognizantly employed. By so doing, he has extricated the formal process of induction from the adventitious notions implicated with it, and been enabled to exhibit the relations and correspondences of the inductive and deductive syllogism, and to introduce the former, as well as the latter, into the sphere of strict logic. But, in doing this, he has rather corrected modern errors, and elucidated the conceptions of Aristotle, than made any original addition to the science. The value of these elucidations and the importance of returning to the grand and comprehensive views of the "prince of philosophers," cannot be overrated, but may be readily misapprehended; and, we think, Sir William's jealousy of Aristotle is calculated to encourage such misapprehension, and to conceal the present and permanent utility of the Aristotelian treatises. Another evil effect is produced. The intrinsic analogies between the philosophy of Sir William and that of Aristotle are neither indicated nor suspected; the differences, too, are unnoticed, but these differences reveal the most important defects of the philosophy of the conditioned, and, in our estimation, evince the superior accuracy and profundity of the peripatetic system. We are not partisans of a retrograde policy in any department of thought or action. We would not go back to an age that has been buried for more than twenty centuries. We do not forget what Aristotle has taught us;‡ what was announced by Roger Bacon even in the supposed darkness of the scholastic ages, *posteriores priorum dicta curexerunt.*§ So far as we would recur to the wisdom of Aristotle,

* A somewhat similar criticism is made by the Princeton Reviewer, p. 45.

† *Ἐνια γὰρ ἴσμεν οὔτε μαθόντες οὔτε ζητήσαντες.* Alex. Aphr., Schol., Aristot., p. 650, b. 19.

‡ Metaph. I. Min., p. 993, b. 11. § Opus Majus, Ps. I, cap. vi, p. 8.

we would adapt it to the present times by availing ourselves of all subsequent discovery; and we would often repair to Sir William Hamilton for illumination and guidance; but we would not renounce an ancient creed for the sake merely of accepting a modern fashion.

Had Sir William's life been spared, had his systematic labors been earlier commenced, or more continuously pursued, or had his health permitted more rapid progress in the exposition of his views, the advantages to be expected from his endeavors to develop and methodize the theory of induction would have been much more apparent. He had undertaken the most difficult part of the task required to establish harmony between the Baconian and Aristotelian systems, or rather to unite them into one homogeneous system. This union is peculiarly demanded in our time. As long as induction wages a perverse war upon deduction in consequence of an imaginary antipathy; as long as physical are at variance with ethical speculations, and seek to absorb them; as long as men of science oppose themselves to philosophers, the intellectual anarchy now prevalent must continue.

Sed hoc jam breve ex dialectica libamentum. We must pass from Sir William Hamilton's Logic to the examination of his philosophy of the conditioned. As this is the most significant portion of his labors, it demands our chief attention, and its claims cannot be any longer delayed.

Sir William has reduced the whole doctrine of M. Cousin to a single proposition, in his refutation of it.* The same course may be pursued in the appreciation of his own theory. The possibility of the cognition of the Unconditioned, the Absolute, and the Infinite, was the thesis of the French philosopher. The impossibility of such cognition is the characteristic tenet of his Scotch antagonist. All the other metaphysical positions of Sir William Hamilton may be treated in subordination to this; as consequences direct or indirect, or as prerequisites implied in its conception. Victor Cousin's scheme of electicism, which attempted, with brilliant effect and with sanguine anticipations, to naturalize Rationalism on the soil of France, and to establish its supreme dominion over the whole realm of thought, has now lost its prestige in its own country. But the first effectual blow, in the domain of Metaphysics, was struck by Sir William Hamilton's profound and trenchant criticism in the Edinburgh Review. His singular perspicacity was manifested by his detection at that early day of the pantheistic character and atheistic tendencies of the scheme, then in the full bloom of its

* Hamilton, Discuss., p. 12. Wight, p. 453.

splendor, and welcomed with enthusiastic rapture by multitudinous admirers.

The essential character of the German or Rationalistic philosophy, dressed out by Victor Cousin in the Parisian fashion, under the attractive but inappropriate designation of electicism, was the assertion of the exclusive and self-sufficient authority of human reason. Placing the sun and moon, and all the visible universe, beneath its feet, it boldly ascended into the airy and empyrean heights of speculation; it renounced the mutable and transient shapes of the phenomenal world with the design of grasping the imperishable and unchanging essence of the permanent reality and the everlasting wisdom. It was an ancient, and often renovated dream, which returned to haunt the minds of men inebriated by contemplating the vast, and varied, and marvelous faculties of humanity, till the sense of humanity was forgotten in the admiration of its powers, and the consciousness of a finite nature was lost in the anxious aspiration for escape from its fetters. Like the dew in the sunshine, the vapor of earth was absorbed in the illumination of heaven, and was vainly supposed to be identified with the supernal light with which it became undistinguishably commingled.

The knowledge and the existence superior to the limitations imposed upon a restricted order of intelligence have been customarily designated the Absolute and the Infinite, from the difficulty of finding more precise terms to denote what language can only imperfectly express. Usually, the Absolute and the Infinite have been regarded as identical in purport; but Sir William Hamilton has discovered or invented a distinction between them, and treated them as separate species contained under the supreme genus of the Unconditioned. This reduction, and the name assigned to the ultimate genus of the abstract and indifferential, determines the character and has furnished the name of the contrasted type of speculation. Thus the philosophy of the Conditioned springs from the negation of the Unconditioned, and borrows its appellation from the repudiation of its adversary. As the one maintained the possibility and the fact of an intellectual ascension, subject to no restrictions, alloyed by no uncertainties, limited by no conditions; the other denied this possibility, and maintained that all human knowledge was subject to conditions and limits imposed by the finite nature of man.

In this great controversy, propagated from the first dawn of metaphysical inquiry, we attach ourselves firmly and unhesitatingly to the side of Sir William Hamilton. We have as little partiality for the designation of his creed, as for the grotesque language and cramped formularies in which it is expounded. But, in regard to

the fundamental problem involved, he is unquestionably in the right, and we would cheerfully and humbly profess ourselves his admiring disciple, if we did not think that he had only revived an ancient doctrine, and sometimes compromised it by his mode of development.

The theory of the Unconditioned requires, either that a finite creature should be endowed with an infinite intelligence, or that a finite intelligence should be capable of infinite knowledge. The statement of the conditions of the thesis might seem to furnish a complete refutation. But the plain terms of the hypothesis are soon forgotten in the recondite investigations of philosophers. If the former of the *postulanda* specified be adopted, it is only conceivable by admitting the identification of all knowledge and existence, of the Creator and the creation, of God and the universe. If the latter be accepted, the promise of the serpent to Eve is indeed accomplished; but, instead of elevating man to the height of divinity, it degrades the divine nature to the scale of humanity. Practically, the consequence is inevitable; theoretically, it may not become directly apparent. In either case, man is recognized as the sole measure of the intelligent and intelligible; and the compass of the human intelligence describes the complete orbit of knowledge and being. The difference between the two tenets is simply a difference of direction: the one attempts to sublimate man into a god, the other reduces the godhead to humanity:

> "She raised a mortal to the skies;
> He drew an angel down."

The distinction indicated may, perhaps, be found to correspond in some respects with Sir William Hamilton's somewhat arbitrary discrimination between the Infinite and the Absolute. According to him, the Infinite denotes the unconditionally unlimited; the Absolute the unconditionally limited.* These are certainly different and contrasted ideas. But it is scarcely a prudent or correct procedure to attach these different significations to two terms, which have been frequently, not to say habitually, employed as equivalent in sense.† This inoculation of a novel technical discrimination on a confirmed confusion certainly gives to the sophistical objections of Calderwood the only plausibility that appertains to his polemic on this point.

If the capacity of the human mind is limited, as, with Sir William

* Hamilton, Discuss., p. 13. Wight, p. 454.

† There may be some indications of the Hamiltonian use of the Absolute, in Leibnitz, Nouv. Ess. sur l'Entendement Humain, No. II, ch. xiv, vol. i, p. 165. Ep. ad R. P. Des Brosses, tom. II, Ps. i, p. 267, ed. Dutens. Perhaps, also, in Spinoza, Ethique.

Hamilton and the majority of philosophers, we conceive it to be, the Unconditioned is incognizable in all its forms. Whether, then, we assume the Absolute and the Infinite to be identical or contrasted, their appreciation is impossible except as the negation of what is and can be known; in other words, their positive conception is impossible.

This position has provoked more opposition than any other part of the Hamiltonian philosophy, utterly without reason. The hostility has proceeded, and can only proceed on the part of those who are not pantheists or atheists in speculation, on an entire misconception of the doctrine assailed.

The question simply stated amounts to this: Can we entertain any knowledge of the Infinite, otherwise than as a negation of the Finite? Sir William Hamilton says, we cannot. Those whom he opposes, and those by whom he has been opposed, say, we can. Philosophers of the most divergent opinions, pantheists on one side, and earnest, but not very perspicacious Christians on the other, are conjoined in a strange and ominous union. Disregarding Sir William's demonstration as neither sufficiently lucid nor altogether satisfactory, we remark that the first principle of division, the great law of contradiction, compels the distribution of ideas into two grand classes, of which the one serves primarily and mainly to exclude the other. The knowledge of contraries is one.* There is an essential dualism in the apprehension of ideas,† rendering impossible their conception without the simultaneous conception of their negation. The Finite becomes known through the employment of our senses, and assumes definite shape by the exercise of experience and reflection. But by the same act of the mind by which the Finite is apprehended as Finite, the Infinite is apprehended as the negation of the Finite. The limits of the Finite may remain undefined or undefinable; but it still represents that which is recognized as having limits; the idea of the Infinite is shadowy and indistinct, but it clearly expresses that which does not admit of cognizable limitation. By no ingenuity of fancy, by no artifice of language, by no circumlocution can we denote the Infinite without employing negatives, and nothing but negatives, for the purpose.

The canon of Excluded Middle compels us to receive as complete the division of the Finite and the Infinite.‡ Everything is included

° Magenteni Schol. cit. Waitz. Aristot. Org., vol. i, p. 30. So Hamilton, Discuss., p. 23. Wight, p. 471.

† Aristot., Metaph., III, II, p. 1004, b. 27; vi, vii, p. 1032, b. 3; viii, I, p. 1046, a. 29, and Scholia ad locos.

‡ Sir William Hamilton (Discuss., p. 15; Wight, p. 457) similarly applies the law of Excluded Middle to the supposed contradiction of the Absolute and the

under the one or the other of these terms. That which is not Finite is Infinite; that which is not Infinite is Finite. But to produce this consequence, the division must be received in its purity and in its totality. The Finite may be indefinite, or the indefinite may be itself received as the negation of the Finite.* That is to say, the indefinite may be employed in two significations essentially distinct, either as denoting that which is Finite, but without determinate limits, or as denoting that which is regarded as incapable of limitation, and therefore exclusive of limits. The vagueness of this term indefinite has been instrumental in occasioning confused and inaccurate ideas of the Infinite; for, according to the mode of its employment, it falls under the category of the Finite or the Infinite. It is to be observed, that, in its wider sense, while denying the notion of limitation, it conveys the positive idea of something more than the Finite, but leaves, of course, the degree and mode of that excess, altogether without restriction. In this sense, we consider it to signify all that can be expressed by the more imposing term, the Infinite. The very fact, however, that the human mind is able to conceive such an excess, demonstrates the inherence of a vague faculty conscious of a domain, real or intelligible, beyond its reach, and capable of untiring aspirations, however vain, toward its definite apprehension.

Thus, whatever be the real or imagined limits of human apprehension or comprehension, whatever be the conditions imposed upon thought as a self-conscious, self-evolving, reflecting instrument, there is present to the mind a vivid sense of an ampler sphere beyond, in which it cannot expatiate in the absence of a superhuman elevation of its powers.† The vitality of animate nature is destroyed by the extreme rarefaction of the air before the limits of the mundane atmosphere are reached; but the sun, and moon, and heavenly bodies far beyond, necessitate the confident recognition of a space, filled with an unknown ether, or void of material contents, encompassing the liquid covering of our terrestrial globe. So to the eye of faith, to the instinctive appetencies of the human intelligence, is revealed a boundless, unfathomable universe. Fancies, irresistible yearnings of our rational nature, extend themselves beyond the boundaries of

Infinite, and deduces the same conclusion that we do, herein nearly identifying himself with Kant.

* Hence Leibnitz, Nouv. Ep., liv. II, ch. 13, vol. i, p. 161. "M. Des Cartes et ses sectateurs ° ° ont changé le terme d'infini en indefini avec quelque raison."

† We think this doctrine is implied by Aristot., Phys. Ausc., III, c. vii, in the assertion that the Infinite does not contain the Finite, but is contained in it. There is much ambiguity, however, in the expression.

the Finite and the cognizable. The wildly wandering mind, *spirto doglioso errante*, seeks to attach itself to some firm reality in the vast and ever-yielding expanse; but it returns back upon itself, frustrated, exhausted, disappointed, like the raven sent forth from the ark, having found neither dry place nor firm ground as a resting place for the sole of its foot.

This capacity and disposition to transcend the Finite in thought have not been overlooked by Sir William Hamilton. Nevertheless, it may be doubted whether the recognition of a reality beyond the realm of the Finite is not impaired, if not prevented, by representing the Conditioned, assumed as the equivalent of thought, as the mean between the two incognizable extremes of the Infinite and the Absolute. To this cause may be ascribed the purely negative character of the Hamiltonian philosophy. It may also be doubted whether there is a strict contradiction between the unconditionally Unlimited, and the unconditionally Limited.* It may be doubted whether even by the application of the canon of Excluded Middle, or of any other logical law, we can draw anything more than a purely formal conclusion in regard to things entirely and confessedly unknown. Certainly if we can, we surreptitiously introduce the Unconditioned, which had been expressly rejected. It may be doubted whether the premises laid down by Sir William, and the inference drawn from them, vary materially from the positions of Kant,† or extend beyond them. We offer these dubitations with diffidence, and with the utmost deference for the authority of Sir William; but we are convinced that the recognition of a more than Finite reality must assume a positive, and not merely a negative form, in order to afford a valid foundation for reasoning, and a sufficient preparation for faith. We are also assured that philosophy must repose on a positive basis, although the precise limitations of thought may be properly, as necessarily, negative.‡ And we do not perceive how such a positive basis can be obtained by leaving the reason oscillating *in vacuo* between "two inconditionates * * neither of which can be conceived as possible, but of which * * one must be admitted as necessary."§

But, from Sir William Hamilton's argument, it is intended to ap-

* We regard the terms as contraries, not as contradictories. Vide Trendelenburg, Elem. Log. Aristot., §§ 10–13. Waitz, Org. Aristot., vol. i, p. 308. Aristot., Metaph., lib. x, c. iv, p. 1055, a–b. De Interp., c. vii, et Scholia.

† Sir William admits that the doctrine of Kant in regard to the Unconditioned is "fundamentally the same" as his own. Discuss., p. 15; Wight, p. 457.

‡ "Simplicia consueverunt per negationem definiri." S. Thom. Aquin., Summa, Ps. I, Qu. x, Art. I. The doctrine is that of Aristotle.

§ Hamilton, Discuss., p. 15; Wight, p. 457.

pear, and from our argument it, perhaps, does appear, that, while the action of human intelligence proceeds only under certain conditions, and is therefore Finite in its essence, in its objects, in its apprehensions, one of these conditions, and the highest and most inspiriting, is the consciousness, often disregarded, of this Finite character, and, therefore, an actual but impalpable knowledge of something greater in all attributes beyond it.

A negative character is not confined to the idea of the Infinite, but extends to the whole class of notions falling on one side of the line of complete dichotomy; a division exhibited in its supreme type by the contrast of *Ens* and *Non-Ens*. The impossibility of introducing a positive idea into them extends much further than is contemplated by Sir William Hamilton, who is inconsistent with himself, and with the whole spirit of his philosophy, in speaking of necessary truths, and attaching to them any other idea of necessity than that of the impossibility of a different conception. This, however, is an inconsistency into which Kant suffers himself to be betrayed; and this inconsequence has, in our apprehension, vitiated the Critical Philosophy, and permitted its evolution into the absolute schemes of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel.

In that exuberant encyclopædia of profound wisdom, abstract and practical, the Summa of the Angelic Doctor, there is a very simple and self-evident tenet enounced, which penetrates the whole question, and determines its solution: *Species cogniti est in cognoscente*;* the form of knowledge depends on the intelligence receiving it. This is, indeed, the doctrine of Sir William Hamilton and Kant, and descends from Aristotle. It supplies the axiomatic enunciation of the Philosophy of the Conditioned, implying in its pregnant brevity all the legitimate developments of that Philosophy, possible or realized.

The axiom cited states only that the form of the known, the known under its formal, precise, specific manifestations, is dependent upon the mind by which it is known. The very fact of specification gives the assurance of knowledge, or rather of the matter of knowledge, existing beyond the conditions of its actual reception, and containing possibly, nay, even presumably, the elements of a larger world of thought beyond. There was no absurdity in the fancy of Voltaire, which ascribed to the inhabitants of Saturn and Sirius more numerous senses and other capacities than are enjoyed by men. Thus, at every turn, the restrictions of the mind are forced upon our notice, but, at the same time, the assurance of a wider and not less real sphere than is

* Summa, Ps. 1, Qu. xiv, Art. i. So again, "Scitum est in sciente secundum modum scientis," and Art. iv: "Intelligere sequitur speciem intelligibilem."

bounded by the human horizon, is implanted, renovated, or confirmed. Futhermore, a positive foundation of knowledge is supplied even in the darkness of the unknown, though it is only cognizable under negative aspects; and the Finite, Conditioned, limited knowledge of man is felt to rest on a broader, firmer basis than itself, though everything but the reality of the support afforded is concealed in the dim obscurity of the unattainable. Thought strikes its roots as deeply into the unknown as it sends out its branches widely into the cognizable; and, while its action and achievements are circumscribed by the Finite, its life and its energies are fed from a larger treasury than the Finite of human apprehension.

> "Altior ac penitus terræ defigitur arbos.
> Quæ quantum vertice ad auras
> Ætherias tantum radice in Tartara tendit."

The inevitable, irrecusable limitation of human knowledge is, therefore, the first principle of speculation. This has been termed by Sir William a negative impotence of the mind; thus promptly giving a definite, but, as usual, awkward expression to the law so clearly announced and so acutely analyzed by Kant. Admitting this limitation, the problem is immediately presented of detecting and classifying the preliminary conditions to be satisfied by the legitimate exercise of thought. The determination of these conditions results in the alphabet of thought, proposed by Sir William. In this he displays his customary perspicacity, his singular tact and precision in logical division, his comprehensive, acute, and delicate discrimination. But the Table is not altogether beyond the reach of criticism, for it apparently proves by the process of division that general imbecility and relativity of thought, which is assumed as the principle of division. By giving precedence, too, to the negations of thought, it renders its positive manifestations dependent upon them, and derivative from them. This error, if error it be, is closely connected with the defect, suspected by us in the whole scheme and framework of the Hamiltonian philosophy. It is as negative in its essence and in its form as that of Kant, which is continually, but unnecessarily the object of its special animadversion, notwithstanding the intimate consanguinity of the two systems. It lays its foundations upon Nothing, not upon the *Ens incognitum*, but upon the *Non-Ens cognitum*. It is, therefore, in our estimation, incapable of furnishing a positive foundation, a valid stability, for any of its developments. There is perhaps a deeper, and another significance than was designed, in the confession that the philosophies of the Unconditioned and of the Conditioned, "in one respect, both

coincide; for both agree that the knowledge of Nothing is the principle or consummation of all true philosophy:

"'*Scire Nihil*, studium quo nos lætamur uterque.'"°

The latent heresy contained in this admission may spring from the equivocation of the terms, or from the indistinctness of the idea. Whichever explanation be adopted, we think that error is present, and that the confusion, or non-discrimination of the conceptions, has generated the unrecognized implication of a fatal principle. Sir William is not unfrequently under the influence of his antagonists. He borrows from them much of his illumination; and the rays reflected are not always the pure white light of truth, but the complementary colors of the prism. This is almost an inevitable characteristic of a philosophy of opposition, which we conceive Sir William Hamilton's to be, so far as it is original. As the resistance to Spinoza and Spinozism, without the abjuration of Des Cartes, inspired the speculations of Leibnitz, but tinged them with the dye of the dogmas assailed; so Sir William, notwithstanding his tenacious adherence to Reid, has been infected and unconsciously overmastered at times by the errors of the Transcendentalists, which he attacked in their most dangerous, because most plausible form, the Eclecticism of Victor Cousin.

The Alphabet of Human Thought supplies a brief synopsis of the whole of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy. Under the relations of Identity, Non-Contradiction, and Excluded Middle, Logic is evolved as the formal science of ratiocination. The antithesis of Subject and Object, an antithesis in which more attention is paid to the relation observed than to the terms opposed, affords the prime condition of knowledge, or rather of the formulation and enunciation of knowledge.† All of Kant enters into this antithesis; all of Ferrier issues from it.

The relations of Existence are divided into the Intrinsic and the Extrinsic. The Intrinsic are represented as Substance and Quality; the Extrinsic are the Protensive, Time, including Cause and Effect; the Extensive, Space, embracing Ultimate Incompressibility; and the Intensive Degree, applying to Power, Action, Passion, etc. We find the germ and the essential character of this subdivision, where Sir William would have least expected them to exist, in the writings of the Neo-Platonic school;‡ another proof of the ap-

° Discuss., p. 609. Wight, p. 492.

† For Sir William's doctrine of Subject and Object, see Discuss., pp. 5, 6, Note, p. 604. App. to Reid, Note D, § 2, 21, p. 860, 861. Wight, pp. 385, 445, 446, 487.

‡ Procli Institutio Theologica, § 86. Πρόθεσις, protensio, § 11.

proximation, involuntary and unimagined, to the Idealism of the Later Academics and of the French Eclectics.

When Existence is contemplated as an objective reality, the ultimate and most abstract form in which it can be conceived is as Substance. This Substance, as being the highest generalization of thought, is of course indescribable, and admits only of a negative definition.* It is not matter; for that, in its most vague conception, is at least the *substantia substantiata*, substance incorporated.† It is not space, for that is definable by dimensions. The singular description of matter attempted by Porphyry in his epitome of Plotinus,‡ may assist us in the endeavor to eliminate all attributes, which is the sole process capable of leading to the attenuated idea of Substance. It is the foundation which underlies all the attributes of being, and sustains them; the residuum which remains after the separation of all the *discernible* qualities and properties of existence. It is purely an *Ens Rationale*, to recur to the significant language of the Schoolmen; it has objective reality only in concrete forms; it includes both mind and matter; and, shadowy as it appears, furnishes the only real foundation for knowledge by the positive asseveration of Existence.§

We cannot agree with Sir William that Substance and Quality are nothing more than mutual relatives. The idea of Substance is independent of that of Quality; but the idea of Quality presupposes that of Substance, because the former is manifested only by inherence in the latter. The absolute correlation of Substance and Quality renders, as is both apparent and indirectly acknowledged, the foundation of being as phenomenal and ideal as any scheme of idealism could desire, and is scarcely consistent with Sir William's claim to be a Natural Realist.‖

Quality is an affection of Substance by which it is discriminated or differentiated, thereby rendering the qualified entity capable of apprehension, distinction, comparison. But the quality itself is determined by the intellectual apprehension, not separably charac-

* *καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀει ζητούμενον καὶ ἀει ἀπορούμενον, τί τὸ ὄν, τοῦτο ἐστι τίς ἡ οὐσία.* Aristot., Metaph., VI, I, p. 1028, b. 2; vide c. iv. et Schol. Alexand. Aphrod. et Asclep.

† Yet even Matter is incognizable. "Materia secundum se neque esse habet, neque cognoscibilis est." St. Thom. Aquin., Summa, Ps. i, Qu. xv, Art. iii.

‡ Porphyrii Sentent., § xxi. Plotin., Ennead, II, iv.

§ We agree fully with Leibnitz, Nouv. Ess., liv. II, c. xiii, vol. ii, p. 161: "Je crois que la détermination de la substance est un point des plus importants et des plus féconds de la philosophie."

‖ Hamilton's Reid, Note B, § 1, p. 804. Note C, § 1, p. 816. Wight, pp. 239, 265, 266.

terized by any cognizable realities of substance. It is, accordingly, a creation of the reason, and incapable of affording any insight into the real constitution of things. Nevertheless, the allegation of both Substance and Quality is an asseveration of real and external existence, though not of its actual characteristics.

The Extrinsic relations of Existence, as manifested in Protensive, Extensive, and Intensive Quantity, evoke many of the most arduous and important problems of Metaphysics. What is Time? what is Space? what is Degree? Sir William Hamilton refers to Time the unsolved, and, perhaps, insoluble question of Cause and Effect; and to Space and Degree respectively, the Primary and Secondary Qualities of body; to both conjointly the Secundo Primary, according to his nomenclature.* The doctrine of Quality, implicated as it is with the doctrine of Perception, has appropriated to itself the larger and more brilliant portion of Sir William's philosophical labors. In this division of his writings he expatiates in the varied learning of all ages, pertinaciously collecting from the most divergent sources the innumerable rills with which he fertilizes his own speculations. Here, too, he revels in the exercise of his wonderfully acute powers of discrimination, establishing the most minute differences, and employing them when established for the purpose of introducing fruitful distinctions. Here, also, his precision is so punctilious, so fastidiously exact, that it becomes a painful effort to follow him in his never-ending divisions, and his delicate anatomy of the slightest impressions received by the mind. Patiently he weaves his subtle intellectual web, spinning his lines as fine, but as strong in their tenuity, as those of the gossamer, and ingeniously interlacing them with consummate regularity, till no escape is left from the labyrinthine toils. A microscopic examination of the whole contexture of this admirable fabric could alone authorize any criticism of its details, or any adequate appreciation of its merits. We cannot "compress into a few pages what filled the life of a great man;" and must be content to express without explanation, our cordial admiration of the vast and varied erudition exhibited, and of the native strength which moves freely, easily, and spontaneously under the load of such an encumbrance.

Sir William's Academical relation to the Scotch School, and probably his employment of Reid as a text-book, may have been the cause of such an expenditure of thought and learning in the elucidation of the system of Reid. To the same cause, as to the same department of philosophy, must be attributed his attempts to determine the characteristics of the first principles of reason, the funda-

* Hamilton, Discuss., pp. 607, 608. Wight, p. 491.

mental beliefs of the Scotch sect. All finite knowledge, as all finite being, must have a commencement: a foundation must be discovered somewhere. The theory of common sense accepts as first principles those convictions which have received the habitual assent of all mankind; this procedure easily lapses into the dangerous heresies of Lamennais. Sir William endeavors to confirm the position of Reid by summoning to his support the shades of more than a hundred witnesses. We do not think that their testimony is rendered in favor of Reid or Reid's thesis; but solely to the necessity of indemonstrable principles; and if we look beyond the constitution of the mind for their origin, we would be inclined to recur to the tradition of a primitive revelation. De Bonald explained the mystery of language by the regular transmission and development of a divinely revealed instrument. It appears even more rational and necessary to acknowledge such agency in regard to the contents, the soul of language, the premises of articulate reason. If we turn our vision inward, and endeavor to fathom the intellect with the plummet of self-consciousness, we find no bottom. There is at least as great difficulty in discovering the foundations of thought, as in detecting in time or out of time the initiation of causation. The refuge which we suggest is certainly sustained by the Scriptures. "The preparations of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord:" "The word of the Lord * * formeth the spirit of man within him;" "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord;" "For with thee is the fountain of light; in thy light shall we see light;" "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding."* It may be that thus we transcend the limits of philosophy, and by seeking its principles beyond its sphere, destroy its independence and self-sufficiency. It may be that we reduce the operation of philosophy to purely negative functions.† Be it so: we cannot conceive any other philosophy tenable; and are well assured that these objections would not be alleged by Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, Leibnitz, Kant, or Sir William Hamilton, whom we recognize as the loftiest spirits in the annals of philosophical speculation. Any other origin for our fundamental principles than that suggested drives us into Pantheism, Humanitarianism, or the Platonic doctrine of reminiscence, with its corollary, the transmigration of souls; and leaves in the latter case

* Prov. xvi, 1; Zech. xii, 1; Prov. xx, 27; Psalms xxxvi, 9; Job xxxii, 8. So S. Augustin, Solil. "Soli Deo est anima rationalis subjecta in illuminationibus et influentus omnibus principalibus."

† A remarkable proof of the negative character of Metaphysics and Systematic Theology is contained in St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa, Ps. i, Qu. i, Art. viii.

a primitive revelation or an eternal knowledge at the beginning of the series.

These remarks, however, do not impair the value of Sir William's attempt to determine the characteristics of a fundamental belief, or an indemonstrable principle, as Aristotle more appropriately terms it. These are Incomprehensibility, Simplicity, Necessity, and absolute Universality, comparative Evidence and Certainty.* We will not undertake to determine whether there may not be some surplusage in this attribution, and whether an Immediate or Indemonstrable principle is not self-revealed by the very act of intuition. The mind has been so constituted as to receive with entire and unalterable conviction, certain principles of thought, and the tenacity of the belief is not affected by the mode in which they may be conceived to be presented, whether by a direct inspiration, by a spontaneous evolution, by unbroken transmission, or by their concomitant evidences.† Such a conviction is obviously an indispensable condition of thought and reason. There must be the assurance of the validity of the reason.‡ We may argue against it; we may perplex ourselves with ingenious antinomies and inextricable bewilderments; but the assurance must remain, and does remain. This assurance is faith; identical in character, similar in purpose, and approximating in intensity to that faith which is required for the acceptance of the supernatural truths of revelation. In both cases it is "the substance of things hoped for; the evidence of things not seen." Thus Faith is the foundation of philosophy and of science, as well as of religion.§ Herein is found the bond of union which admits us into the fraternity of Aristotle, (may we not add, Plato?) and all the great philosophers, including Sir William Hamilton, who have followed in the footsteps of Aristotle. The observations with which Sir William concludes his sketch of the Philosophy of the Conditioned, do not merely receive our most cordial concurrence, but inspire us with renewed admiration for the philosopher who wrote them. It is only because we think the general tenor of his doctrine

* Hamilton's Reid, Note A, § 2, pp. 749–751. Wight, pp. 36–41.

† The distinction between primitive or indemonstrable knowledge, and derivative knowledge, is marked by Aristotle in the contrast between *τὸ νοητόν* and *τὸ διανοητόν*, less felicitously but as broadly by Kant.

‡ Hamilton's Reid, Note A, § 1, pp. 744, 745. Wight, pp. 21, 22. Aristot., Metaph., III, V, pp. 1009, 1010. Cic., Acad. Prior., II, x, § 31.

§ "Tanta autem est veritatis ampla libertas, liberaque amplitudo, ut nullius scientiæ speculationibus, non ullo sensuum urgenti judicio, non ullis logici artificii argumentis, nulla probatione evidente, nullo syllogismo demonstrante, nec ullo humanæ rationis discursu possit deprehendi, nisi sola fide," etc. H. Corn. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. Scient., c. 1.

conflicts with the aspirations cherished by him, that we have ventured to express so many doubts, and to express them at such length. But we may be misguided ourselves. We may have either misconceived the character and import of Sir William's doctrines, or misapprehended their tendencies. We may not anticipate with sufficient clearness the ultimate tendencies of our own. Our desire is to accept or discover a scheme of philosophy which will eventuate in the results proposed by Sir William. We are afraid that his system eventuates in Ferrierism.

This apprehension is suggested by the general tenor of his philosophy, always inclining too strongly, in our belief, to the negative aspects of human thought, and to an absolute acquiescence in the results of Induction. But Induction can only bring us to a provisional certainty; a certainty limited not merely by the finite character of the human mind, but by the finite range of human observation. If Induction be of itself the widest scope of the intellect, the thorough-going quantification of the predicate is natural, possible, and appropriate. If it be not, as we think it is not, as virtually Sir William admits that it is not, the thorough-going quantification of the predicate is impossible in fact, and delusive in form. For the same reason, we conclude that the amplitude of speculation is larger in breadth than it is in depth, that "the large discourse of reason" penetrates further into the mysteries of the universe than any induction, which can never transcend the phenomenal, never pass from the consideration of the habituality of occurrence to the conception of the uniformity of law. This statement may apparently conflict with Lord Bacon,* but it accords with Aristotle;† and we have long learned to estimate the sage of Stagira much more highly than the inquirer of St. Alban's.

Our apprehensions are still more decidedly excited by the purely negative theory of causation propounded by Sir William. The Princeton Reviewer is distinctly right in his acute objection that "this solution avoids the important element in the phenomenon to be explained."‡ He would probably agree with us in regarding it

* Inst. Mag. Pref., p. 157. Distr. Op., p. 166. Nov. Org., I, Aph. xiii, xxiv. A similar but much more appropriate remark is made by Roger Bacon, Op. Maj., Ps. iii, p. 36: Ps. iv, p. 48.

† *δεῖ πιστεύειν τε καὶ εἰδέναι τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ τοιοῦτον ἔχειν συλλογισμὸν ὃν καλοῦμεν ἀπόδειξιν . . .* Analyt. Post., I, c. ii; vide c. iii, and the important scholia on these chapters.

‡ Princeton Rev., p. 25; thus stated by Aristotle, Metaph., IV, c. ii: *ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἡ πρώτη ἢ τῆς ἠρεμήσεως, οἷον ὁ βουλεύσας αἴτιος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ τέκνου, καὶ ὅλως τὸ ποιοῦν τοῦ ποιουμένου, καὶ τὸ μεταβλητικὸν τοῦ μεταβάλλοντος.*

as a mistake to assign Cause and Effect to the category of Time. The idea of Time is involved in them, but they are assuredly not implied in the idea of Time. Sir William has been betrayed into this error by the influence of the Scotch School, which degrades causation to little more than succession, and whose doctrine might almost be represented by the Greek riddle, in regard to the alternations of Night and Day:

> Εἰσὶ κασίγνηται δίτται, ὧν ἡ μία τίκτει
> τὴν ἑτέραν, αὐτὴ δὲ τεκοῦσ' ὑπὸ τῆσδε τεκνοῦται.°

The important consideration in the enigma of causality is not its occurrence in time, but the exercise of power. A negative explanation of this is obviously insufficient. Mental impotence will not explain the positive idea. Nor are we reduced to such straits. Causation is a native, primitive, indemonstrable conception; the baby sucks its nourishment from the breast, applying an operative cause, and experiencing a desired effect in advance of any discernible exercise of conscious reasoning. A thousand analogies in nature explain or reveal, or rather render determinate, the idea of causation, without recurring to so remote an hypothesis as the impossibility of conceiving an absolute commencement or termination in time, for the explanation of the relation of Cause and Effect. On such a principle, we do not understand how the idea of a Supreme Creator, of a great First Cause, can be entertained; for, in this case, we must conceive a cause anterior to time and extending in duration beyond the termination of time. Mental impotence may furnish a satisfactory elucidation of the limitations of thought; but something more solid and positive is required for the basis of philosophy, and to give assurance to reason.

This basis and this assurance are both given by the cordial acceptance of indemonstrable principles, without reservation and without cavillation. It is of the very essence of such principles that they should be certain and positive of themselves, and not need corroboration. They are beyond proof, beyond comprehension, but are not therefore beyond reason, or at variance with it. "*Quod est supra rationem, non tamen præter rationem.*"† They are freely given to us; a voluntary and rich endowment of our intellectual constitution; they are the charter of the liberties and of the empire of the human mind, which enjoys those liberties, and exercises that empire only as it humbles itself by renouncing any autocracy of its

° Theodectes, apud Athen., Deipnosoph., x, p. 451, E.

† Richard of St. Victor. So Cassiodorus, Var. viii, Ep. xxxii, "has causas nulla ratio comprehendit: quia supra intellectum humanum esse cognoscitur, quod (qui?) tantum rebus naturalibus applicatur."

own, and by rendering due homage and liege faith to the source of its authority and illumination. To question the reality of causation, or to fritter away the substance of the conception by perplexed interpretations, is to unsettle the foundations of all belief, scientific and philosophical. Here, we may well say with the poet:

"Scelus est quod scire laboras."

We are reluctant to conclude this criticism with the expression of our conviction that Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy is not calculated to produce the happy results so steadily designed, and so confidently anticipated by himself. His appetencies and aspirations were all right and noble; every impulse of his intellectual nature longed for the conciliation of Reason and Faith, and sought in the humility of learned ignorance the tranquillity afforded by a firm acceptance of the truths of revelation. But the influence of Reid and his miserable sectaries, of Victor Cousin and his disciples, the jealousy of Aristotle, and the delusions engendered by a restless and subtle intellect, appear to have deflected the developments of the Philosophy of the Conditioned from its aim. The precepts and the example of Sir William indeed teach us the wisdom of the old rule, to be chary in our cultivation of philosophy.

"Philosophari est mihi necesse, at paucis: nam omnino haut placet: Degustandum ex ea, non in eam ingurgitandum censeo."

The great lesson taught by the experience and by the lips of Sir William Hamilton, is to rely not upon the native strength of the intellect, but upon the gracious bounty of faith; to trust not to the conclusions of the human reason alone, but to seek the only infallible support for reason in the revelations of Heaven.

There is nothing more exquisitely beautiful in expression, more profound in its deep and wholesome philosophy, more graceful in its learning, more ennobling in its inspiration, or more Christian in its spirit, than the touching remarks with which Sir William concludes his sketch of the Philosophy of the Conditioned, and reaffirms in his own person the confession of ignorance, which has been the loftiest triumph of the loftiest intellects in all ages.* This childlike, innocent abnegation of intellectual pride and all the vanities of speculation, was a fitting close to his philosophical career and to his life. It reminds us of the memorable prayer of Albertus Magnus, and its significant accomplishment. According to the

* Sir William has quoted a striking passage from Cardinal Caietan: we venture to quote another: "Quiescit intellectus noster non evidentia veritatis inspectæ, sed altitudine inaccessibili veritatis occultæ." Cit Leibnitz, De Conform. Fid. cum Rat., 1, § 48.

mediæval legend, the great Bishop of Ratisbon, the preceptor of the greater St. Thomas Aquinas, was alarmed at the dangers and seductions of philosophy, and besought Heaven that its temptations might never beguile him from the paths of the Christian religion. In answer to his prayers, a complete oblivion of all the dogmas of the philosophers overtook him five years before his death, and left him to die in the faith of Christ, and not in the opinions of men.*

Whatever may be the speculative errors of Sir William Hamilton, and we intend to suggest the possibility of their presence rather than to assert their actual existence, his mind was steeped in the illumination of religious faith; and, if we imitate him in his reverential humility, we cannot be much misguided by his philosophy. The reconciliation of Reason and Faith, thus practically obtained, has been sought and sought in vain since the early aspirations of Justin Martyr in the second century. If it was not found by Sir William, it was not attained by Leibnitz, it was not fathomed by St. Anselm. The elements of the concord may perhaps exist undeveloped or misdeveloped in the Philosophy of the Conditioned; but if they are latent there, they are more certainly and profoundly contained, explicitly or implicitly, in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas and of Aristotle. For this reason, we have made such frequent references to their works in the course of this criticism; believing that Sir William, and Kant, and even Leibnitz, and Bacon, and Aquinas, and Aristotle, may all be harmonized, that the union is to be found in the pages of the Stagirite; that the Peripatetic doctrine, revived and expounded in accordance with the lights of recent speculation, contains all that is important and true in the scheme of the Conditioned, and does afford a valid and positive basis for the union of philosophy with religion.

In the returning ascendency of Aristotle we confidently believe, and patiently await the rapidly approaching renovation of his legitimate authority. Had our opportunities permitted us to study his doctrines as they ought to be studied; had we been capable of comprehending them as they may be comprehended, we should take pleasure in expediting their restoration. But we much content ourselves with the expression of our hopes; being well assured the while, that we do not admire Sir William Hamilton less, because we admire Aristotle more.

* Brucker, Hist. Crit, Phil., tom. III, p. 790.

Art. II.—THE SESSION OF THE NEW-YORK CONFERENCE OF 1789; ITS DOINGS AND THEIR RESULTS.

Of all the annual conferences which have been held since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, none, perhaps, in its doings and their results, can be considered so vastly important, as that which met at the old John-street Church in the City of New-York, May 28, 1789. It was composed of less than twenty members; yet it included men of the most eminent ability and of the most distinguished note in the ecclesiastic annals of both hemispheres, and whose memories their grateful successors will not willingly let die.

Among them was Freeborn Garrettson, a native of Maryland, one of the earliest converts to Methodism on the continent, and one of the first preachers raised up in America; holy, devout, and zealous in a remarkable degree, bland, courteous, and gentlemanly in his manners, and yet who had suffered the violence of mobs and imprisonment for the name of the Lord Jesus; who had called together the famous Christmas Conference of 1784, and was one of its most prominent members; who had served as a missionary amid the ice and snows of Nova Scotia for the two years immediately subsequent to that event, and, with the venerable William Black, was the apostle of that important province; who, the year before, had led a corps of young men into the country north of New-York, and had formed a large district, stretching from the city to the waters of Lake Champlain; and who, four years after, became connected, by marriage, with the famous Livingston family, which figures so largely in the colonial and revolutionary history of the State of New-York. Thomas Morrell, a Jerseyman by birth, who had been a commissioned officer in the continental army, during the late struggle for independence; a compatriot in arms with the immortal Washington, but now "a soldier of the cross," and who had brought the courage, promptness, and system of the camp into the Christian pastorate, talented, popular, and effective. John Dickins, a native of London, studious, learned, and gloomy, "a son of thunder" as a preacher, one of the originators of Cokesbury College, and who drew up its first subscription; the friend and confidant of Asbury, and the first book steward of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and who finally fell a victim to the yellow fever which visited Philadelphia in 1798. Darius Dunham, "undersized, compact, strong and healthy,

with coarse hair, bushy eyebrows, and a heavy bass voice,"* witty, sarcastic, of good talents as a preacher, with a fearless and indomitable spirit, which rose in proportion to the obstacles to be overcome; a character, indeed, and who, two years after, accompanied William Losee, who was this year admitted as a probationer, up the waters of the Mohawk, across the portage to the waters of the Oswego, and from thence across those of Ontario, into the wilds of Canada, where he assisted to plant Methodism, in what has since proved to be a highly fruitful soil, and to which he devoted the most of his subsequent laborious and pious life. Jesse Lee, a native of the Old Dominion, now but thirty years of age, pious, zealous, and laborious; witty, cheerful, and overflowing with good-humor; stout and athletic, capable of performing great labors, and of enduring great fatigue; talented, eloquent, and able in debate; the best every-day preacher in the connection, and of great executive ability; for many years subsequently, a chaplain to Congress, the first historian of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and who, in after years, extended his unwearied labors from the St. Croix to the St. Mary's, and who was now about to plant the standard of Methodism in the beautiful land of the Pilgrims. Thomas Coke, a native of South Wales, pious, learned, and courtly; laborious, indefatigable, and generous to a fault: a gentleman of fortune, educated amid England's proud aristocracy, at the ancient University of Oxford; LL.D., a clergyman of the Church of England, who had become connected with Mr. Wesley twelve years before, consecrated by him our first bishop, and who was by him sent to organize our infant societies into an independent Church in 1784; whose honored name stands foremost in the history of modern missions, as the founder of the largest and most successful Protestant Missionary Society in the world; who crossed the Atlantic eighteen times, sometimes suffering capture and shipwreck, in the performance of his special work, as a messenger of mercy to our lost race; and who, emphatically, "lived not for himself," a man of a myriad. And lastly, Francis Asbury, a native of Old England, and the son of an humble gardener; a public speaker at the early age of sixteen, a member of the famous Bristol Conference of 1770, one of Mr. Wesley's first missionaries to this country, and the only one who fully identified himself with our cause, in the days of the Revolution, literally forsaking father and mother for our sake; our first bishop in connection with Dr. Coke, both by the appointment of Mr. Wesley and the suffrages of his brethren of the American Conference; pious, zealous, laborious, well read, and eloquent; of great soundness of judgment, of vast comprehension of

* Heroes of Methodism.

views, and who possessed, like Washington, that rare combination of qualities, which pointed him out as a man born to command; the most distinguished ecclesiastical character that our country has yet seen.

Such were the men, who, after spending three or four days in praying and planning, hastened away to execute, some for the crowded and populous cities of the Middle States; some for the pleasant land on the banks of the Hudson and on Long Island; one to carry the doctrines of free grace into Calvinistic New-England; one, the pastor of a flock which fed upon a thousand hills, to make the tour of most of the continent; and another to visit England, Ireland, and the West Indies, and then to hasten back to his American work. The New-York Conference, with its two branches, has since become "a goodly heritage" indeed, and many are the sons which she has brought up, pious, learned, and talented; but it will be no disparagement to them to say, that it is questionable whether any subsequent session of that ancient and venerable body has ever been able to present such an array of talent and of men of such historic importance and celebrity. Such were the men. We now turn to notice their work and its subsequent results.

This conference met in the midst of one of the most important and critical periods in the history of our country, and in the very place in which the most interest was now concentrated; and in the providence of God, they were now to lead the way in the performance of a Christian duty that was not to be without its influence upon the welfare and destinies of our nation. At the close of the late war with Great Britain, the United States found themselves thirteen sovereign and independent states; but exhausted and prostrate after the late protracted and fearful struggle for their national independence, and without a general government, or any bond of union at all adequate to their pressing and urgent political necessities. In this emergence, a convention of delegates from the several states met in Philadelphia, for the purpose of revising the articles of the old Confederation, which had been adopted during the late war, and to adapt them to the new condition of the country. But, upon examination, this was found impossible. It could not be done. A sense of common and imminent danger, rather than any efficiency in these articles of confederation, had held the states together; but now, as that powerful outward pressure was withdrawn, they were found utterly inadequate to the wants of the people. Therefore, throwing these articles aside, the convention, with Washington at their head, proceeded to frame the present Constitution of the United States; and which, as it was done without authority, they immediately sent down to the people for their ratification. After desperate struggles,

and in the face of immense opposition from a numerous and powerful party, inimical to the proposed new order of things, it was finally adopted, by bare majorities in most cases, by eleven of the states; and the first election was held, according to its provisions, which resulted in the choice of Washington as the first President of the new republic. Congress was appointed to meet in the City of New-York, on the 4th of March of this year. But at this time, the halls intended for its accommodation were still in the hands of the carpenters and echoing to the sound of the hammer, while but few members of the new government had even arrived in the city. Nearly a whole month drew its weary length along, amid the painful fears and intense anxieties of the friends of the new government, when, finally, the House of Representatives was organized on April 1st, the Senate on the 6th; the president was officially informed of his election, at Mount Vernon, on the 14th, and it was not till the 30th, that, amid the smiles and tears of his friends, he was finally inaugurated as chief magistrate of the new republic.

But the new government was utterly without strength, save in its own inherent moral power, and in the ardent affections of its friends, who scarcely amounted to a bare majority of the nation. It was without an army, without a navy, without funds, and without an alliance of a single friendly power abroad, save France, and this was upon the eve of failing us; and Congress was now in the midst of those debates by which it was about to assume the debts of the revolution, under the funding system of Alexander Hamilton, to the amount of upward of $73,000,000.

Such was the state of things when this Conference met, almost in the immediate neighborhood of the halls of Congress. In those early days, the bishops both offered motions and made speeches on the floor of conferences, the same as the other members; and on the second day of the session, Bishop Asbury offered the following for the consideration of the Conference: "Whether it would not be proper for them, as a Church, to present a congratulatory address to General Washington, who had been lately inaugurated President of the United States, in which should be embodied their approbation of the Constitution, and a profession of their allegiance to the government." The Conference unanimously approved, and warmly recommended the measure, and immediately appointed the two bishops to draw up the proposed address. It was prepared the same day, and read to the Conference, the members of which showed great satisfaction at its recital. Thomas Morrell, who had been a commissioned officer in the American army, and was personally acquainted with the president, and John Dickins, were immediately appointed

a committee to wait on the president with a copy of the address, and to request him to appoint a time in which he would receive the bishops, one of whom would read it to him and receive his answer. He appointed the fourth succeeding day, at twelve o'clock, for this purpose. At the time appointed the two bishops waited upon him, accompanied by the committee, Messrs. Morrell and Dickins. As Dr. Coke, although having ecclesiastical authority in this country, was yet a British subject, and it was therefore deemed improper for him to do so, Mr. Asbury read the address with great self-possession, and in a highly impressive manner. The president then read his answer with fluency and animation; the parties then exchanged their respective addresses, and after sitting a few minutes, the bishops, with the committee, took their leave. This was not, however, the first time that Washington and these two Christian bishops had met. They were previously acquainted. Being in Alexandria, Va., in the latter part of May, 1785, on the 26th, they received an invitation from the general to dine, which was accepted. He received them very politely; and after dinner, they had a private interview with him on the subject of slavery, in which he gave them his opinion against that institution, expressed his wishes for its abolition, and said, that he had already delivered his sentiments upon the subject to some of the leading men of the state, and that in case any movement should be made for that purpose, his suffrage should not be wanting.* They now met him for the second and last time, to congratulate him on his elevation to the presidency, and to tender the allegiance of themselves and of their numerous people to his government.

The following is the address and reply:

ADDRESS OF THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

"*To the President of the United States:*

"SIR,—We, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, humbly beg leave, in the name of our society, collectively, in these United States, to express to you the warm feelings of our hearts, and our sincere congratulations on your appointment to the presidentship of these states. We are conscious, from the signal proofs you have already given, that you are a friend of mankind; and under this established idea, place as full confidence in your wisdom and integrity for the preservation of those civil and religious liberties which have been transmitted to us by the providence of God, and the glorious revolution, as we believe ought to be reposed in man.

"We have received the most grateful satisfaction from the humble and entire dependence on the great Governor of the universe which you have repeatedly expressed, acknowledging him the source of every blessing, and particularly of the most excellent constitution of these states, which is at present the admiration of the world, and may in future become its great exemplar

* Drew's Life of Dr. Coke, pp. 142, 143. Asbury's Journals, vol. i, p. 496.

for imitation; and hence we enjoy a holy expectation, that you will always prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion, the grand end of our creation and present probationary existence. And we promise you our fervent prayers to the throne of grace, that God Almighty may endue you with all the graces and gifts of his Holy Spirit, that he may enable you to fill up your important station to his glory, the good of his Church, the happiness and prosperity of the United States, and the welfare of mankind.

"Signed in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"THOMAS COKE,
"NEW-YORK, *May* 29, 1789." "FRANCIS ASBURY."

THE REPLY OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

"*To the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America:*

"GENTLEMEN,—I return to you individually, and through you to your society collectively in the United States, my thanks for the demonstrations of affection, and the expressions of joy offered in their behalf, on my late appointment. It shall be my endeavor to manifest the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power toward the civil and religious liberties of the American people. In pursuing this line of conduct, I hope, by the assistance of Divine Providence, not altogether to disappoint the confidence which you have been pleased to repose in me.

"It always affords me satisfaction when I find a concurrence of sentiment and practice between all conscientious men, in acknowledgments of homage to the great Governor of the universe, and in professions of support to a just civil government. After mentioning that I trust the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine vital religion; I must assure you in particular, that I take in the kindest part the promise you make, of presenting your prayers at the throne of grace for me, and that I likewise implore the Divine benediction upon yourselves, and your religious community. GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Both the address and answer appeared in the Gazette of the United States on the following Saturday, June 6th, and great was the surprise and excitement which they created in certain quarters. The next week a furious article appeared in one of the city papers respecting them, in which certain questions were propounded: "Who is Dr. Coke? How came he to be a bishop? Who consecrated him?" etc., and also containing some severe animadversions upon the alleged impropriety of a British subject officially signing a congratulatory address to the President of the United States, and expressing admiration for its Constitution and approbation of its government; also charging him with being an enemy of the country; with having written an inflammatory political pamphlet against us during the war of independence, and with consequent duplicity in the late transaction. The doctor having sailed for Liverpool the preceding Friday, Thomas Morrell, who was stationed in the city this year, and who had a perfect knowledge of the matter, took up

his pen in defense of the absent and assailed bishop, answered these queries, and repelled the ill-founded charges of his assailant. A second article of the same character appeared, to which Mr. Morrell wrote a second response; after which no more of the kind appeared. Mr. Morrell subsequently received the doctor's thanks for this prompt vindication of his action and character.*

Also, upon the appearance of this address and answer, some other denominations felt much dissatisfied that the Methodists should take the lead in the performance of so plain and obvious a duty, and hastened to follow their pious and patriotic example. The Presbyterian Church presented one June 5, the German Reformed June 10, and the Protestant Episcopal Church, one dated August 7, and presented August 19. Such was the condition of the country, and such was the state of public feeling at this period, that we have no hesitation in saying, that after the reception of these addresses, by which the new government had been thus assured of the approval and support of most of the leading denominations of the Middle and Southern States, it no doubt drew a longer breath, and went to its work, fraught with such important and immense results to our infant nation and to the race, with renewed alacrity and courage. From the stanch Puritans of New-England, as they were not represented by so much as a single Church near the seat of government, we know not that any address ever came; and neither in their case was it especially necessary. In their own section they were a large and powerful body, and had ever given the most unmistakable approval, both of the late war of independence and of the new order of things; and among them Washington had his firmest friends and the new government its strongest supporters.

It may have seemed then, and may now seem to some, strange that the Methodists, then so recent a people, should take the initiative in this matter. But this seeming impropriety may, perhaps, entirely disappear, when we state, that even at this early period, although not a quarter of a century had elapsed since Embury had formed his first class in the City of New-York, yet they were already not only the most active and flourishing, but also one of the most numerous and powerful bodies of Christians in the United States, and the only one whose unity was so perfect, and whose ecclesiastical organization was so complete, as to enable them to concentrate their forces at any given point. They then numbered 43,262, of which nearly 6,000 had been added the previous year.

There is one supposable fact in this connection, to which we have never seen any reference made by any writer whatever. In the

* Bangs's History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, vol. i, pp. 279–286.

convention which formed the Constitution, the Methodists were represented by one member, the Honorable Richard Bassett, of Delaware, a personal friend and confidant of Bishop Asbury. He was a distinguished and influential lawyer, who at various times filled the offices of Judge of the United States Court, for the circuit comprising the districts of Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, and Delaware, governor of the latter, and was also now a senator in the first Congress from that state. He was a stanch Federalist of that period; and it was under the leadership of such men as he, and George Read, and John Dickinson, that the people of Delaware were the first to adopt the Constitution, which they did as early as December, 1787; and thus taking the initiative in this important business, showed other and more powerful states the way. There is now no positive and direct proof of the fact; but we presume, that the suggestion which led to this address was from him; that he intimated to his friend Bishop Asbury, that an address of this nature, congratulating the president on his election to the chief magistracy, expressing a cordial approval of the new government, and professing allegiance to it, might not only be acceptable, but also highly useful at this important juncture, and it was done.

Another of the doings of this Conference (for as there was no General Conference at this time, all measures were originated in the annual conferences) was the permanent establishment of the Book Concern; a measure of the most transcendent importance, and the happy results of which cannot well be overestimated. Several of the leading members of this Conference had been previously engaged amid immense discouragements, and in opposition to almost insurmountable obstacles, in the establishment of Cokesbury College, which had been opened less than two years before; and now they proceeded to the performance of a similar enterprise. Previous to the late war, Robert Williams had published several of Mr. Wesley's sermons, and extensively circulated them, by which, as is ever the case, much good was effected. But the Conference took the business out of his hands, made it a connectional concern, and forbid him to publish any more on his own responsibility. From this time, there are occasional allusions to the publication and sale of books; but concerning the way in which the business was conducted, we have now no information. But at this Conference it was resolved to establish a regular book concern, to be located in the City of Philadelphia; which was not only quite central and convenient for business, but was also then the largest city in the Union; and John Dickins, who was esteemed the best qualified for the work of any man in the connection, was appointed the first steward. The office of book steward was then

no sinecure. He not only performed the duties of editor, but of clerk and packer, and was also in charge of St. George's Church. The printing was hired done; as for the rest of the business, the whole was conducted in one small room; and it was styled the Book Room, which designation, pointing to its humble origin and small beginnings, is still retained, although it has now attained to such colossal proportions.

The first book published was Thomas à Kempis, a work much more highly esteemed and generally read among us at that period than at present. The Hymn Book, Saint's Rest, and Mr. Wesley's Primitive Physic, a work then thought almost indispensable in every Methodist household, and the first volume of the Arminian Magazine, were also published the same year. The catalogue of the infant concern was then soon read.

The establishment of this concern, in view of the great dearth of religious literature at that period, and also of its present extensive operations, highly flourishing condition, and immensely important results, to which it has attained within the memory of man, must be considered as one of the most pregnant events in the whole history of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was the first religious publishing house in the land, as it is now one of the largest and the most useful.

Thus did this humble, though truly noble body of Methodist itinerants, vilified and reproached as they have been for their supposed illiteracy, take the first step in supplying our growing republic churchwise, with a wholesome religious literature, in providing unborn millions with the needed intellectual and spiritual *pabulum*, and in erecting a mighty barrier against that flood of ungodly and irreligious publications which have since flooded the land; in which good work they were not followed by others, till nearly a whole generation had passed away, and the first regular onset of infidelity, in our country, had spent its force. And the further importance of this incipient measure of the New-York Conference of 1789, composed as it was of less than a score of men, the centuries of the eventful and glorious future, fraught as they will be with the mighty destinies of nations, and eternity itself, can only fully develop. The press has now become a mighty engine in our world. It is one of the forces which now control society and mould its character, as never before; and those who manage it have the fate of the world, in part, in their hands.

There is also another event of some importance connected with this Conference, and which we will, in part, anticipate. William Losee, who, two years subsequently, was sent into Canada, and was

the pioneer of Methodism in that important province, was received on trial at this session.

In 1780, during the war of the Revolution, among the soldiers stationed at Quebec, were several persons belonging to the Wesleyan societies. Among these was a commissariat officer belonging to the 44th regiment of foot, who was a local preacher, and who, in the spirit so characteristic of the body to which he belonged, held religious meetings among his brethren. But he formed no society; and at the close of the war returned to England. Upon some of the soldiers being disbanded, others of his brethren scattered themselves over the province.

In the winter of 1788–89, the season preceding this Conference, a pious young man belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, by the name of Lyon, taught a school in Adolphostown, C. W., and held meetings as an exhorter, and with encouraging success. But having no authority, he also formed no societies.

About the same time, an Irishman, by the name of M'Carty, a Whitefieldian Methodist, settled in Earnesttown, C. W. Being moved by the sight of the religious destitution around him, he commenced reading sermons to his neighbors, with distinguished success. Some, as in the commencement of Presbyterianism in Virginia, in 1743, were brought to God and converted, through this humble instrumentality. But, as is usually the case, he suffered much persecution, and even an unjust civil prosecution. While defending himself in this suit, in which he was assisted by the kindness and munificence of Sir John Johnson, who furnished him with funds for this purpose, and also by a kind-hearted attorney in Montreal, who volunteered in his defense, he mysteriously disappeared, and was never afterward heard of; and the circumstances of the case were such as to leave room to surmise, that there had been foul play in the matter. Of his three principal prosecutors, two, the sheriff and a militia captain, died suddenly soon after, and the third, an engineer, made a confession of his wickedness, but soon after became insane. Their signal judgments, following so closely upon the heels of the transgression, no doubt made a salutary impression upon the minds of the beholders.

At this time there were a few scattered pioneers of Methodism in the province, who, in 1790, sent a request to the New-York Conference for a preacher, and in 1791, William Losee, as before intimated, was sent them. At this time there were but few settlements west of Albany. The whole of the north, west, and interior of the State of New-York, was mostly a wilderness; and the usual route to Canada was up the Mohawk River, across the portage to

Oneida Lake, thence down the Oswego River to Lake Ontario, and thence across its waters to the northern shore. But this hardy and intrepid man, although so young in the ministry, nothing daunted, undertook this difficult mission, and at once proceeded to his work. Upon his arrival, he formed a circuit along the waters of Lake Ontario and the Bay of Quinte, including Kingston, Earnesttown, Fredericsburgh, and Adolphustown, to which he gave the name of Kingston. The next year the brave and zealous Darius Dunham was sent to his assistance, and the circuit was divided; one part of it being called Cateraqui, and the other Oswegatchie. Mr. Dunham, from this time, identified himself with the work in Canada, and soon became its efficient and successful leader.*

Such was the humble beginning of what has since become a great and prosperous work. The brethren in Canada continued in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church till 1828, a period of thirty-seven years; when, by mutual consent, they were set off and became independent. The Canada Conference is now a large, powerful, and highly influential body, whose work extends from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the head waters of Lake Superior, and from the great lakes to Hudson's Bay. It has a college for the education of its rising youth, a Book Concern for the dissemination of a pious literature, and a weekly newspaper for the diffusion of religious intelligence; it has also a membership of nearly 40,000, a very able and efficient corps of preachers, and its finances are in a highly flourishing condition. Methodism has thus done an immense amount for the promotion of Christianity and civilization in those northern regions; and men still linger in the New-York and New-England Conferences who were pioneers in the great work, when it was yet under the care of the Church in the States.

When the lone William Losee was urging his toilsome way up the waters of the Mohawk and across those of Ontario, who could have anticipated such vast results from his mission! and in view of which we may well exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" The New-York Conference has reason to be proud that such are some of the fruits of her labors.

Another measure of this Conference, pregnant with still more important results, was the appointment of Rev. Jesse Lee as a missionary to New-England. Methodism had now been permanently established in our country for more than a quarter of a century, and had already found its way into all the Middle and Southern States, the two Western territories, besides Nova Scotia and the West Indies. New-England alone, the glorious and honored land of the Pilgrims,

* Gorrie's History of Methodism, pp. 119–122.

"the land of story and of song," remained unvisited. But her time had now come; and the man selected by Divine Providence, and chosen by his brethren for this work, was now waiting to enter the field, "already white to the harvest." Two previous attempts had been made to establish it in Boston, the metropolis; one by Richard Boardman, in 1772, and another by William Black, on his return from the Christmas Conference to Halifax, N. S., in 1785; but both, although promising in the commencement, through untoward circumstances, over which no one had any control, had failed. A third and eminently successful attempt was now to be made.

Nearly a half century had now elapsed since the last general revival, the "great awakening" had occurred in New-England, during which, the country had passed through two long and protracted wars; both fraught with highly important consequences, as also that season of intense excitement consequent upon the unsettled state of things existing between the peace of 1783, and the final organization of the Federal government, which happy event had just been consummated. But few were now alive who had witnessed the "great awakening;" but there were many who had heard Whitefield in his subsequent visits, and retained a lively recollection of him; and the traditions of the past were fresh in the minds of the people. The war of the Revolution had utterly overthrown the establishments of the Church of England in the Middle and Southern States, and had almost prostrated the Church with them. But not so in New-England. Her Church establishments of Congregationalism still existed in all their freshness and vigor. The whole of Connecticut and Massachusetts especially, were divided into parishes, corresponding, for the most part, with town lines, in each of which was a Church and settled pastor, supported by law; and this establishment entered into the whole life of the people, not only ecclesiastical, but also social and political; and all other sects were treated as Dissenters. But the Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and some others, had already found a footing on this soil; and why not the Methodists? especially as their doctrines and mode of preaching more nearly resembled those of the old Puritans than almost any of the above.

Dr. Samuel Seabury, a minister of the Church of England, who had been a chaplain in the British army during the late war, and who was a native of Connecticut, at the request of the Episcopal clergy of that state, sailed from New-York for England, to obtain consecration as a bishop, even before the British troops left that city. Not being able to obtain consecration from the English bishops, who were under the control of Parliament, and could not bestow

the desired boon till they were permitted to do so, he proceeded to Scotland, where he obtained it from the non-juring bishops of that kingdom. Returning home, he had organized the diocese of Connecticut, before the rest of the Church had made any important move in this matter; and it was not till this year, (1789,) that the general convention met, and the organization of the Church was finally completed; and it was not till its second meeting, in 1792, that Bishop Seabury and the Diocese of Connecticut were admitted on equal terms, and the unity of that body at last secured.* It was at this juncture that Lee entered Seabury's diocese.

During his journey to Charlestown, S. C., in company with Bishop Asbury and Henry Willis, for the purpose of introducing Methodism into that city, Mr. Lee met with a young man from Massachusetts, then a clerk in a store in Georgetown, in that state, from whom he derived much information respecting the manners and customs of New-England, and the character of its intelligent people. From that time, he felt an irrepressible desire to preach to them the doctrines of free grace, and to plant Methodism upon their rugged soil. During the following years he was constantly moving northward, bringing himself within reach of his desired field, until the last year he traveled a circuit in the northern part of New-Jersey, which threw him into this Conference; which was then the nearest point from which he could reach it; and he was now fully ready for his long-contemplated enterprise. Wesley and Calvin, the Geneva reformer and the Oxford scholar, were now about to meet in the New World, as they had already done in the old.

Mr. Lee had never before visited New-England, nor had he previously made a tour of exploration; neither does it appear that he had an invitation from any person, or that he had even a letter of introduction to any one, who was disposed to lend him the least assistance. His circuit, yet unformed, was called Stamford, from a town situated upon Long Island Sound, in the southwestern part of the State of Connecticut, and where, I suppose, he intended to commence. Albert Van Nostrand was appointed as his colleague, but for some reason, which has never been explained, he never came to the work, and Mr. Lee proceeded alone.

Passing through Stamford, he opened his commission at Norwalk, a town beyond, June 17, 1798. Not being able to obtain a house, nor even permission to preach in an orchard near by, for which he applied, he went into the street, and taking his stand, began to sing, and for which he had an excellent voice; upon which a crowd began to collect. He then prayed with much liberty and fervor;

* Bishop White's Narrative.

of which no marvel, for it was a prayer which has received a most signal answer. He then preached from John iii, 7: "Ye must be born again," a fitting text and subject for such an occasion. The impression thus made upon the minds of his astonished auditors, thus gathered in this novel manner, was impressive and salutary. Some thought that such a man had not visited New-England since the days of Whitefield; in which opinion they were indeed correct. But with characteristic caution, no one offered him the hospitalities of his home. How this must have chilled his noble Virginian soul, used as he was to the frankness and generous hospitality of the South! But this was but the beginning of such scenes. Nothing daunted or discouraged, for he had counted the cost of this labor of love, our zealous evangelist left an appointment at the same place for the next two weeks, and then hastened away to bear the same message of glad tidings to others, who might also treat him in the same manner. Thus he continued to meet with neglect, contempt, insult, and indifference, with an occasional instance of treatment of a contrary character, which was to his soul like an oasis in the desert to an Eastern traveler, or a refreshing shower to a thirsty ground. But he bore his discouragements with a wonderful composure; and with untiring perseverance he persisted through the whole, and formed a large circuit, consisting of the towns of Norwalk, Fairfield, Stratford, Milford, New-Haven, Derby, Newtown, Reading, Danbury, Canaan, and several other places situated in the southwestern corner of the state.

Fruit, however, began presently to appear. September 26, he formed the first class in the parish of Stratfield, consisting at first of three females. Months elapsed before any one else united with them. The first Methodist meeting-house in New-England was subsequently built in this place, and was called after the name of this indefatigable pioneer, Lee's Chapel. Three months more passed away, during which the rigors of a New-England winter had come on, when, December 28, another class was formed, in the town of Reading, consisting of two persons only, one man and one woman. This man, Mr. Aaron Sandford, subsequently became a preacher, and thus greatly assisted to promote that cause with which he thus identified himself in the helplessness of its infancy. Several other members of his family, of both the second and third generation, have also become preachers; and the whole society of which this little class was the nucleus, has ever been famous for the number of able and zealous ministers which it has produced.

Mr. Lee had thus far toiled alone; but having informed Bishop Asbury of his labors and prospects, he was now about to receive

assistance from the South. While holding a quarterly meeting in Danbury, on the state line between Connecticut and New-York, in February, 1790, Jacob Brush, George Roberts, and Daniel Smith arrived to his help. He had received notice of their coming; and as he beheld them ride up he was filled with inexpressible joy, and exclaimed, "Ye have well done, that ye have come." On the Sabbath, the preaching was attended with great power, and a mighty cry went through the excited assembly. New-England had not seen the like since the days of Edwards and Whitefield, in the time of the "great awakening." But the generation which had then seen those things was now gone, and to the present they were new. Hence, some were much alarmed; and the meeting being in an unfinished dwelling-house, they ran to the end of the loft, and leaped upon the ground. "But in the midst of all the confusion," says Lee, "the Christians were exceedingly happy."

Having received this much needed and much wished for assistance, leaving Messrs. Brush and Roberts to attend to the work which he had already laid out, he took Mr. Smith, and immediately proceeded to form another circuit of two weeks, embracing seventeen appointments, and which extended along the post road from Milford, on the Sound, to Hartford. The Hartford Circuit was also subsequently formed this same year, and which extended from Middletown, in Connecticut, on both sides the river, to Wilbraham, in Massachusetts. It is worthy of remark, that the two oldest literary institutions of their class belonging to us in the United States, namely, Wilbraham Academy and the Wesleyan University at Middletown, are both situated within the bounds of this old circuit, thus formed this first year of Methodist itinerancy in New-England.

About the time that Lee entered Connecticut on the southwest, some preachers, under the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, stationed on some of the circuits north of New-York, also entered it on the northwest; and early in the spring of 1790, they formed the Litchfield Circuit. Who the preachers were who first entered New-England at this point, we are not distinctly informed; but Samuel Q. Talbot and the famous Benjamin Abbot were on the Dutchess Circuit, and John Bloodgood and Samuel Wigton on the Columbia, which were the nearest points from which it could be invaded from that direction. There is presumptive evidence from Mr. Garrettson's Journal, however, that Samuel Wigton, who this year was put in charge of this new circuit, was the man, of whom Mr. Garrettson says, "He is a very acceptable preacher in this circuit, and the Lord owns his labors."

In June, 1790, Mr. Garrettson visited this part of the state, as far

as Hartford, often preaching to large and attentive audiences. His notices of that town shows that Methodism was then much better received in that portion of the state, than that in which Lee was laboring; and that the work was in a more highly prosperous and encouraging condition. But subsequent relative results have not been in accordance with this beginning. Lee's early circuits have yielded the most abundant harvest. From Hartford, Mr. Garrettson proceeded on a tour of exploration to Boston, in which he anticipated Lee by a few days, who was *en route* for the same important point. His route lay through the center of Massachusetts; and at Worcester he called on Dr. Bancroft, the father of the historian, and who for many years was one of the leaders of Unitarianism in that state, of which he gives a characteristic account.

After preaching at Boston twice, and endeavoring to make some arrangements for a preacher, on his return he took the road through Providence, where he held forth the word of life in the Church of the Rev. Mr. Snow, Congregational, now the Richmond-street Church. From thence he proceeded through Eastern Connecticut to Hartford, where he attempted to preach; and from thence to his district on the Hudson. In this tour he was accompanied by his black servant Harry, who was a local preacher, and sometimes preached, as well as his master, to wondering and delighted audiences.

Mr. Lee also made two tours of exploration this conference year, one of about a week into Rhode Island, in September, 1789, where he was well received by some pious people belonging to some of the Baptist sects in the southwestern part of that state, by whom he was earnestly pressed to visit them again. The second was in June and July, 1790, in which he passed through Rhode Island, the eastern part of Massachusetts, and proceeded as far as Portsmouth, N. H. In this tour, he was incessant and indefatigable in his labors, preaching in all the principal places in the four states through which he passed on his route. In Boston, both going and returning, he preached to several thousands on the Common, as Whitefield had done before him, just fifty years preceding. This tour was attended with subsequent important consequences, which yet remain, and will, till the heavens are no more.

Now for some of the immediate results. This conference year was unusually long, extending through more than sixteen months. Says Stevens, in his Memorials:

"On Monday, October 4, 1790, Lee entered the Conference in New-York City, to entreat additional laborers for New-England. What could he report of his success, since he left the same body in June of the preceding year? A

tale of as hard fare and as hard labors, doubtless, as any one could relate, except, possibly, the venerable man who sat in the chair, the unequaled Asbury. But not of toils and trials alone could he speak. Much also had been achieved. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts had been quite thoroughly surveyed, for more definite plans of labor. He himself had proclaimed the principles of Methodism in all the then five New-England States. He had removed much prejudice, and put the whole country, more or less, in expectation of future efforts. He had definitely formed three circuits, which, on the Minutes of this year, were called Fairfield, New-Haven, and Hartford, and had explored another in Eastern Massachusetts, which was now called Boston. Another had also been formed in the northwestern part of Connecticut by the preachers on Mr. Garrettson's district, and which was called Litchfield; making five in all. His fellow-laborers also had extended their travels in many directions, and many souls had been awakened and converted, so that nearly two hundred had been united in classes; a remarkable number, if we consider the formidable obstacles which obstructed every movement of the few laborers in the field."—*Memorials*, vol. i, pp. 96, 97.

One chapel also had been erected, before referred to. Never, probably, had so much been accomplished within the limits of a single year; especially if we take into the account the peculiar difficulties to be overcome.

But what are the final results thus far? It is now more than sixty-seven years since Lee, "solitary and alone," entered the Eastern states, and there are now within their bounds, six entire annual conferences, with 676 traveling preachers and 71,474 members; besides part of three other annual conferences, west of the Green Mountains, in Vermont and Massachusetts, and of the Connecticut, within the bounds of that state, enough to make another large conference; making an aggregate, probably, of 800 traveling preachers, and 90,000 members. But this is not all. Persons converted under Methodist labors are to be found in all the evangelical Churches in New-England, and especially in their ministry, in which there are large numbers. New-England Methodism, like others, has also sent forth large numbers to assist in colonizing all the Western States, and to advance the cause of Christianity and civilization toward the setting sun; so that these figures are very far from showing the aggregate results, and the actual good accomplished.

New-England Methodism has also furnished several bishops to the Church, among which are Soule and Hedding; several of its most distinguished literary men, as Fisk and Olin; its first missionaries to Africa, South America, Texas, and Oregon, as well as laborers for all other sections of the work, both at home and abroad. In its literary department it boasts of one University, the oldest in the connection; one Theological School, also the first in the Church; eight first-class academies; one weekly paper, having 11,000 subscribers, and which is conducted with much tact and ability; and one Book Depository, which is doing a flourishing business; and

in the matter of churches and parsonages, it is thought to be in advance of all other sections of our work, while its finances are generally in a healthy condition. And yet men are now living among us who embrace the whole of this within the limits of their own personal history! New-England Methodism is of precisely the same date as our Federal government; and the success of the former is scarcely exceeded by the unrivaled success of the latter.

Such are some of the doings of the New-York Conference of 1789, with their results; and in view of which, we think, it must be admitted, that the session of no one annual conference on this continent exceeds it in historical interest and importance; and if that venerable body had naught else to distinguish her long and eventful career, (and she has much,) these alone would be sufficient to secure her an unfading glory among the annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of many of which she herself is the honored parent.

Art. III.—THOMSON'S ESSAYS, SKETCHES, AND LETTERS.

1. *Educational Essays*, by E. Thomson, D.D., LL.D., a New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Edited by Rev. D. W. Clark, D.D. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1856.
2. *Letters from Europe:* being Notes of a Tour through England, France, and Switzerland, by E. Thomson, D.D., LL.D., with a Preface by Bishop Morris. Edited by Rev. D. W. Clark, D.D. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1856.
3. *Sketches, Biographical and Incidental*, by E. Thomson, D.D., LL.D. Edited by Rev. D. W. Clark, D.D. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1856.
4. *Essays, Moral and Religious*, by E. Thomson, D.D., LL.D. Edited by Rev. D. W. Clark, D.D. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1856.

We are happy to introduce these delightful volumes to the readers of the Quarterly. We commenced them with high expectations, and we frankly confess our expectations are fully realized. We intend simply an analytical review of the works, which shall serve the purpose of a directory to minds inquiring after entertainment, instruction, and purification. We cannot review the author's themes. They are too numerous; and then generally it is unnecessary, for one of his peculiarities is to present an appreciative, if not an exhaustive view of the themes he undertakes; and in this high sense to be his own reviewer.

The history of these books may be given in a few words. Dr. Thomson has been an active, discriminating, and industrious mind,

a keen-eyed student, an editor, and a professional educator, for many years; and, of course, he has written, written largely and variously. He has not been a hermit scholar, digging up for himself alone the gems of history, philosophy, and logic. He is a man for society, for other men, for the age, and hence he has published; and his readers are already very numerous. He did not intend to give us his writings in the form of books. Indeed the idea seems never to have entered his mind. If it did it must have been promptly expelled. A superannuated preacher, like most of his class, was under the necessity of finding some means of improving his temporal circumstances; what better could he do for the world, and for himself, than to collect and bring out, in a neat volume, some of Dr. Thomson's essays? His good taste and valuable enterprise were at once vindicated. The reading public examined, approved, wisely called for more, and these four volumes are the noble result.

Dr. Thomson says, "They" (that is, these Essays, Sketches, and Letters, published and unpublished, brought forward to make the books,) "should, indeed, have been carefully rewritten before they met the public eye." So they should; for there are a few, *very few*, blemishes of style, which would certainly have been corrected, if the keen eye of the author had passed through the copy once more; and then, some paragraphs might have been more completely "rounded off," and some of the discussions extended and finished, to very great advantage. For the purpose of "weeding," (almost universally the principal purpose of rewriting,) there was literally no necessity whatever for further labor. And this, considering the hurried and incidental manner in which many of these papers must have been written, is truly remarkable. There is no redundancy in Dr. Thomson. *Multum in parvo* could be rightly written all around him, talking, preaching, lecturing, praying, writing, sleeping and all, if there were only margin enough to write it on. So the critic will look in vain for useless expletives, for tautology, or pleonasm in these volumes! Much less than the regrets usually due for hasty publication, will therefore be felt by the most particular friends of Dr. Thomson. Besides, read the whole sentence we began to quote from him: "They should, indeed, have been carefully rewritten before they met the public eye; but such are the writer's engagements, that the only question with him was, whether they should go to press in their present form or not at all." In view of such an alternative, we are highly gratified with the conclusion reached.

Dr. Clark, the accomplished editor of the works before us, says, with great justice: "With unhesitating confidence we claim for the author a place in the brotherhood of the essayists of the age. The

naturalness of his method, the transparent clearness and purity of his style, the aptness and beauty of his illustrations, must challenge commendation from the most critical and exacting. Then, too, impregnating the whole is the moral and religious element, where too many other essayists have sadly failed."

We may have an idea of our author's own views with respect to good writing, and judge of the spirit in which he has prosecuted his work:

"That which smells most of the lamp is not really the most elaborate. A celebrated critic pronounced the finest writing to be such as a reader would imagine exceedingly easy to equal, and yet such, that whoever should attempt to imitate it, would perspire over his task. It is the half-finished production which leaves the marks of labor."

"Not a single page of fine writing was ever produced without much intellectual effort. A solitary sentence may express the result of years of thought. The harvest may be gathered in a day, but plowing, and planting, and growth require time."—Educational Essays, pp. 22, 23.

It is certain that the books we are reviewing contain ample evidence that the author has thoroughly applied these stern rules to himself. Another characteristic fact appears in "America and England:"

"I write without fear of parties or love of praise. I respect myself too well not to say what I think, and know mankind too well to suppose that all excellences are in ourselves and all faults in our rivals."—Letters, p. 201.

And yet nothing can exceed the candor with which he acknowledges the merits and reviews the defects of other people:

"I was less struck than I supposed I should be, in England, with the contrast between wealth and poverty, the cottage of the poor and the palace of the rich, the beggar on crutches and the prince on silver wheels. There is contrast enough, to be sure, more, doubtless, than a stranger would be likely to see, but less, I really think, than existed ten or twenty years ago. Indeed, laboring men are doing well, if they are industrious and attentive; and when we compare rent, price of provisions, taxes, and wages in England and in this country, at present, we can see but little if any motive for English mechanics to emigrate hither, unless it be with a view to gain a wider sphere for their children."—Letters, p. 126.

The range of topics is ample. It is, indeed, remarkable, that amid very engrossing professional engagements, the author has found time to examine so many subjects, and has made himself competent to present them with so much scope of intelligence, maturity of thought, and finish of style.

We have here the vast subject of education, developed theoretically and practically, in several very important papers, entitled, "General Education," "The Path to Success," "Mental Symmetry," "Inaugural Address," "Religious Ideas the Basis of Education,"

"Moral Education," "Miscellaneous Reading," "Necessity of Colleges," "Hints to Youth," "Female Education," and "Higher Education." These articles brought together, would make a highly instructive manual for teachers and students. They present no wild or revolutionary schemes. They are soundly conservative with respect to the classical basis of scholarship, insisting upon the old fundamentals of the course, and yet highly progressive in the views presented, and in the spirit and educational enterprise which pervade them.

We have numerous philosophical papers, showing a penetrating study of mind and matter, and presenting much valuable instruction, with the advantage of a highly discriminating analysis and great clearness of thought and expression. We mention for example, "Close Thought," "Extremes in Philosophy," "Logic in its Relations to Medical Science," "Originality," and "Religious Excitement." If Dr. Thomson cannot be termed a philosopher in the highest sense of the word, he is certainly a philosophical thinker, a clear-sighted student of philosophy, and a very useful teacher of philosophy. His readers will not discover the elements of any original system scattered through his writings, and yet they will find the good, old settled principles of physical and metaphysical science clearly apprehended, forcibly, though not formally stated, and turned to most happy practical uses.

The didactic portions of these works are extensive and of the utmost importance to readers, especially the young. Dr. Thomson teaches admirably. He shows a profound knowledge of the structure and difficulties of the student's mind, and cultivates a congeniality and sympathy with it, which must make his lecture-room a perfect paradise to the poor, confounded, bewildered, half-discouraged pupil; and not less, to the energized, enthusiastic aspirant for college honors and future distinction. Happily for the times, he does not confine his instructions to the lecture-room. He enters the field of the world, and at this hour may reckon his pupils by the thousand, while, in our humble opinion, they are destined to increase as time advances, for there is much in these volumes for which we claim classic permanence and power. The reader will find instruction scattered liberally through the whole series; but we refer particularly to "Educational Essays" and "Moral and Religious Essays." "Self Knowledge" may be mentioned as a specimen.

There is very little that is strictly controversial in these books; and yet there is a strong and enticing logic running entirely through them. Dr. Thomson argues without pretension, but with irresistible force. Take, for instance, "Inspiration of the Bible," and the

"Discourse on Skepticism." Let any candid man, however infidel in his tendencies, read these discussions, and he *must* say religion is true, it is Divine. We are gratified, however, to say, that no one need avoid them for fear of dryness or excessively hard labor. Everything here is easy. There are a sprightliness and vigor in the severest argument, which makes it highly readable; and then entertainment is so profusely distributed, that no sensible reader can easily tire in the perusal.

Description is, however, Dr. Thomson's forte, if he has any. Read his "Letters," and say if you have failed to get a distinct conception of anything which he has attempted to exhibit Character, particularly, he paints with the hand of a master. For critical analysis and racy, spirited movement, we point to "Western Character;" for graphic skill and power, as well as beauty and elegance of style, we will turn out his "Russel Bigelow" against the world; while for moving pathos and touching tenderness, we know of nothing better than "Mrs. Martha M'Cabe," and "Rev. Thomas Cooper," in the English language.

We must, however, hasten to a more specific estimate of our author in his chosen field. The range of study and thought evinced by these discussions gives ample evidence of competency for his task. For a historical sweep, we refer the reader to the introduction to "Hugh Latimer and his Times." We have not room for so extended an extract.

We have incidentally brought out, in various places, the doctor's appreciation of the fine arts. Take the following:

"The artist may mold matter into forms of enrapturing beauty, and make us feel their elevating and purifying influences; but what is the marble Moses of a Michael Angelo, or the cold statue of his living Christ, compared to the embodiment of the Hebrew law and the spirit of Jesus in the sculpture of a holy life? Goethe said, that he was not half himself who had never seen the Juno in the Rondanini palace at Rome. Well, then, may we say, that he knows not to what race he belongs, who has never gazed upon such a man as Bigelow."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 86.

"My attention was fixed to a painting of the dead Christ, which struck me as equal, if not superior, to anything I had seen. I gazed till I almost fancied that a fresh corpse was before me. I congratulated my taste not a little, when I was informed that it was one of Benjamin West's best productions."—Letters, p. 89.

Numerous passages show much skill in criticism. We give the following as specimens:

"The love of beauty is usually associated with the capacity to reproduce it; that is taste, this is art. Mr. Curry's art was not proportioned to his taste; it manifested itself in the sweet music of his flute and the sweeter strains of his verse; the former is lost in the empty air, the latter will float down the river of time."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 38.

"There is a distinction between the fancy and the imagination; the former gives us airy shapes, the latter gives us likenesses; fancy is concerned with trivial objects, imagination with grand, spiritual, eternal things. In long settled countries, where multitudes are reared in coal pits, or confined to ditches, or factories, or rarely pass beyond the walls of their native cities, or, if they do, it is to visit some thickly-populated graveyard, or some forsaken castle, the *fancy* may be vigorous; but in the forest of the new world, there is but little chance for hobgoblins or apparitions. Man walks abroad freely amid the works of God, works in all the wild magnificence of nature. He is in the midst of broad plains, majestic streams; on every hand he meets with some object fitted to furnish him with elevated ideas, and to arouse into healthful and vigorous action the best powers of his mind; withal, he is not so hampered but that he can allow his mind free scope in depicting its own creations. It was under these circumstances that the grandest poetry of the world was produced."—Ibid., p. 224.

We shall run no risk in ascribing to our author in the very presence of his own discriminating criticism, a pure imagination, a chaste fancy, and a cultivated taste. We may, indeed, say of him, what he says of another: "Mr. Curry's chief characteristic was his taste. His mind was in harmony with nature; he had a relish for all beauty. To him it was not in vain that God painted the landscape green, cast the channels of the streams in graceful curves, lighted up the arch of night, and turned the gates of the day on golden hinges amid the anthems of a grateful world." Dr. Thomson's chief characteristic is his taste; but we must show that if he is not a poet, it is certainly because he chooses a more useful vocation. Hear him say:

"I have hailed that glorious sun at his rising, and stood entranced in his setting beams; I have looked up to heaven at midnight, and mused on the moon and stars, when none but God was with me. I have sat silent and solitary in my closet, and thought over, one by one, my Saviour's miracles; I have pictured to my mind the Almighty molding the earth of the fresh creation into a human form, and breathing the breath of life into the nostrils of Adam; but never has my heart been so agitated as when I have thought of Jehovah coming forth, at the blast of the last trumpet, to summon together the scattered dust of the corpse and mold it into a body spiritual, incorruptible, immortal, radiant as the sun, and fashioned after the glorious body of the God-man."—Mor. and Rel. Essays, p. 49.

"As the profoundest philosophy of ancient Rome and Greece lighted her taper at Israel's altar, so the sweetest strains of the pagan muse were swept from harps attuned on Zion's hill."—Ibid., p. 35.

We insist upon another example, as we are probably making an original claim for a man who has never, so far as we know, written anything but delicious prose. Of Otway Curry he says:

"It may be matter of astonishment that he was not more original, more national; that he did not give American ideas in American forms; that he did not have more vigor of thought, more fire of passion, making his pentameters ring on the soul like the ax on the elm; that he did not give voice to the forgotten generations over whose graves he walked, and immortality to the herald-

ry that he turned up with his plow; that he did not rive pride to the heart as the northern blast oft rives the oaks of the hill-top, and girdle sensuality as the prairie on fire girdles the flying traveler; that he did not, with the inspiration of a heaven-born poet, make Niagara silence Atheism, and the floods of the Alleghanies clap their hands to God; that he did not commission the thunder to pronounce the doom of slavery, and the lightning to melt the chains of the captured fugitive that was borne by his door; that he did not make the mountains that God lifted around him proclaim liberty, and the broad streams that he found at their feet preach bounty. But this is the complaint against all American poetry, that it is not American. We look for wild grass, and lo! clover; for the mastodon laving his sides in the Mississippi, and lo! behemoth 'trusteth he can draw up Jordan into his mouth.'

"The songs of our lakes and plains are yet to be sung. The hopes and aspirations of the New World are yet to be voiced; and sure as the noblest lands and inland waters that the sun ever saw, lie spread out between our ocean coasts, and the best races of men have gathered to them, so sure is the noblest poetry that shall ever entrance delighted mortals to rise up from our valleys." —Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 39.

We shall fearlessly say, that the man who wrote this extract, *can*, if he will, write the poetry he describes.

Sprightliness, with genuine gayety and good-humor, will be found giving life and interest to these volumes. We have marked thirty-three passages, which show this admirable quality of a popular writer. See the frolic of Western life dropping from his joyous pen, and dancing on the paper before his eyes. Here are

"Hunting, fishing, rolling bees, chopping rails, shooting matches, quiltings, pumpkin parings, singing schools, and sleigh riding. When behind a fleet horse you have a well-painted sleigh, and by your side the beautiful object of your rival's love, wrapped up with you in the buffalo robe, while music of bells prevents your being overheard, and you start for the woods, you are upon the borders of paradise. Happy if in displaying your extraordinary horsemanship, you do not overset everything, and thrice happy if, when you return, the old folks have kindled the back-log that has been so long drying in the parlor fire-place, and set out the apples and the doughnuts."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 217.

The suggestive character of Dr. Thomson's writings is a capital merit. We have found a large number of passages which are windows to extensive and important views. He does not, for instance, take up a large space to show you the public interest in the reading-rooms of the British Museum; but simply tells you that admission is by ticket, and that the tickets "are held by about forty thousand persons at present!" He would give you an idea of the library, and so says, "the catalogue is in three hundred volumes folio." He wishes to show you the coal trade for London, and this is his method: "They say that upward of forty thousand persons and five thousand horses are engaged dayly in supplying it."

We now turn our attention to the style of the author. The examination must relate to three particulars: the essential qualities

of a good style, the characteristics of his style, and the use made of ornaments.

The essential qualities of a good style, according to the rhetoricians, are correctness, perspicuity, vivacity, euphony, and naturalness; and we claim them all for Dr. Thomson. The degree of each must be judged by the scholarly reader of all these volumes. We say *scholarly*, because this kind of criticism belongs to scholars; but lest we should be misunderstood, we add, that all the advantages of these essential qualities are made available to the common reader.

We regard the style of Dr. Thomson as correct in a high degree, and yet we have admitted there are blemishes in it. We may refer to the word "spots," (Mor. and Rel. Essays, p. 18.) "*Taste* the fragrance of living flowers," (Letters, p. 14.) "Little inclined *for* the fine arts." The word "plunge," (Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 337.) The word "heaves," (*Ibid.*, p. 345.) There are a few instances of what we deem improprieties of expression; such as the use made of "form without the power," (Letters, p. 30.) "Newton, rising on the wings of his ascended master, had swept the compass of the universe," (Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 243.)

In these particular instances, a simple re-reading would, doubtless, have led to correction; but in all fairness we must say, that the instances of careless writing will be found less in these four volumes than in almost any other within our acquaintance, of the same number of pages.

But correctness is not a mere negative quality. Errors in language, improprieties of expression, barbarisms and solecisms, must of course be avoided; but the right choice of words for the best expression of the idea, the right position of qualifying terms, and of clauses expressing circumstances, must be included in true rhetorical correctness. For examples, we might open Dr. Thomson's works almost at random. Read the following. Speaking of the Bible, he says:

"It has a self-perpetuating and multiplying power. Infidels have written books: where are they? Where is Porphyry, Julian? Fragments of them there are; but we are indebted even for this to Christian criticism. Where is Hume, Voltaire, Bolingbroke? It requires the world's reprieve to bring a copy out of the prison of their darkness. Where is the Bible? Wherever there is light. Speaking the language of heaven in seven score and three of the tongues of earth, and giving the word of God by forty millions of voices, to five times as many million ears, and in tongues spoken by six hundred millions of men; and having swept its path of storm through all time, it still walks triumphant, despite earth's dying malice and hell's eternal wrath, and like the apocalyptic angel, though it wraps its mantle of cloud around it, calmly looks out upon the world with a face, as it were the sun encircled with the rainbow." —Mor. and Rel. Essays, p. 97.

Our intelligent reader will perceive that we might use this magnificent passage for other purposes as well, but we ask attention to it as a specimen of the highest style of correctness. Look at it a little closely. There was a chance to choose between the singular and the plural in the sentence, "Where is Porphyry, Julian? Where is Hume?" etc. By using the plural, the author would have just missed the design of securing the reader's glance at the disappearance of each of these great teachers of infidelity. Correctness in the figurative use of language, implies a higher style of literary taste. See the word "light," in the answer to the question, "Where is the Bible?" and "speaking the language of heaven," as a method of gracefully rising to the boldness of personification. "Voices," "tongues," "walks," "mantle," and several others will show the skill required by correctness in this higher sense.

Perspicuity is fundamental to good style, and this is undoubtedly an eminent characteristic of everything from the pen of Dr. Thomson. His sentences are transparent as the light. Who can have any doubt as to the meaning of a line or a word in such writing as this?

"Does the excited heart need direction as to the manner of its pulsations? As well teach the earth how to move in her orbit. You *cannot* if you *would*, direct. As well attempt to give laws to the earthquake or the volcano, or learn the exploding magazine *how* it shall expand. The excited heart scorns to think of rhetoric or logic. They *dare* not speak to her; but sit mute and enraptured spectators of her motions. They cease to be *teachers*, and become silent and humble, but enchanted *worshipers*. What was the eloquence of Demosthenes? The outbursting of an overflowing soul. What the eloquence of Logan? The plaints of a wounded heart. What the eloquence of Tecumseh? The eruptions of pent-up revenge and indignation. There is no rhetoric like that of the stimulated spirit."

We wish our readers next to judge of the vivacity of our author's style. See the distinctness, the vividness, the speaking power of some of his bounding sentences:

"What gave Newton the boldness to bound upward from the tree to the mountain-top, from the mountain-top to the moon, from the moon to the furthest planet in space? what but the *faith* that he was traveling through the dominions of *one* monarch, over which *one* law was outstretched?"—Mor. and Rel. Essays, p. 25.

"How mighty are the passions of the soul, how strong its hate! When once it penetrates an object, its hold is unshaken. The principle that binds the planets lets go its grasp in the wreck of dissolving nature; but mortal hate rises victorious over the dissolution of all things. Survey its love. The shock of battle, the loss of all things, the flames of the martyr's stake, death itself, which destroys everything physical, cannot shake it, for 'it is stronger than death.' Behold its ambition. Earth is lost in it, as a drop in the ocean, the universe cannot fill it. Measure now the depths of its deathless passions, and then all the depth of its capacity to suffer. O for some fountain to cool its passions! O for some

balm to heal its wounds! O for some anodyne to moderate its pulsations Religion leads to a fountain filled with blood drawn from Immanuel's veins."—Ibid., pp. 43, 44.

Euphony depends upon the choice of words and the structure of sentences. It may become a fault if preferred to sense or force of expression. Indeed, this is generally the result of making it a cherished object. The words are studied and changed, and the sentences adjusted and readjusted to the ear as well as to the tongue, by an undue proportion of liquids, and by poetic measure, until the nerve and fire of the writing wholly disappear. Nothing can be more offensive to good literary taste. But the style of this author seems to be naturally smooth. We find some of the most vigorous sentences delightfully soft and harmonious:

"Sleep and death are brothers. How do we bless the one when rising renovated from the couch, we 'hail yon holy light'. How shall we bless the other, when morning comes to the graves, and we hail the eternal sunbeams, 'thy brother shall rise again.'"—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 206.

"A luxurious melancholy chastened his spirit and mellowed the light which it reflected."—Ibid., p. 37.

Of the followers of Wesley, Dr. Thomson says:

"The green earth was their carpet; the clouds of heaven their curtains; the hill-top often served them at once for a pulpit and a pillow; the dews moistened their morning and evening sacrifices; and the rude storm at times received upon its bosom the impress of their fervor."—Ibid., 249.

Naturalness is opposed to affectation and incongruities of thought and expression. It is impossible when a writer's ambition is above his ability, and his plan demands more intelligence than he possesses, or more elaboration and research than he is willing to bestow; and neither of these is true of our author. He always appears to be *at home*, and if it is the result of art, he certainly has the art to conceal it. See how he moves his pen around among the generally unknown facts of history and mythology, as if he had been brought up with them from a child:

"Asia worships the true God, but has false conceptions of him. This is the land of dreamy intellect, of morbid sensibilities, of stationary civilizations. We see the conception of God variously modified in its different nations, and we mark, as we pass over them, a ripening of the human mind in proportion to the approach to a right and perfect conception of the Almighty. Lowest in the scale, perhaps, we may place the Brahmins. They acknowledge a supreme God, Brahm, but they put him afar off, and ascribe creation, preservation, and destruction to inferior divinities. As might be expected, they overthrow his altars, neglect his temple, and leave him nothing but the name, while they give their chief adoration to the God Vishnu and his nine incarnations, of which Juggernaut is one. What is their intellectual state? Next comes Buddhism, which overspreads farther India, the Chinese empire, and

Japan. This is a reformation of Brahminism. While it recognizes an eternal First Cause, it represents him as reposing in profound slumber, from which he only now and then awakes to send down some perfected spirits, that they may make certain necessary alterations in the universe."

The author then shows the precise effect of the approach to theism upon the intellectual and moral development of the pantheistic followers of Confucius, and proceeds:

"Passing by the Sintoism of Japan, and the Shaminism of Siberia, nations a little below those which we have just left, both in their ideas of God and their mental character; and also the Guebus of Persia and of the Western coast of India, the remains of the fire worshipers, we come to Nanikism, a mixture of Mohammedanism with Brahminism, professed by the Sheiks of India, who put forth an activity, energy, and intrepidity, such as might be expected from the brighter beams of the godhead, which the infusion of Mohammedanism secures."—Edu. Essays, pp. 224, 225.

The author then goes on with one of those sweeps of condensed information, for which he is so distinguished, touching at every prominent point, and in the compass of some half dozen pages, lays the whole world, in its current religious facts, under contribution to show "that a nation's idea of God denotes its position in the scale of intelligence; and that it gives the type to an individual's and a nation's mental character," and all with such charming ease, as to give a high degree of pleasure both to the learned and the unlearned reader. This is naturalness.

But we must inquire what are the distinguishing characteristics of Dr. Thomson's style.

It is easy, and in a very special sense idiomatic. It is thoroughly English, and requires no labor to understand it; and yet it cannot be described as conversational. The words are too choice, and the general structure of the style too elevated. It is exceedingly like Dr. Thomson's extemporaneous speaking. Those who have heard him when delivering a sermon or speech, and giving utterance to the most interesting, impressive, and elaborate truths, will find here the same chaste simplicity, and hardly a particle more of condensed variety, elegant precision, and soul-inspiring eloquence. Frequently has he been heard extemporizing, when he did not seem to try, in just as pure and elevated a strain as this:

"Would you see above the stars, you must come to the Bible; there is left for you no other stream to convey you from material worlds, no other ferryman than faith. What though we outfly the eagle, outpush the whirlwind, outdig the earthquake, outsmite the lightning; we do but move mere matter. What is the spirit of the age but an imprisoned Samson, working with terrific power, but eyeless sockets, in the mills. Blessed be God! the Bible is still, to some extent, felt, and here and there is a soul with eyes, looking into the tents of angels."—Mor. and Rel. Essays, p. 23.

The reader now understands in what sense we would call this style idiomatic and easy. It is not labored; if it is, the labor is all labored out of it.

We present one more example which is exactly in point, one of the finest we have ever read. The reader shall have the whole of it, and should, if it were much longer:

"Mother! How many delightful associations cluster around that word! The innocent smiles of infancy, the gambols of boyhood, and the happiest hours of riper years! When my heart aches at the world's wickedness, and my limbs are weary and my feet bloody, traveling the thorny path of life, I am accustomed to sit down on some mossy stone, and, closing my eyes on real scenes, to send my spirit back to the days of early life. I sing my lullaby, or watch my goldfinch, or catch my rabbits, or watch the streets of my native city, or look over the green; I hear the shrill bugle, and view the prancing cavalry, or go down to the dockyard, or walk along the sea-shore, or prattle with my brother, and kiss my sweet sister; I feel afresh my infant joys and sorrows, till my spirit recovers its tone, and is willing to pursue its journey. But in all these reminiscences my mother rises. If I seat myself upon my cushion, it is at her side; if I sing, it is to her ear; if I walk the walls or the meadows, my little hand is in my mother's and my little feet keep company with hers; if I stand and listen to the piano, it is because my mother's fingers touch the key; if I survey the wonders of creation, it is my mother who points out the object of my admiring attention; if a hundred cannon pronounce a national salute, I find myself clinging to her knees. When my heart bounds with its best joy, it is because at the performance of some task, or the recitation of some verses, I receive a present from her hand. There is no velvet so soft as a mother's lap, no rose so lovely as her smile, no path so flowery as that imprinted with her footsteps."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 338.

This style is concise in distinction from diffuse. There is a rigid economy of words and unusual success in condensation. It is remarkable as a combination of severe precision with a high degree of ornament. It is claimed, we are aware, that a style technically concise cannot be ornate, and it is true so far as the mere glitter of ornament is concerned; but we have here the most perfect compactness with the richest beauty of figures. This combination will fully appear in the examples we shall give, under the head of ornaments of style. Just at this place, we wish to present a few of the numerous instances of condensed thought and expression, with which these volumes abound. They are aphorisms of rare beauty and value; and if, in any instance, the thought is an old one, the expression is always original:

"Every human act is sublime, for its vibrations are eternal."—Mor. and Rel. Essays, p. 54.

"No man can see truth through a gold bandage."—*Ibid.*, p. 62.

"Look, therefore, at the creed through the Bible, not the Bible through the creed."—*Ibid.*, p. 66.

"We saw one distressed about the roots of 'Gog and Magog!' He lost the root of the *matter* in the root of the *words*."—*Ibid.*, p. 67.

"The Gospel, by the baptism, the eucharist, and the Sabbath, has blazed its way through from the resurrection morning."—*Ibid.*, p. 94.

"Let the poet look out upon the plain or the mountain, the gorgeous sunset, or the thundering cataract, but let *me* look upon a good man."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 86.

"When the flood of affliction came, he looked not at the *waters*, but at the *bridge*."—*Ibid.*, p. 198.

"Let us not look only through the windows of heaven for purity; it may be found on this side the gate of pearls."—*Ibid.*, p. 207.

"If children were not doctored out of the world, they would be as likely to live as other young animals."—*Ibid.*, p. 368.

"Verily it would be hard to prove human depravity from grave stones."—Letters, p. 157.

Of Homer, the author says, "His soul kept house in the universe."—Edu. Essays, p. 28.

Our readers will agree with us that this is a string of pearls. It might be made much longer did our limits permit. The style we are examining is forcible, but seldom vehement. The reader feels its force, as the views and arguments of the author carry him directly onward, as by an irresistible current. There is sufficient excitement for force, but not so high a degree as to produce vehemence. In many of these discussions you have spinal compactness, tightness of articulation, and flexibility, and yet you are thrilled again and again by the power of thought and expression, arising directly from the author's own mind. Read the books for numerous examples like the following:

"To one capable of appreciating moral beauty, sin is discord, disorder, deformity; horrible is a boy growing into a villain, or a full-grown villain maturing into a devil; beautiful, a youth rising up to virtuous manhood, or a man ripening into an angel of God. As a mansion forsaken of man and occupied with serpents and wild beasts, so, to a pure eye, is a sinful soul."—Biog. Sketches, p. 22.

"If you cut a gash in a man's head, you may heal it; but you can never rub out, nor wash out, nor cut out the scar. It may be a witness against you in his corpse; still it may be covered by the coffin or hidden in the grave; but then it is not till decomposition shall take place, that it shall *entirely* disappear. But if you smite a soul, the scar remains; no coffin or grave shall hide it; no revolution, not even the upturning of the physical universe, shall obliterate it; no fire, not even the eternal furnaces of hell shall burn it out. This thought, while it awakens fear, arouses hope."—Mor. and Rel. Essays, p. 28. . .

Many examples of an elevated style may be gathered from these works; but as this is not a distinguishing characteristic, we shall not detain the reader. So far as originality, strength of thought, and fervor extend, they are here to furnish the basis of an elevated style; but the full, flowing, and formal sentences, and stately grandeur of Robert Hall, Dr. Chalmers, or Dr. Channing, are not claimed for our author.

Neat and elegant are the appropriate terms to describe the most

marked characteristics of this style. The turns of expression are sprightly and spirited, and faults are, to an unusual extent, carefully avoided. It is therefore neat. In words, sentences, and ornaments, it is choice and select, and the imagery is exceedingly fine. It is, therefore, elegant. One example must suffice. He was in Westminster Abbey at the choral service:

"The gorgeous building, the solemn associations, the monuments of the dead, the multitude of the living, the chants of the choir, the notes of the organ, and grand current of liturgical thought on which my soul was willingly borne, were too much for me. I seemed to sit in the mouth of the world's sepulcher, while the reanimated dead were chanting themselves up to the resurrection morning." —Letters, p. 74.

We may now turn our attention to the ornaments used by this author. The simile is not Dr. Thomson's favorite figure, and yet very fine examples of it may be found; for instance:

"Dr. Houghton was distinguished rather for intensity than power of mental action. He differed from Franklin as the galvanic trough of many small plates differs from the calorimotor of two large ones. The one goes through obstacles with a shock, the other calmly consumes them."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 139.

The following exquisitely beautiful passage is taken from the sketch of "Mrs. Martha M'Cabe:"

"She achieved her triumphs, but in her own way, the way of exalted womanhood. She could shine upon the heights of prosperity; not, however, with the maddened and fitful flames of the volcano, but with the calm, steady, and peaceful light of the beacon. She could descend to the vale of adversity; but not like the 'hell of waters,' that dashes from shelf to shelf of the frightful precipice, and sends up from the abyss an everlasting roar; but rather as the ribbon-like stream that glides, with a gentle music, over the edge of the rock, to light up the chasm with a shower of diamonds, and span it with an arch of rainbows."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 173.

Sprightly metaphors are quite frequent, and may generally be considered models of their kind:

"One false premise, inconsiderable in itself, often vitiates a whole volume of valid reasoning. Such a book may be compared to a long and strong chain rolled up, having, however, one broken link. There are two ways of finding the fracture: the usual one is to examine each link till you come to it. Bigelow fixed a weight to one end and walked off with the other, thus separating the fragments so far that his audience could stand between them."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 92.

Of "the deformed maniac," the doctor says:

"It would seem that the spiritual lightning which had riven his soul, had been unable to accomplish its errand without twisting his body into zigzag lines, to mark its course."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 384.

We find occasionally a mixed metaphor, which produces confusion in the view, and is, therefore, to be condemned. The

following, though in many respects a very fine passage, is evidently faulty:

"His vigorous frame was worn down by slow decay. For years he sat upon the banks of Jordan, his Ebenezer by his side, his eucharist song on his lips, the perfumes of Canaan in his breath, and the city of God in his eye. Suddenly, after fifty-six years of life, he was ferried across the stream, (*ferried* across the stream, my dear doctor! This was Jordan, not the Styx!) in April, 1850, and so gently, that he seemed translated to Mount Zion, without being moved from his earthly repose."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 189.

Ferried across, and staying on this side, translated to a mountain, and remaining where he was, must be too many things for one sentence. Such a chance at the doctor is rare. We cannot be blamed for using it when we have it.

Frequent classical allusions occur. They are not profound, but always pertinent and strongly illustrative:

"He who, too idle to think, sits and sighs, and invokes the muses, will drink the *Lethean* sooner than the Pierian spring."—Edu. Essays, p. 23.

"If you, like the fabled father of men, and king of gods, nourish beneath the membranes of your brain a full-armed, perfect goddess, you will find that you shall suffer throes within the cranium, as he is represented to have done, and need the skill and the ax of Vulcan to open your skull, before that virgin shall spring and dance the Pyrrhic dance, and strike her shield, and brandish her spear, and show her blue eye, and breathe her martial fury, and enrapture ancient proficients in virtue and wisdom, with the depth of her counsels."—Ibid., p. 17.

"As Æneas, in the temple of Juno, when he sees Ilioneas burst the cloud with which his goddess mother had inwrapped him, so he, when he meets his arguments, seems 'to shuffle off his mortal coil,' and now divine odors breathe from his lips, and the light of heaven flashes from his eye."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 91.

"The orator, like Hippomenes, may scatter golden apples in his path, when they give him advantage in the race, though not, like Atalanta, pick up ornaments when he should be pressing to the goal."—Ibid., p. 98.

In Scriptural allusions Dr. Thomson is generally very happy. Take a few instances. In his "Unanimity among Christians," he holds up to proper scorn attempts "to make the truth attractive to the tasteful and the fashionable;" he calls poetry to account for "assuming that the Divine Being needed the aid of phantasy to justify his ways to man." He exclaims, "Behold absurdity married to recklessness!" And after a beautiful classical allusion, he says:

"What of Sacred Poetry? That is an exception. David, Isaiah, etc., like the angel that appeared to Manoah, ascended upward in the altar flames."—Mor. and Rel. Essays, p. 71.

The following allusion, in the form of simile, is exceedingly beautiful. Of Bigelow he says:

"He was content to employ his reason in ascertaining what the Bible teaches. Generally his departures from this great luminary were short, and only to blast

some refuge of lies behind which the sinner was endeavoring to hide. Like Moses in Midian, he lingered not in the desert, but led his flock to the mount of God."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 89.

Again, in his favorite character, "Bigelow as a Preacher," the reader will find the author at home in the following eloquent passage and highly illustrative allusion:

"Fancy the convinced infidel in his audience. The preacher turns his eye upon him, watches him, turns every stream from which his soul dips into blood, animates the dust he raises before his eyes into torturing insects, sends locusts before him, to eat up every green thing, adds plague to plague. Presently the thunder peals, the lightning flashes; the infidel feels the darkness on his eyeballs, and is compelled to let the truth he holds a prisoner 'have free course and be glorified.' A pause ensues, and the congregation, on their feet, look with sympathy and prayer for a converted man."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 93.

Personification is not frequent in these essays, and yet it occurs just when the impassioned interest most appropriately suggests it. In "Western Character," he vindicates the genuine son of the prairie from the charge of extravagance, and then turns upon his critics in this fashion:

"But because light travels round the earth from east to west, the east has always borne itself toward the west with assurance bordering upon *impudence*. She assumes, by her dictum, to set up one and put down another; as well might the poles sit in judgment on the equator, or the line rise up and condemn the tropics."—Biog. and Inc. Sketches, p. 225.

We stake the following against the world. It is an apostrophe and a personification of the bolder kind. We can only begin the passage, and give our readers, who will certainly insist upon seeing the books, an idea of the luxury which awaits them:

"Glorious old tower! for nearly a thousand years hast thou wrapped thy shoulders in thy mantle of clouds, and hailed the rejoicing sun, and communed with the silent stars; thou hast heard ten thousand thunders burst upon thy head, and seen twice ten thousand lightnings flash around thy hoary locks; thou hast looked out upon unnumbered storms lashing the rock-bound coast thou guardest, and often felt the rumbling of the distant earthquake; thou bearest on thy bosom a chapter in the history of man, and a leaf in the history of God, and still thou standest akin to his everlasting hills. Great abstract of the past and index to the future."—Letters, pp. 140, 141.

We have accomplished the work assigned us, and it has given us great satisfaction. We commenced with no intention of compelling a favorable verdict. We have simply used the candor which is due both to the author and to the public, and have felt it to be a trial of our courage, to write the facts as we have found them. If any of our readers censure judgments we have expressed, we are satisfied it will be those who do not study the examples we have given, or read the books.

Art. IV.—THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

1. *The Sabbath:* an Examination of the Six Texts commonly adduced from the New Testament, in proof of a Christian Sabbath. London.
2. *Septenary Institutions:* being Article VIII, Westminster Review, for October, 1856.

Philosophical beliefs do not generally influence our actions: religious creeds almost invariably do. Opinions in physics or metaphysics, which lead to conclusions at variance with truth and nature, cannot affect us practically; but opinions, of a like kind, in religion, are most frequently deplorably illustrated in the life; for *here* it is, indeed, true, that "as a man thinks so is he." It follows that in the formation of opinions, which bear upon our religious faith, we should be all the more deliberate and careful. There is one question, indeed, as to which our convictions may be almost said to be our practice, and it is that of the proper observance of the Lord's Day. Concerning this we find two extreme beliefs, one of which would lead to the entire abrogation of the institution of a Sabbath; while the practical effects of the other are, perhaps, best exhibited in the records of Scottish legislation, of which the cruelty and injustice are exceeded only by the absurdity. On the one hand, Sabbath observance is enforced with Jewish rigor, and the letter of the ceremonial law harshly shrouds the spiritual beauty and liberty of the Gospel; on the other, this liberty is pleaded in support of a most brutalizing slavery, far worse than the former. If Sunday be only another Jewish Sabbath, then is it to be observed according to the strict Mosaic regulations, and the physical inaction therein prescribed become the distinguishing feature of the day, for us as well as for the ancient Jews. But God says: "I will have mercy and *not sacrifice;*" *this* is the evangel. We must keep the day, if at all, not as a sacrificial work, but as a day of thanksgiving and of prayer. We must "stand fast in the liberty" of the Gospel, but not make that liberty an "occasion to the flesh."

The first mention in history of a seventh-day rest, is found, of course, in the second and third verses of the second chapter of Genesis, in these words:

> "On the seventh (sixth?) day God ended his work, which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God *blessed the seventh day and sanctified it.*"

This has been naturally held as implying an obligation upon men, God's intelligent creatures, to observe that day with some distinc-

tion. If such an obligation did accrue, it must have been in some way announced to men, and this observance must have been, in the earliest ages of the world, universal. Again, if the universality can be established, the argument is good for the Divine origin of the institution. It is known that the Jews, Assyrians, Egyptians, Arabians, Persians, and the Indians, (including the Buddhist Chinese* and Japanese,) made use of the septenary week. The author of the second article mentioned in our rubric, replies to this, that "nations bordering upon each other, have often had analogous customs, but the countries named have never been a rule for the whole of the Eastern world, nor for other parts of the globe." Yet this disproves nothing; for it is sufficient for the argument, to show the universality of the custom *among the most ancient peoples*, whom those above enumerated are admitted to be. In the course of ages, it is reasonably to be expected that, from various causes, such as the opinions of authoritative lawgivers, or the exigences of situation or employment, this exact division of time should be lost. The author just mentioned, accounts for the antiquity and generality of septenary institutions by the lunar changes, which are so obtrusive even to the earliest and rudest astronomical observation. At the same time, he asserts that this generality cannot be said to embrace half the population of the globe, and that other divisions of time, such as weeks of five days, are of equal antiquity. The inconsistency in which he involves himself is evident; for, to invoke the more artificial divisions observed by the Aztecs, or by the ancient Greeks, as coëval in origin with the week of seven days, is wholly to ignore the simplicity and rudeness of the age, which is held to have adopted the latter, because most conspicuously suggested. We readily escape such confusion by the easy explanation that God appointed a division of time corresponding to obvious natural changes, an appointment thus upheld in its observance by most evident and abiding phenomena.

It is clear, we repeat, that the universality of septenary institutions can only be disproved by showing that some of the most ancient nations did not observe them. The fallacy and unfairness, then, of which this author is guilty, in referring to the complex system of the Romans, or even to that of the Greeks, as a disproof, are luminously apparent. As to the latter people, however, we have positive testimony to the fact that the *seventh day* of the first decade (*μηνὸς ἱσταμένου*) of the month was one of peculiar veneration, being con-

* Who did at one time, if they do not now, constitute the multitude. The state religion, adhered to by the higher orders, is Confucianism, which was probably grafted upon, and then partially supplanted, Buddhism, once the religion of the empire.

secrated to Apollo.* Hesiod tells us that this seventh day was sacred because of the birth of Apollo on that day.† This is most probably a remnant of the hebdomadal observance, and naturally became connected with Apollo, or the sun, through that widely extended worship of the latter as the symbol of deity, and afterward as deity himself, which obtained among the ancient nations. We hold, therefore, that, inasmuch as none of the most ancient peoples have yet been shown to be without this institution, and many are known to have had it, we are justified in concluding that its observance was universal, and therefore of Divine appointment. This view finds most effectual support, too, in the words of our Saviour: "*The Sabbath was made for man*, not man for the Sabbath." Here, it seems to us, is directly asserted the appointment of the Sabbath for the universal benefit, and hence for the universal observance, of mankind.

But, again, it is argued that, as there is no proof, by any mention in the Old Testament, of the keeping of the Sabbath by the patriarchs before Moses, the words in Genesis mean, if they have any reference at all to man's conduct on that day, that God intended to have the Sabbath celebrated in the future by the Jews. But we may reply that there is no mention of this institution, though of such moral and ceremonial importance in the Jewish economy, after it is last spoken of in the Mosaic writings, (Deut. v, 12,) until Isaiah, (lvi, 2,) a period of more than seven hundred years; and during which time, too, a far larger portion of the Old Testament was written, than had been before, and many more authors were concerned. Moreover, when this institution is first explicitly mentioned, (Exod. xvi, 22–26,) it is spoken of as a well-known matter. It was certainly not instituted at that time, for in that case there would have been some explanation given of what was meant by "a Sabbath unto the Lord," and when, about two months later, the commandment enforcing it was delivered, it was referred to as an established festival, and the people were exhorted to "*Remember* the Sabbath day to keep it holy."

If then, as we think we have established, the Sabbath was observed from the earliest time upon Divine authority, we have shown that its observance is a moral and not a ceremonial duty, and, therefore, is binding upon all men. As to the particular day to be observed, *that*, we believe, is to be determined by something extrinsic, and the appointment, therefore, of the seventh day of the week for the Jews was wholly ceremonial. For, on the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, the beginning of the year was changed from the

* See *Herodotus*, lib. vi, c. 57. † *Works and Days*, 770, 771.

first of the month Tisri to the first of the opposite month Abib,* afterward called Nisan, (Exod. xii, 1.) Supposing, now, the months were (as certainly was the case afterward) alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days' duration, there would be one hundred and seventy-seven days between the first of Tisri and that of Abib, which would throw these days, and therefore the Sabbaths, before and after the change, on different days of the week, whether the year of the exodus (A. M. 2513) had an intercalary month† (as is very improbable) or not. If it is suspected, however, that the patriarchal calendar still held good, we must allow that the months were probably each of thirty days' duration; as in the history of the deluge we find five months making one hundred and fifty days. (See Gen. vii, 11, 13, 24, and viii, 3, 4.) This would give one hundred and eighty days as the interval between the first of Tisri and that of Abib, which would still throw these upon different days of the week, whether the year had an intercalary month or not.‡ Here, then, we find that most probably the day of Sabbatical rest was changed for the Jews, and hence conclude that the observance of any special day rather than another, must be, as reason indeed suggests, merely ceremonial, certainly not intrinsically binding. This view is sustained, moreover, by the consideration that the Jewish Sabbath was intended, not only as a memorial of God's beneficence in the creation of this beautiful world, but also as a sign between the Jews and God, as their redeemer from Egyptian bondage,§ a sign, therefore, *peculiar* to them. This peculiarity was best noted by the observance of a *different* day from that common, previous to their deliverance, to them and the Egyptians, as also to other nations. Being a sign between the chosen people and Jehovah, the establishment of this particular day was a ceremonial law; and we, therefore, finally conclude that the moral obligation of Sabbatical observance extends simply to the celebration of one day of the septenary week. What day this shall be, must be determined, as we have said, by

* See *Josephus*, Antiq., I. iii, 3. The beginning of the *civil* year of the Jews still remained the first of Tisri; but that of their *sacred*, which regulated their festival days, Sabbaths included, was thenceforth the first of Abib.

† The intercalary month, Ve-adar, is supposed to have fallen on every third year, and was possibly of thirty days' duration, as alternating with Adar, but must have been, if the Jewish chronology were perfect, of thirty-four days, so as more accurately to exhaust the odd time of eleven days and nearly six hours, remaining over each year.

‡ The intercalary month of the patriarchal calendar, if there was one, (added to exhaust the five days and nearly six hours remaining over each year of 360 days,) must have been introduced every fifth or sixth year, and therefore have been of twenty-six or thirty-one days' duration.

§ See Exod. xxxi, 17; Ezek. xx, 12; Deut. v, 15.

something extrinsic. The resurrection of our Lord upon the first day of the week naturally indicated *that* as the most suitable, as by its observance would be celebrated, not only the goodness of the Creator, but also the crowning act of *our* Redeemer's life; an act, through which we may be freed from the worse than Egyptian bondage of sin and death; an act, which is the seal of our salvation, the prototype of our resurrection, and the assurance of an everlasting rest. That this day was adopted by the apostles, as the season of united religious worship, we have quite abundant evidence from the New Testament. The first meeting on this day recorded by St. John, (xx, 19,) may have been accidental; certainly it was not to celebrate the resurrection of the Saviour, for St. Mark expressly states, (xvi, 11,) that the disciples did not believe the report of Mary Magdalene, that she had seen him. But their similar meeting, spoken of in the twenty-sixth verse of the same chapter,* may naturally and reasonably be supposed to have been suggested by the gracious appearing of their risen Lord on the first day of the preceding week. Again, He "stood in their midst," and spoke his heavenly benediction of "Peace be unto you." Doubtless, from this time forth, the disciples continued to meet upon a day so peculiarly marked and consecrated. Accordingly, in the Acts of the Apostles, (ii, 1,) we find recorded, that "when the day of Pentecost was fully come, *they were all with one accord in one place.*" Now, this day being "the morrow after the seventh Sabbath," (Lev. xxiii, 15, 16,) was the first day of the week. Again, a blessing sanctified the day:

"Suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled the house where they were sitting. . . . . And they were filled with the Holy Ghost."

And the regeneration, through their preaching that day, of three thousand souls, sealed that blessing, and assured the heavenly origin of their inspiration.

Another meeting upon this day is recorded in the same book, (xx, 7:)

"And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight."

Here we find the assembling upon this day spoken of, as if it were customary. It may, indeed, be urged that the near departure of Paul had caused their coming together; but the sense of the passage

* "And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them; *then* came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in their midst, and said, Peace *be* unto you."

is, we think, properly rendered: "Upon the first day of the week, the disciples having convened (as usual) to break bread, Paul, inasmuch as he was about to depart on the morrow, spoke to them, and continued his speech until midnight." The fact of his being soon to leave them, is most evidently, in the construction of the original, put as a reason for *his* addressing them on that occasion, and not as a reason for *their* assembling, which was "to break bread." And, as favoring the view that this was one of their stated meetings, it is notable that the Syriac version of the New Testament has in this passage, instead of "bread," (*ἄρτον,*) an equivalent to the Greek *εὐχαριστια*, which goes to show that it was the custom of the disciples to assemble on the Lord's day, as, indeed, was appropriate, in order to partake of the holy sacrament in grateful remembrance of his death and resurrection. Moreover, it may be observed that the same words, *κλάειν ἄρτον*, "to break bread," used above, are also used in every place in the New Testament where the eucharist is meant.*

In his First Epistle to the Corinthians, (xvi, 1, 2,) we find Paul exhorting them, as he had done the Galatians, to contribute to the necessities of the saints on the first day of the week, according as God may have prospered each one. Now, he would undoubtedly have selected the most convenient season for the collection of these contributions, and his mentioning the *first day* of the week implies the accustomed meeting of the members of the Church on that day, as this would constitute it the most suitable time for every one to "lay by him in store, as God had prospered him" during the preceding week.

To complete the proof that this day was set apart by the apostles, to be "regarded unto the Lord," we quote St. John, who, in Revelation i, 10, says: "I was in the spirit on the *Lord's day.*" We have abundant proof that the Jewish Sabbath day was not observed by the Christians generally, and there would have been no propriety, therefore, in calling *that* "the Lord's day;" and as John could not have meant the day of judgment, (as has been suggested,) we are forced to believe that he referred to the first day of the week, as this was the one most likely, judging from what has already been said, to be consecrated by some religious observance and celebration of the resurrection of our Lord. This day, then, we are warranted in concluding, notwithstanding the adverse opinion of some, (among whom is the author of the first essay cited in our rubric,)

* See Mat. xxvi, 26; Mark xiv, 22; Luke xxii, 19; 1 Cor. x, 16, and xi, 23, 24; the words, also, in Luke xxiv, 35, and Acts ii, 42, are, of course, radically the same.

was by the apostles set apart and distinguished in such way from the other days of the week, as to fully justify the appellation of the *Lord's day*—a day belonging to, dedicated, and to be "regarded," to the Lord; and such is our Christian Sabbath.

We have, also, various testimonies, outside the sacred canon, to the special observance of this day by the early Christians. Pliny the Younger was sent by Trajan as proconsul to Bithynia and other Euxine provinces, about seven or eight years after the publication of St. John's writings, and probably not more than five years after the death of that apostle at Ephesus. Pliny writes to the emperor, that on examining certain Christians accused before him, (during the persecution then in progress,) they "affirmed that their whole fault and error was *their being accustomed to assemble on a stated day*, before sunrise, and to sing alternately (responsively) hymns to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by an oath, (*sacramentum*,) *not* to any crime, but not to commit theft, nor robbery, nor adultery, not to fail in their word, nor, when called upon, to deny deposits; that it was their custom, after these things had been done, to separate, and again to assemble in order to partake in common of some simple and innocent food."* This *stated day* could have been no other than the *Lord's*, and in this respect the Bithynian Christians, neighbors to those of Galatia, to whom Paul wrote, and not far from the Churches addressed in the Revelation of St. John, must have observed the general custom of the Church.

The Apostle Barnabas, the chief companion of Paul in his early labors, has attributed to him an epistle, which lays considerable claim to genuineness, being quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, as early as the close of the second century, and in which he says:

"Lastly, He saith unto them: Your new moons and your Sabbaths I cannot bear. Consider what he means: the Sabbaths now kept are not acceptable to me; but those which I have appointed, when resting from all things, I shall begin the eighth day, which is the beginning of the other world. Wherefore *we also observe the eighth day with gladness*, in which Jesus rose from the dead, and having made himself manifest, ascended into heaven."†

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* Lib. x, Epist. xcvii.

† *General Epistle*, ch. xv. Though the apostolical authority of this epistle may be doubted, its high antiquity cannot be questioned, and hence its testimony as to the customs of the Church of that age, especially when given, as it is here, to sustain the reasonings of the writer, is conclusive. Clemens, as we have said, about the close of the second century, quotes from it as the epistle of "Barnabas, the apostle, who was one of the seventy, and companion of Paul," and "who preached the word among the Gentiles, along with the Apostle Paul." (Vid. *Strom.*, lib. 2, and 5.) Origen, too, the renowned disciple of Clemens, quotes from the "Catholic Epistle of Barnabas," (Vid. *Cont. Cels.*, lib. 1; and Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. 3, c. 2;) and it is cited by Eusebius, (*Hist. Eccl.*, lib. 3, c. 25; lib. 6, c. 13, 14,) and,

Ignatius, who suffered martyrdom at Rome about ten years after the death of St. John, in an epistle attributed to him, and supposed to be one of the collection made by his disciple Polycarp, and mentioned by Irenæus, Origen, and others, says:

"If, therefore, those who were brought up in the ancient laws came to the newness of hope; no more observing Sabbaths, but *living according to* (or, *keeping*) *the Lord's day*, in which also our life is sprung up through him and his death, which some deny. . . . . "°

Other witnesses might be cited, but these we deem sufficient to show that the early Christians set apart the first day of the week for religious observance, instead of the Jewish Sabbath. We have now to ascertain in what this observance should consist, and to this end first inquire what was the practice of the primitive Church. From a careful study and collation of many authorities, which we have not space here to detail, we have arrived at the conclusion, we should in reason expect, that the spirit and method of its observance were wholly opposed to the sacrificial and servile character pertaining to the sabbatical institution of the Jews, showing forth thus the contrast between the legal economy of the Mosaic dispensation and the glorious liberty of the Gospel far more emphatically than the change of day, which was, doubtless, intended partly to mark this opposition. To the true Christian, every day is a Sabbath, in the spiritual sense, but that this day was distinguished by a special effort at consecration to the Lord, by united worship, and consequently by a marked difference between its employments and those of other days, we may believe upon the testimony of many early writers. The day was observed, we believe, not only in remembrance of our Saviour's resurrection, but also of the creation of the world; both of which considerations rendered it a time of rejoicing.

But what, now, says the New Testament upon this institution—what are Jesus Christ's laws of the Sabbath? Everybody knows the two instances, of his disciples' plucking the ears of corn, and of his healing the withered hand,† in which he crushed at once the Pharisaic and Rabbinical authority by displaying the true doctrine of the Sabbath, enforced by most cogent arguments. We are here taught that works of necessity, whether this arises from a law of nature, (ver. 3, 4,) or a direct enactment of God,‡ (ver. 5,) and of

we believe, by Jerome. If the epistle *is* a forgery, it must have been, however, of considerable age, even in the time of Clemens and Origen, to have deceived them; and this is all our argument requires.

° *Epistle to the Magnesians*, ed. Isaac Vossius, p. 35, Amsterdam, 1646.

† See Matt. xii, 1–8, and 9–13.

‡ "Or have ye not read in the law, *how* that on the Sabbath days, the priests in the temple profane the Sabbath, and are blameless?" This was cited by our

charity are lawful on the Sabbath day. The law of love is here proclaimed by Christ to be superior to all sacrificial obligations. This is the essence of the Gospel; and this, which constitutes the chief obligation and clearly indicates the true method of observing the Christian Sabbath day. Again, Christ healed a man at the pool of Bethesda on the Sabbath, and commanded him to "take up his bed and walk," though carrying burdens on that day was expressly forbidden in the law. (See Jer. xvii, 21–27.) Here, then, the opponents of Sabbath observance have thought was to be found the authoritative overthrow of all obligation to rest on that day. There is only need, however, to point out how amply Christ's motives in this command are seen in the poverty of the man, and the consequent value to him of what was possibly his sole possession, and in the fact that in this way was best assured both to the man himself and to others, the miraculous restoration of his strength. The Jews, here as in the case of the withered hand, persecute Jesus for healing on the Sabbath, and he replies: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." Though God had rested on the seventh day from *creating*, he had not ceased from preserving and blessing his works, and being merciful to all his creatures.

In this connection, we may notice another passage sometimes insisted on as showing the disregard in which the Sabbath was, and is to be held, which is found in Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, (ii, 16:)

"Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days."

The apostle says that, inasmuch as Christ, by his death, has set us free from the "ordinances" of the law, no man has a right to blame us for neglecting the observance of them, as respects meats, for example, or various feasts, (which were under ceremonial regulations, as is well known, in the Jewish economy,) or, he adds, as regards the Sabbaths, referring doubtless, as from the connection it appears, to the ceremonial portions of the Sabbatic law. The keeping of the Sabbath by the Jews was *partly* a sacrificial work, and this was superseded by the death of Christ, and to *this* it was that Paul referred, for in the next verse he adds: "Which things are a *shadowing forth* of things to come; but *the reality is found in Christ.*"*

Lastly, in the fourteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, the apostle says, (ver. 5, 6:)

Saviour, as showing that a work for the purposes of religion being lawful, if necessary, so is such a work for other purposes.

* "Which things are a shadow of things to come; but the body *is* of Christ."

"One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day *alike*. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth *it* unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard *it*. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks."

The author of the second article in our rubric, founds upon this passage as one predicating most forcibly the "utter indifference of days, as religious or ceremonial observances." Now, by the addition of the word *alike*, in our version, the meaning of the passage is somewhat distorted. The true rendering of the original Greek is: "One man esteems (κρίνει, separates, puts apart) one day above another; another esteems every day."* From the very nature of things, Paul cannot mean, here, by the word ἡμέρα, "day," *every* day, for it would be absurd to say that a man separates, in estimation, every day of the year. We conclude, therefore, that ἡμέρα is here used in the very common sense of *festival* or holiday. Throughout the whole chapter, St. Paul is speaking of the mutual charity that should be used in judging of those who adhered to the Mosaic observances of clean and unclean meats, by those who considered all as clean, and of these by the former. While on this matter, he speaks, as of an intimately connected subject, of the observance of days, *festival* days without doubt, we think, as established in the ceremonial law along with the distinction of meats. He could not, so incidentally and in such connection, have intended to refer to the law, written by the finger of God on tables of stone, the moral law, which the Lord of the Sabbath had come into the world "not to destroy, but to fulfill."

Christ's doctrine of the Sabbath is briefly summed up by himself in the words: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," (Mark, ii, 27;) and being a merciful gift, it is not to be regarded as a sacrifice, and "it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days," as also to do whatever work is necessary. He taught that "one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled;" and as the Sabbatic rest is most probably to be considered a type of the rest that remaineth in heaven, it will continue until that is consummated.

From our former argument, we have seen that the command to "keep *a Sabbath day* holy" is binding upon all men. The Hebrew word *holy*, קָדֹשׁ, signifies originally *separate, peculiar*. Thus we have the *holy garments* of the priesthood, a *holy* nation, and many

* It may be said that the meaning here is that some esteem every day as separate to the Lord, consider *all* time as the Lord's; but from the connection, it is hardly necessary to state, this appears a most improbable interpretation.

other *things* called *holy*, because set apart and established as peculiar. From this signification naturally arose that which we now attach to the words *holy* and *holiness*. The word used in the New Testament, ἅγιον, seems to have the same radical meaning of "separateness," as appears from the use of the verb ἁγιάζειν, of the same root, by Matthew,* (xxiii, 17,) and by John,† (x, 36.) In the latter passage, inasmuch as Jesus was in essence the most holy and pure of beings, it is best to read that the Father *set him apart, separated* him to the work of man's salvation, and sent him into the world. Moreover, in Exodus xix, 23, where the Lord commands the people to "set bounds to the mount and *sanctify* it," (וְקִדַּשְׁתּוֹ) we find the Hebrew word used evidently in its original sense, and the Greek word corresponding, in the Septuagint, is ἁγιάσαι, the imperative form of ἁγιάζειν; and so elsewhere. The fourth commandment does, therefore, run thus: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it separate." We are to keep it as a peculiar day, different in its employments from the others. On other days we are to *work*; upon this, to *rest*—rest, as God rested on the seventh day, not by the suspension of activity, for that could not have been the rest of God—rest, as we shall rest in heaven, where doubtless constant activity is the exponent of ever-enduring happiness, and of untiring energies employed in a manner very different from that in which they are exhausted in this weary world. The stringent ceremonial laws, which in the Mosaic code marked and defined the observance of the day for the Jews, were introduced partly, perhaps, as a preventive of that miserable casuistry, which afterward was so fully developed in the Pharisaical teachings. The people were not then sufficiently advanced to enjoy without danger the liberty of the Gospel of the Son of God. They required the stern training of the law, which was their guide, (παιδαγωγὸς,) as Paul says, to bring them unto Christ, (in Gal. iii, 24.) We have seen that the Sabbath was established, besides, as a sign between the Jews and Jehovah:

"But the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: that thy *man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou.* And remember that *thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt*, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand, and by a stretched-out arm: *therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-day.*" Deut. v, 14, 15.

Thus we find the observance of the Sabbath appointed and insisted on, in order that *man and beast may have a due proportion*

* ". . . Whether is greater, the gold, or the temple *that sanctifieth the gold?*"

† "Say ye of him, whom the Father hath *sanctified*, and sent into the world. . ."

of rest. This consideration is as binding upon Christians, through the potency and comprehensiveness of the law of love, as it was upon the Jews, through a special and positive enactment. The Sabbath was, indeed, made for man; it is the gift of God. The physical nature of man requires some such rest, and that for this the seventh day is most advantageous, we may assume, since it was appointed for, at least, one nation, by Supreme wisdom. We may quote, what has often been quoted, to sustain our point here, the valuable testimony of Dr. Farre:

"Although the night apparently equalizes the circulation well, yet it does not sufficiently restore its balance for the attainment of a *long* life. Hence one day in seven, by the bounty of Providence, is thrown in as a day of compensation to perfect by its repose the animal system. You may easily determine this question by trying it on beasts of burden. Take that fine animal, the horse, and work him to the full extent of his powers every day of the week, or give him rest one day in seven, and you will soon perceive, by the superior vigor with which he performs his functions on the other six days, that this rest is necessary to his well-being. Man, possessing a superior nature, is borne along by the very vigor of his mind, so that the injury of *continued* diurnal exertion, and excitement in his animal system, is not so immediately apparent as it is in the brute; but in the long-run it breaks down more suddenly; it abridges the length of his life and that vigor of his old age, which (as to mere animal power) ought to be the object of his preservation. . . . . This is said simply as a physician, and without reference at all to the theological question."

This institution is peculiarly a gift to laboring men, who are the multitude; and, as such, no one has a right to deprive them of it in any way, even so far as by setting an example of disregard for the day, he may weaken in any mind the obligation to keep it for himself or for others. On the principle, therefore, of love for our neighbor, we are bound to keep "holy the Sabbath day." Thus it was, doubtless, that Christ, in the brief recital of the commandments in the nineteenth chapter of Matthew, (vv. 18, 19,) made no mention of the keeping the Sabbath, inasmuch as this was virtually included in "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The first commandment is, also, not found in this passage, but is (with the second and third, as consequent) clearly implied in the seventeenth verse.

Without some such periodic rest, then, we see that the physical, and, consequently, the intellectual and moral constitution of man would depreciate. The prosperity of a nation, being in *direct* ratio to its mental and moral development, would be more fully assured by the establishment of a Sabbath. The degeneracy in public and private morality, which caused the downfall of many of the ancient nations, was, doubtless, owing in part to the neglect of such institutions. We find in Jeremiah (xvii, 21–27) such temporal blessings pronounced for the proper observance of the Sabbath, and similar curses for its neglect, as to sustain the views here advanced. For

any temporal good bestowed by God was, scarcely without exception, sent *as a consequence naturally resulting* from the course of conduct, for which it was promised as a reward. Hence we infer from the blessings attached to the keeping of the Sabbath, that such observance naturally produces such good effects. So that, as a political institution, the Sabbath is a most wise and beneficent provision; and as preserving and improving the physical, intellectual, and moral nature of our fellow-men, we are bound by the law of love to observe it. Even solely upon this sublime foundation of love to man, which itself is founded in gratitude to God, we are well content to rest the claims of the Christian Sabbath and the obligations to its observance. For within the sacred influence of this law of love, we shall be as far removed from that Pharisaical and Puritanical strictness, which demands a sacrificial and ceremonial observance, as from that madness, which would make us throw away so merciful a gift. Under the prompting of a Christian love, we shall be as loth to deny, in any way, to the poor, imprisoned laborers of our cities,* this weekly rest and all the innocent recreations in their reach, as to refuse to draw a sheep from a pit, or to heal, if in our power, a withered hand. We all, indeed, may well thank God for these oases of rest, "made for man," along the dreary wastes of life, and let our hearts go up to him in gratitude for his abounding love.

Art. V.—THE LAST OF THE HUGUENOTS.

It is a striking historical coincidence that Westchester County, New-York, was settled by emigrants of New-England and France, both seeking an asylum from religious persecutions. In 1642, John Throckmorton and thirty-five associates made the first settlement in that section of our country, *with the approbation of the Dutch authorities.* They came from New-England, driven away with Roger Williams, by the violent Hugh Peters. Here the Dutch permitted them to settle in a region which was then called *Vredeland*, or *Land of Peace;* a beautiful name for the home of those in search of rest from violent and persecuting men. Even here the Puritan did not find his desired quiet, for several of his band fell in the Indian massacre on the 6th of October, 1643.

* The problem of the Sunday enjoyment of the poor, so interesting now for many years, and occupying so much attention in England, will become so to us, as soon as our population becomes more fixed.

The next settlement was commenced in 1654, near the present village of Westchester, by a number of Puritans from Connecticut, who adopted its present name. At that early period, "all ecclesiastical business" was conducted by the assembled town meeting, after the secular matters were disposed of. We find an account of their mode of worship, from the Dutch Commissioners, who visited Westchester in 1656:

"31st Dec. After dinner, Cornelius Van Ruyven went to the house where they held their Sunday meeting, to see their mode of worship, as they had as yet no preacher. There I found a gathering of about fifteen men, and ten or twelve women. Mr. Baly said the prayers, after which, one Robert Bassett read from a printed book a sermon, composed by an English clergyman in England. After the reading, Mr. Baly gave out another prayer and sang a psalm, and they all separated."

This is the way divine service was performed two hundred years ago in the present region of New-Rochelle. Twenty years after, in 1674, the Rev. Ezekiel Fogge appears to have been the first independent minister who officiated there. The town books have the following entries:

"On the 11th of February, 1680, there was sprinkled with water by Morgan Jones, (what they call baptizing,) William Hunt, son of John Hunt, of Westchester. Witnesses present, Joseph Hunt and Bridget Waters."

"*Westchester*, October 7, 1680. Morgan Jones married Isaac Dickerman, of this towne, to Bethia, the daughter of Henry Gardener.

"Recorded per me, FRANCIS FRENCH, Clerk."

In 1684, "The justices and vestrymen of Westchester, Eastchester, and Yonckers, do accept of Mr. Warham Mather as our minister for one whole year, and that he shall have sixty pound, in country produce, at money price, for his salary, and that he shall be paid every quarter. Done in behalf of the Justices aforesaid. Signed by us,

JOHN QUIMBY,
JOSEPH HUNT,
JOHN BAYLEY,
JOHN BURKBEE."

The people solicited Governor Fletcher to "have Mather inducted to that living," but he told them "it was altogether impossible, it being wholly repugnant to the laws of England to compel the subject to pay for the maintenance of any minister, who was not of the national Church." The governor proposed "a medium in that matter." Mr. Bondet, a French Protestant minister at Boston, who was in orders from the Lord of London, could preach in French and English, and the people of New-Rochelle might call him to the living, as the parish was large enough for two ministers. Mr. Mather could be supported by subscriptions.

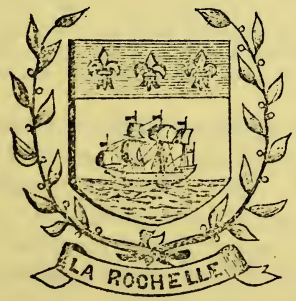
Mr. Bondet was accordingly sent for, "hoping," as the governor writes, "to bring the congregation over to the Church;" but "when he came, they refused to call him." The Puritan was evidently not

to be outmanaged by the Churchman. There were then in Westchester "two or three hundred English and Dissenters; a few Dutch."

The parish of NEW-ROCHELLE was originally a portion of the two grants made by the Indians in 1640 and 1649 to the Dutch West India Company. No settlement was, however, made here until Thomas Pell's purchase from the native proprietors of all that tract eastward of the Westchester bounds. This was the Manor of Pelham, and in 1669, the patentee devised the whole of it to his nephew, John Pell, who obtained a further confirmation of the lands from Governor Dongan, October 29, 1687.

In 1689, September 20, Mr. Pell and his wife Rachel conveyed to Jacob Leisler, of the City of New-York, six thousand acres of this tract, which he purchased for the exiled Huguenots; the grantor, heirs, and assigns, as an acknowledgment, were to pay Mr. Pell "*one fat calf on every four and twentieth day of June, yearly, and every year forever, if demanded.*" It is a well-known fact, that every Huguenot, on the festival of St. John the Baptist, paid his proportion toward the purchase of the fat calf, whenever claimed.

Throughout the year 1690, Jacob Leisler released to these banished French Protestants, the lands purchased for them. They named the settlement *New-Rochelle*, when they came directly from England, and were a portion of the fifty thousand who found a refuge in that noble Protestant land four years before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Not less than five hundred thousand at this bloody period escaped, finding homes in Germany, Holland, and England. Charles II., then on the English throne, granted them letters of denization, under the great seal, and Parliament, in July, 1681, passed a bill which relieved them from "importation duties and passport fees." This was the same year when they fled from France, and they were aided in their escape by the English vessels that lay off the Island of Rhé, opposite brave La Rochelle. According to tradition, they were transported to New-Rochelle in a royal vessel, landing on Davenport's Neck, at a place called Bauffett's or Bonnefoy's Point. (Vide Petition Doc., vol. iii, p. 926.)



Soon after the purchase of this tract, the emigrants began the settlement of the present village, naming it in honor of their

"Own Rochelle, the fair Rochelle,
Proud city of the waters."

Men of integrity and the firmest religious principles, coeval with the foundation of their village, the Huguenots organized a Church "according to the usage of the Reformed Church in France," maintaining its articles, liturgy, discipline, and canons. Measures were adopted to erect a Church forthwith. Pell, the Lord of the Manor, besides the six thousand acres already obtained, granted one hundred additional "for the use of the French Church, *erected, or to be erected,* by the inhabitants of the said tract of land." This sacred edifice was built about 1692–1693, of wood, and stood in the rear of the present Mansion House, close to the old Boston post road. Some venerable people, still living, remember the old Huguenotic Church, which was destroyed soon after the Revolutionary war. About the same time, Louis Bongrand "did give unto the inhabitants of New-Rochelle a piece of land, forty paces square, for a church-yard to bury their dead." Subsequently a house with some three acres of land were given by the town to the Church forever.

This rapid sketch of the early Huguenotic Church in New-Rochelle, will properly introduce the name of its *first* pastor, the Rev. David Bonrepos, D.D. He was the French Protestant minister who accompanied the earliest Huguenots in their flight from France to this country.

But little is known at this day of the Rev. David Bonrepos's ministry, except that he retained his pastoral relations only a short time. In the Rev. John Miller's description of New-York, in 1696, he says: "There is a meeting-house at Richmond, (Staten Island,) of which Dr. Bonrepos is the minister. There are forty English, forty-four Dutch, and thirty-six French families." He probably resigned his charge in 1694. In the Town Records on the 9th of March, 1696, there is this entry:

"David de Bonrepos, of New-York City, Doctor of Divinity, and Blanche his wife, did grant to Elias de Bonrepos, of New-Rochelle, husbandman, all that certain parcel of land, situate and lying at New-Rochelle, in the Manor of Pelham, etc., containing fifty acres of ground," etc.—(Lib. A., 23.)

We have obtained the autograph of this earliest Huguenot minister, from the following letter written by him to Governor Leisler at New-Amsterdam, October 20, 1690. The governor requested him to nominate "some persons for the vacant offices of justice of the peace;" "but he could not comply, as none of his colonists at New-Rochelle had a knowledge of the English tongue," which was one condition of their election. He thus concludes the letter:

"It is not through any unwillingness to exert themselves to meet it, but you know their strength as well as I. Notwithstanding, despite their poverty and

misery, they will never lack in submission to the orders on behalf of his majesty, both for the public good and interest. This they protested to me, and I pray you to be persuaded thereof. I am with respect, and I pray God for your prosperity, Sir,

"Your very humble

"and very obedient servant

"*Pastor of the French Colony.*

"A Monsieur de LEISLER, Lieut. Gouveneur pour le Roy d'Angleterre du fort William a la New-York."*

In 1695–6, letters of denization were granted to David Bonrepos and others. "Elias Bonrepos was licensed to keep school within ye Town of Rochelle, upon the 23d of June, 1705;" and letters of administration were granted to Martha Bonrepos, wife of David Bonrepos, 25th of October, 1711. Vide Surrogate's office, New-York, Lib. viii, 61.

The next minister of the Huguenot Church at New-Rochelle was the Rev. Daniel Bondet, A. M. He was a native of France, and born in 1652. Studying theology at Geneva, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes he fled from France to England, and was ordained to the Christian ministry by the Lord Bishop of London. Soon after, he accompanied the French emigrants, who reached Boston in the summer of 1686. Joseph Dudley and other proprietors brought into this country over thirty French Protestant families, settling them at Oxford, near Boston. Besides his pastoral duties over the Huguenot congregation, he was employed eight years by the Corporation for Propagating the Christian Faith among the Indians. At this very early period M. Bondet complained to the public authorities that the sale of rum to the Indians was "without order or measure," and of its baneful effects.

He was called to the living of Westchester in 1695, a Mr. Mather being at the time the regular pastor. Still it was thought the parish was large enough to maintain two. When the Huguenot preacher arrived, however, the vestry altered their resolution and refused to call him. This plan failing of inducting M. Bondet into the parish of Westchester, Col. Heathcote secured his services for the French Church at New-Rochelle.

At first the Huguenot preacher used the French prayers, according to the Protestant Churches of France, and subsequently every third Sunday the Liturgy of the English Church. In 1709, the French congregation resolved to follow the example of their reformed

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. ii, pp. 304, 305.

brethren in England, and conform to the English Church. All the members except *two* agreed to adopt the Liturgy and Rites of the Church of England as established by law. The names of *Elias Badeau*, Andrew Reneau, and J. Levillaine, with twenty-six others, appear in the document requesting this important ecclesiastical change. Mr. Bartow, the rector of the parish, was present on the occasion, and read prayers; a Mr. Sharp, chaplain in the army, preaching "a very good sermon." The interesting services were held in the old wooden church, erected in 1692–93, upon Monday, June 13, A. D. 1709.

For his services among the "poor refugees, he was allowed one hundred and five pieces per annum," and paid by the corporation "for the promotion of the Gospel among the savages," until the Indian murders dispersed his little flock. For two years afterward he still remained in New-England, hoping for the reëstablishment of the Huguenot settlement; but finally removed to the province of New-York. By the Indian war "his improvements were wholly lost," as the old account reads, in which Lieut. Governor Stoughton, Wait Winthrop, Increase Mather, and Charles Morton certify to his "great faithfulness, care, and industry, both in reference to Christians and Indians, as well as his unblemished life and conversation."

At New-Oxford, M. Bondet was allowed a salary of £25 a year, which amount was continued to him when he settled at New-Rochelle, and paid out of the public revenue. The Earl of Bellemont becoming Governor of the New-York Province, he increased this sum by an additional payment of £30 per annum, but very soon suspended him from both amounts. His only income then was £20, received from his congregation, for the support of himself and family. It is a curious fact, that the *first* settled Episcopal minister in this country was a French Protestant refugee, and New-Rochelle, the favorite asylum of the expatriated Huguenots, claims the honor of having invited him to their Church.

In the first letter of the Huguenot preacher, July 24, 1707, to the Venerable Society in England, he manifests a concern for the religious improvement of the slaves, who were found at that early period in the New-York colony. He says:

> "It were to be wished that the civil powers would take the same care of the slaves in the country. I have often proposed this to our company, among whom there are several slaves; the poor creatures might easily receive the same edification by the care of the minister in their several places."

In 1709, the Church petitioned the Society "for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," to "send over a considerable

number of Common Prayer Books, in the French language," and an English schoolmaster. At this time there were over one hundred communicants, and the petition was signed by Isaac Guions, Louis Guions Jejeune, Anthony Lispenar, Pierre Valleau, with twenty-two others.

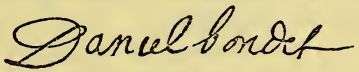
The congregation increasing, more accommodation was required, and in 1710, subscriptions were opened to erect a new church. Col. Hunter, then governor, was a Churchman, and zealously supported the undertaking, the Rev. Mr. Sharp, chaplain of her majesty's forces at New-York, collecting the moneys. We have before us a list of the donors, Governor Hunter's name leading it with the largest sum, £6; others following in different, smaller amounts, down to *one dollar*. These were liberal subscriptions for that period. The sacred edifice was completed the same year, and stood "upon the public or king's road," a little toward the east of the present Episcopal Church at New-Rochelle. It was built of stone, nearly square, forty feet long, and thirty feet broad, and perfectly plain inside and out. So anxious were all to aid the work, that even females, it is related, carried mortar in their aprons, to finish this house of the Lord.

In 1711–12, the Venerable Propagation Society presented the new church with "one hundred French Prayer Books of the small sort, and twenty of a larger impression;" and, "in consideration of the great learning and piety of Monsieur Bondet, and his long and faithful discharge of his office, they augmented his salary from £30 to £50 per annum." At this period, we find the following testimony of his character: "M. Bondet is a good old man, near sixty years of age, sober, just, and religious." One hundred more French Prayer Books were sent to the Church in 1713, and £10 for "his diligence and care in performing English service every third Sunday, for the edification of the French youth, who have learned so much of that language as to join with him therein." About this period, too, the town gave a house and three acres of land, adjoining the church, for the use of the clergyman, forever." During the year 1714, the Huguenot preacher took spiritual charge of the Mohegan, or River Indians; at which time he was called "minister of the French Calvinistic congregation at New-Rochelle."

In 1714, M. Bondet reports to the Venerable Society fifty communicants in his Church, and every third Sunday he performed service in English, "with a Bible of small volume and character." He requests that body to allow his congregation "the benefit of an English Bible, with a small quantity of English Common Prayers, because our young people, or some of them, have sufficiently learned

to read English for to join in the public service when read in English." In the conclusion of this letter he adds his "acknowledgment for the Most Honorable and Venerable Society that they may continue in present and future generations, examples, encouragers, and promoters of true godliness. This promised, I recommend myself to your benevolence, and remain,

"Honorable Sirs, etc.,



Three years after this day the Huguenot pastor lost his wife, Jane Bondet, and he says on the mournful occasion: "God having crowned the hardships of her pilgrimage with an honorable end, I keep and rule my house, as I ought to be exemplary in house ruling as in Church ministry." From this period he continued faithful at his post for more than three years; but the latter days of the good man's ministry were disturbed by the ill conduct of some seceders from his congregation. These were aided by the Consistory of the French Church in New-York. But their lawful pastor, Monsieur Lewis Roux, a man of learning, refused to encourage these disturbers at New-Rochelle, which peaceful interference led to the unjust dismissal from his pastoral charge.

His colleague, Monsieur Moulinars, usurped the place, and headed the party of M. Bondet's congregation, which sanctioned his Episcopal ordination. In New-Rochelle, the seceders went so far as to erect a meeting-house, styling themselves the "French Protestant Congregation." This unfortunate strife continuing for some time, the dissatisfied party in New-York, fearing their estates might be liable for the salary of M. Roux, "thought it advisable to drop their debates, reinstate the minister, and leave the Church.'

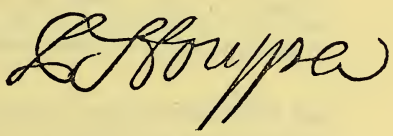
M. Bondet died in September, 1722, aged sixty-nine years; nearly twenty-seven of which he was minister of the New-Rochelle Church. Eminently useful in keeping his congregation together amid its adverse circumstances, he was greatly beloved, and dying, was greatly lamented. He was interred beneath the chancel floor of the old Church; his will was dated March 24, 1721–22.

The will is recorded in the Surrogate's Office, New-York, and among others are the following items: "I do give to Judith Robinseau, a little negro girl, named Charlotte, for her proper use and benefit. I do give to the use of the Church of New-Rochelle, all my books."

M. Bondet was succeeded in the Huguenot Church, New-Rochelle, by the Rev. Pierre Stouppe, A. M. He also was a native of France, and said to be a son, or nearly related to the Rev. Mr. Stouppe, pastor of the French Church in London, who was sent to Geneva, in 1654, by Oliver Cromwell, for the purpose of negotiating there in the affairs of the French Protestants. M. Stouppe was born in 1690, studied divinity at Geneva, and accepted a call to the French Church at Charleston, S. C. In this field he continued until 1723, when, resigning the charge, he conformed to the Church of England, crossing the Atlantic for ordination. He was admitted to holy orders in 1723, and licensed to officiate as a missionary in the colony of New-York, receiving at the same time a similar appointment from the Venerable Society, to the French Protestants of New-Rochelle, with a salary of £50 per annum. To this latter flock he proved very acceptable, from his ability of preaching in French, the only language which most of them understood. At the period of M. Stouppe's arrival, the elders, or ancients, as sometimes called, of this Church, were Isaac Quantein and Isaac Guion.

The new Huguenot pastor soon found trouble with the dissatisfied M. Moulinars and his party, who declared M. Stouppe's "Church and that of Rome as like one another as two fishes can be." Writing to the Propagation Society in 1726, he states that he has "baptized six grown negroes and seven negro children, fitted eight young people for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to which they have been accordingly admitted," and that "the number of communicants at Easter was thirty-three.

"I am, Reverend Sir, etc.,



In another letter, of Dec. 11, 1727, he presents some important information concerning the settlement of New-Rochelle:

"The number of people that first settled New-Rochelle was about a dozen of families; the most of them were in Europe trading merchants; being French refugees, they were all at first addicted to the Confession of Faith of the formerly Reformed Protestant Church of France. These few families, I say, have conjointly bought of the Lord Pell six thousand acres of land, and divided it into lots and parcels, from 20 to 30, 40, 50, 60, 100, 200, and 300 acres a piece; have sold afterward the said lots and parcels to any who had a mind to buy them, English, French, or Dutch: but so it happened that more of the French than of the two other nations proved desirous to settle among them. * * * The present number of inhabitants amounts to very near four hundred

persons. There is a dozen of houses near the Church, standing pretty close to one another, which makes that place a sort of a town; the remainder of the houses and settlements are dispersed up and down as far as the above said six thousand acres of land could bear. Nay, besides these, there were several other French families, members of New-Rochelle, settled without its bounds. They are little or not at all improved in their fortunes, and a few tailors and shoemakers excepted, they all live upon the produce of their own land."

Such was the commencement of the present picturesque, beautiful, and Protestant village of New-Rochelle. More than a century and a half have passed away since its pious founders emigrated to this New World, but their holy principles have left undying influences, now to be seen in the refinement, morals, and religion of this entire region.

M. Stouppe, in the same communication, informs us that there were

"Two Quaker families, three Dutch ones, four Lutherans, and several of the French. The first never assist on assemblies; the Dutch and Lutheran, on the contrary, constantly assist when Divine service is performed in English, so that they may understand it; and their children, likewise, have all been baptized by ministers of the Church. Only the French Dissenters have deserted it, upon M. Moulinars, formerly one of the French ministers of New-York, coming and settling, now a year ago, among us, and it is also by his means and inducement that they have built a wooden meeting-house within the time they were unprovided for, that is, from my predecessor's death to my arrival here. * * * *

"There is no school nor schoolmaster as yet in New-Rochelle; the parents take care to instruct their own children, and that they do generally pretty well, besides what instructions are given to them in the Church during summer by the minister. * * * * The number of slaves within New-Rochelle is seventy-eight; part of them constantly attend Divine service, and have had some instruction in the Christian faith by the care and assistance of their respective masters and mistresses, so that my predecessor did not scruple to baptize some, and even to admit to the communion of the Lord's Supper, and I myself have, for the same consideration, baptized fifteen of them within these three years, some children and some grown persons, without the least prejudice to the rest of my flock."

In all his communications, the Huguenot pastor manifested the same commendable care for the spiritual welfare of the negroes, constantly baptizing their children.

In 1742, the inhabitants of New-Rochelle embraced "eighty families in the boundaries of the place, thirty-four of which were such as understood no French, twenty-four were Calvinists, and only four persons which are from old France, that come to the Church of England, and they are a very ancient people; wherefore, I and a great many others are of opinion, that although the place is so situated, that there seems to be an absolute necessity for a minister, yet we humbly conceive he needs not be a Frenchman, nor be ordered to read and preach in French, considering how things are

circumstanced at present." This letter was written by Leonard Lispenard, and from another uncopied portion of it, we learn that some dissatisfaction existed toward M. Stouppe because he did not repeat "the service of the Church in English" often enough.

About the year 1743, M. Stouppe revisited his native country, on which occasion the members of his Church addressed the Venerable Society in his behalf. The letter is signed by Jean Soulice, Peter Bonnet, Giel Le Counte, Peter Sicard, and fifty-six others, who say:

"That our said minister, since his first coming, has constantly resided among us, preaching (as directed by the Hon'ble Society) two Sundays in French and one in English, much to our satisfaction and edification, his doctrine being very sound and his pronunciation full, clear, and intelligible. Upon which account we could have wished that he had finished his days among us without interruption, and we expected nothing else; but as it happens, a strong desire to hear from his relatives has prevailed with him to take a journey for Europe. However, seeing now he explains his mind, and promises to return among us, we beg of the Hon'ble Society, that they would accordingly be pleased to send him again to us, by the first and next opportunity."

In 1743, Aman Guion gave one acre and three quarters of land for the use of the minister and communicants of the French Church at New-Rochelle, "which is now in possession of the Rev. Peter Stouppe." About the period of the French war, he informs the Society, by letter, June 5, 1758:

"That since the war broke out, there have been great alterations in his congregations, which have lost many of their members by removals, and by enlisting in the king's service, and by death; nevertheless, the number of his communicants is seventy-four, and he has baptized within the present half year, fifteen white, and five black children."

The ministry of this faithful and successful Huguenot missionary terminated on earth, by his death in July, 1760; his biographer esteemed him "a simple-minded, conscientious man, who for thirty-seven years continued faithfully to discharge the duties of his mission." During this long incumbency, his communicants had increased from thirty-eight to eighty. He was greatly beloved by his congregation, and his remains were interred under the chancel of the Old French Church at New-Rochelle, where he had so long watched over the little flock of his Master.

M. Stouppe was succeeded by the Rev. MICHAEL HOUDIN, A. M.; he was born in France, 1705; educated a Franciscan Friar; on Easter-day, 1730, he was ordained priest by the Archbishop of Trèves, and subsequently preferred to the post of Superior in the Convent of the Recollects at Montreal. Disgusted with monastic life, M. Houdin, at the commencement of the French war, left

Canada, and retired to the City of New-York. Here, on Easter-day, 1747, he made a public renunciation of popery, and joined the Church of England. Attaining great proficiency in the English language, in June, 1750, he was invited by the people of Trenton to officiate as a missionary among the inhabitants of that State.

When he first reached New-York with his wife in June, 1744, Governor Clinton, suspicious of all Frenchmen at that moment, had them confined to their lodgings, and guarded by two sentinels. He was next examined by his excellency in council, when they learned from him, that "the French intended to attack Oswego with eight hundred men, as soon as the provision ships from France should arrive; the French having a great desire of being masters of that place." M. Houdin was then ordered to reside at Jamaica, Long Island, where he complained that his circumstances were "very low," and "can do nothing to get a living; that his wife and himself must soon come to want, unless his excellency will be pleased to take him into consideration." After this appeal the Council advised his return to the city, on his taking the oath of allegiance.

M. Houdin officiated for some years at Trenton and the neighboring places, as an "itinerant missionary," upon the recommendation of the Rev. Mr. Barclay, then Rector of Trinity Church. The Episcopalians of New-Jersey, at that period, were "in poor circumstances," and a gratuity of £30 was granted to him. In one of his letters from Trenton, November 4, 1753, he returns thanks for this benefaction, stating that he had baptized from the 13th of the preceding December "forty-five children and five adults, after proper instruction; and at Aunwell, a town within his mission, above two hundred Presbyterians and some families of Anabaptists, during the last summer, joined with the members of the Church of England, * * * * and contributed toward the finishing of the Church," which "he blesses God was then quite done."

In 1759, the French Protestant's services were, as a guide, required for General Wolfe in his well-known expedition against Quebec. Before marching, he preached to the provincial troops, destined for Canada, in St. Peter's Church, Westchester, from St. Matthew, ch. x, 28: "Fear not them which kill the body," etc. The pious chaplain escaped the dangers of war, but his brave general, at the very moment of victory, fell mortally wounded, on the Heights of Abraham, September 13, 1759. He writes from Quebec to the Missionary Society, and "entreats that his absence from his mission may not bring him under their displeasure, as he was in some measure forced to it in obedience to the commands of Lord Loudon and

other succeeding commanders, who depended much on his being well acquainted with that country."

After the reduction of Quebec, he asked leave to join his mission, but General Murray ordered him to remain, as there was no other person who could be depended on for intelligence of the French proceedings. M. Houdin writes "that he himself, as well as the public, hath received a great loss by the death of the brave General Wolfe," who promised to remember his labor and services, which are not so well-known to General Murray.

While M. Houdin was stationed at Quebec, an attempt was made by the Vicar-General of all Canada, to seduce him from English allegiance, with an offer of great preferment in the Romish Church. This pressing invitation found its way into the hands of Generals Murray and Gage, who sent a guard to arrest the vicar-general.

M. Houdin probably returned to New-York in 1761, as he was appointed that year "an itinerant missionary" to New-Rochelle, by the Venerable Society; "he being a Frenchman by birth, and capable of doing his duty to them both in the French and English languages." In appointing him to this field of labor, the Society stipulated that the people should give their new pastor a comfortable support, and put the old parsonage in order. During the incumbency of M. Houdin, Trinity Church, New-Rochelle, received its first charter from George the Third, which the present corporation still enjoys with all its trusts and powers. It is dated in 1762, and was exemplified by His Excellency George Clinton, in 1793.

M. Houdin writes to the secretary, October 10, 1763, complaining that the "Calvinists used unlawful methods to obtain possession of the Church glebe." These were the few old French families which had not conformed to the Church of England; and in the conclusion of this letter he observes: "Seeing the Calvinists will not agree upon any terms of peace proposed to them by our Church, * * * * we are in hope the strong bleeding of their purse will bring them to an agreement after New-York Court."

The French Protestant continued his pious labors at New-Rochelle until October, 1766, when he departed this life. He was a man of considerable learning, irreproachable character, and esteemed a worthy missionary. His remains were interred under the chancel of the Old French Church, and by the side of his Huguenot predecessors, Bondet and Stouppe. Since the removal of this edifice, the ashes of these early Protestant missionaries repose beneath the highway, and not a stone tells where they lie, or commemorates their value and excellences.

A colony of French Huguenots settled in Charleston, S. C., and

about 1693 erected a plain, neat stone Church. Elias Piroleau was its first pastor, who came with a part of his flock from Santonge. The old building was taken down, and a new beautiful sacred edifice occupies its place. This congregation alone, in our country, continues to sustain its original and distinctive Huguenot character, with the exception that the French is no longer used.

The Rev. Mr. Rosser, a well-known, zealous, and eloquent preacher of the Virginia Conference, informed the writer that he was, years ago, invited to preach a sermon in this Huguenot house of the Lord. He is himself a descendant of the French Protestants in Virginia, and when preparing to enter the pulpit, on this occasion, from the vestry, the "ancients," or elders, robed him in an old, much-worn, and threadbare clerical gown. Perceiving the surprise of the preacher, they remarked, that this venerable mantle had been used by the early Huguenot pastor. It was now emphatically their "ROBE of HONOR," and when placed upon a visitor, the congregation considered him especially respected.

ART. VI.—SLAVERY—THE TIMES.

THE quadrennial political simoon has swept by, and its murmurs alone linger; it is a befitting time for us to review the great question upon which its chief force has been expended. We make no apology for having delayed the subject; we confess ourselves so far "expedientists" as to believe that a good work should be done at the best time for it; that in proportion as it is momentous should be its prudent management. Anything we could have said on the question during the political furor would have been comparatively useless, probably worse, and we do not agree with the "abstractionists" who believe that good men should "utter their verdict" on such questions independently of consequences; if consequences are not the rule of duty, yet are they among the first canons by which the rule of duty is to be expounded. Policy and duty are always reconcilable in the course of an upright man.

We have a duty to perform respecting this question; we acknowledge, indeed, the obligation to be a peculiar, if not a paramount one, compared with that of the conductors of our hebdomadal Methodist press. The subject belongs to them legitimately enough; but they are set for the more local and practical promotion of the Church:

its current ecclesiastical interests make up their staple contents, and should do so; none of us would wish them to become "anti-slavery organs," "hobbyists" of this one theme, rather than good Methodist family papers, for harm may be done even to a good question and among its best friends by its excessive iteration from week to week; there is good sense in the vulgar proverb about "too much of a good thing," and any of our weekly editors who should continually belabor even the "Temperance Question" would hardly fail to "founder." Coming, however, as we do with our measured quarterly visits, and constrained, whether we will or not, to a grave demeanor by the prescribed "dignities" of the "Quarterly Review," we may be allowed a more thorough and prolonged discussion of the subject. We set out to-day assuming this prerogative, and propose to review in a series of articles the *latest phase of the question*, the *causes* which have given it that phase, its *relations to our own Church*, its *prospects* in both Church and State, and the *right and wrong* of our Church parties respecting it. These topics, we believe, will afford interest and, it may be, profit to our readers.

We have one more remark to premise; no partisan must look to this discussion for a party endorsement of his position; we believe that the subject needs at this moment more than at any other in its history, the frank, sober, independent utterance of thoughtful men, men loyal to the Church and the State. Party organizations are doubtless necessary; in the practical effectuation of opinions they are a good because a necessity; in the discussion and ascertainment of opinions they are almost as essentially an evil. They can act, but they will not, perhaps cannot, think. We set out, then, to speak from our own individual point of view. There is no self-respectful man of any party who will not take off his hat and sit down with us to the calm and candid conversation, and close it at last on terms of mutual courtesy, though, it may be, with important differences of opinion. Political allusions even will be allowed us; for how can the question be discussed without them? and if, before we get through, we shall have to gesticulate right and left against our own ecclesiastical parties on the question, we hope that even this risk of the *odium theologicum* will not be a serious peril.

What we have alluded to as the "*latest phase of the question*," is the very noticeable retrogression of public opinion upon it, in the South. It is one of the moral phenomena of our times; an exceedingly sad, and, we fear, an exceedingly portentous one. It has been called by one of our Church papers, in terms scarcely exaggerated, "The Great American Apostasy." This change, almost a revolution in its suddenness and extent, has not, we hope, involved generally

the individual religious mind of the South; that would, indeed, seem morally impossible, but it cannot be denied that it has fully revealed itself in the Southern *public sentiment*, religious as well as political. We doubt not, too, that men not religious, but thoughtful and patriotic, throughout the South, regret it; we are inclined to think that all along the "Border" the humane, not to say Christian sentiments of the founders of the Republic prevail together even with the denunciation of "Northern abolitionism," and we are sure that the discussions of our last General Conference demonstrate that our own Methodist community there, have not swerved from the sentiments of the fathers of the country and the Church on the subject, if they may not have kept pace with our own. Our remarks apply, therefore, mostly to the further South, but, nevertheless, to the great solid mass of the South. The public bodies, the political guides, the popular press, the leading theologians stand almost uniformly committed to the "Great Apostasy."

So unquestionable is this change, that we suppose it unnecessary to argue the fact even with a Southern reader; but it may not be historically or logically unimportant to measure it somewhat. As a moral fact and a moral indication, the philosopher and the theologian cannot fail to view it with deep interest.

The fathers of American statesmanship were nearly all, if not all, what would properly in this day be called *anti-slavery* men; we say not "abolitionists," for that term has received among us a conventional meaning which qualifies much its etymological sense. Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Madison, Monroe, Lee, not to speak of their great Northern cotemporaries, uttered sentiments against slavery which, if now asserted in the South, would be retorted with proscription and violence.

It is certainly a startling fact, that if Washington and Jefferson could reappear to-day, unrecognized but *unchanged*, in the midst of the South, avowing the sentiments which they once uttered there, they would be swung from the gibbet or die under the lash. The fact is as undeniable as it is significant.

Washington's sentiments on slavery are well known; they are summarily expressed in a letter to Robert Morris: "I can only say," said the good, great man, "I can only say that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it, [slavery.] But there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by the legislative authority, and this, *so far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting.*" He said the same to the first Methodist bishops, Coke and Asbury; and in a letter to John F. Mercer, he writes, "It is

among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be *abolished by law.*" Where, with these sentiments, would Washington stand in the politics of our day? We ask not the question for political effect; we see well enough in this language his *political principles* on the subject; but we profess not to know what party representation of them, his supreme good sense would have chosen under our circumstances; one thing, however, we do know, we know he would not have abandoned his principles, and, by a local or partisan resentment, thrown himself upon the defense—as an abstract and concrete, a present and permanent good—of an institution which is in contrast with all the opinions for which he fought, and all the institutions which he founded; we know this because we know the *man.*

Scarcely less dear to Virginians is the memory of Patrick Henry. There are considerate Virginians who will read these pages, and who will allow us to quote a few of his eloquent words, words which, if uttered now by our own laborious preachers among them, would probably be cited in court by a zealous "Southern Methodist," as a reason for their expulsion from the land, and the forfeiture of their chapels to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. "I will not, I cannot justify it," said Patrick Henry in a letter to Robert Pleasants. "I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this *lamentable evil.* Everything we can do is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and an *abhorrence for slavery.* It is a debt we owe to the purity of religion to show it is at variance with that which warrants slavery." And yet in our day, an eminent and talented man, a Doctor in the Church and an instructor of Virginia youth, has traveled through towns around the very graves of these great and good statesmen, not to prove that "it is a debt we owe to the purity of religion to show that it is at variance with that which warrants slavery," but to assert that slavery itself is warranted by the purity of religion.* We say the literal truth; we would be scrupulous against the slightest exaggeration of so grave and sad a fact.

James Monroe made a speech against slavery in the Virginia Convention. "We have found," he said, "that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and been prejudicial to all the states in which it has existed." How much more emphatically could he thus speak were he now alive. Mr. Madison assures us that such was the anti-slavery *spirit* of the framers of the Constitution,

* Rev. Dr. Smith, President of Randolph Macon College. See his "Philosophy and Practice of Slavery."

that the convention, with Washington at its head, refused to insert the word "slave" in that document, but substituted it, in the Fugitive Slave Clause, and on motion of a South Carolinian, by the phrase "person held to service or labor."*

Mr. Jefferson's protests against the evil were reiterated and extreme. He declared in his "Notes on Virginia," that "in such a controversy" as an insurrection, "there was no attribute of the Almighty which could take side with us." In his original draft of the Declaration of Independence, he alleged the imposition of slavery on the country by the British government, as one of the reasons for the revolt of the colonies. He records the fact that he made a speech for emancipation in the Virginia Colonial Legislature as early as 1769. In 1774, he drew up the "instructions" of the Virginia Legislature to her representatives in Congress, in which are these remarkable words:

"The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies, where it was *unhappily introduced in their* INFANT state. How applicable to our territories! But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa. Yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantages of a few British corsairs, to the lasting interests of the American states, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice."

This document was *adopted by the Legislature* of Virginia. After the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson, with Messrs. Pendleton and Wythe, were constituted a committee to revise and codify the laws of Virginia. Of one of the bills he says:

* It is a noteworthy fact that the Constitution of the Republic does not recognize slaves as property. It was proposed in the Convention that formed it, to tax the importation of slaves—a beneficent intention doubtless, but Mr. Sherman objected, that this would be a recognition of *property in slaves*, and Mr. Gerry protested that, "as Congress would have no power over the institution within the states, we ought to be careful to lend no *sanction to it.*" The proposition was therefore so changed as to read, "A tax of not more than $10 for each *person* might be levied"—the word property being excluded by *unanimous* consent of the Convention. Some of the states proposed an amendment to the Constitution, declaring "that *no person* shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; that is, without trial and conviction of crime." Some Virginians perceived that this would militate against future claims of property in slaves; the Virginia Convention proposed, therefore, to limit the amendment to "*free men;*" but the necessary majority of states decided for the present reading—a most important fact in the determination of our late Constitutional questions on the subject. We may add, that after the full discussion of the question before the Supreme Court in 1842, Judge M'Lean, much to his credit, both as a learned and a Christian jurist, decided that the *Federal Constitution does not recognize slaves as property.* Judge Taney concurred.

"The bill on the subject of slaves was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them, without any intimation of a plan for future and general emancipation. It was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment whenever the bill should be brought on. The principles of the amendment, however, were agreed on; that is to say, the freedom of all born after a certain day, and deportation at a proper age. But it was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not far distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free: nor is it less certain that the two races equally free cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation peaceably, and in such slow degree, as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their places be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors—the precedent would fall far short of our case."

Afterward, writing to M. de Musnier, who had attributed the defeat of this plan to the absence of Mr. Jefferson, who was in France, and Mr. Wythe, who was then a member of the Judiciary Department, Mr. Jefferson says:

"But there were not wanting in that assembly men of virtue enough to propose, and talents enough to vindicate this clause. But they saw that the time for doing it with success was not yet arrived, and that an unsuccessful effort, as too often happens, would only rivet still closer the chains of bondage, and retard the moment of delivering oppressed description of men. What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow-men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must await, with patience, the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these, our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality."

Maryland, in 1783, adopted the measure which, in Virginia, on motion of Mr. Jefferson, (1778,) prohibited the slave trade, and also the Virginia example of 1782, removing restraints on emancipation.

Such were the sensible views of this subject then current among thoughtful men in Virginia, and we will not believe they are yet extinct. Our own Church there, at least, has never receded from them so far as they come under her ecclesiastical recognition. An organization only for religious ends, scrupulous against any party committals, whether to the North or to the South, and believing that her legitimate agency as an ecclesiastical body, in this as in any

other improvement of the people, is the promotion of true religion among them, she has not, nevertheless, disguised her ancient sentiment upon the subject, but stands amid the clamors of all parties steadily insisting upon the amelioration and extirpation of the great evil as the legitimate result, in due time, of a pure Christianity.

With such sentiments almost if not quite universal among the statesmen and devout men of our early history, with what alarm would they have anticipated the later growth of the institution? Would they have failed to provide decisive precautions against the foreshadowed disaster? And is it for us, amid the unlooked-for and confounding exaggerations of the evil, only to seek new methods of enhancing it? Glance at its subsequent and appalling growth. There were 530,357 slaves in the Atlantic States in 1790, and 1,204,221 in 1850; in the Gulf States there were 225,481 slaves in 1820, and in 1850 there were 1,242,251; an increase of 2.05 per cent. per annum in the slave population of the Atlantic States since 1790; in the same time there was an increase of 6.06 per cent. in Kentucky, Missouri, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia; while in the Gulf States the increase has been 18 per cent. The proportion of slave population to the whole population has increased in South Carolina from 43 per cent., since 1790, to 57 per cent. in 1850. In Georgia, during the same period, it has risen from 35 per cent. to 42 per cent. In 1790 we had 697,897 slaves, and in 1850 we had 3,204,313—a population in bonds larger than was our whole population at the time when we deemed it just to draw the sword for our independence—and this fettered nation within the nation, assured by the hand that wrote our Declaration of Independence, that in case of their rising in like manner, "there is no attribute of God which would take side with us," their masters! Is it indeed policy not to speak of patriotic virtue, to enlarge and entail over the yet unblighted domain of the country the stupendous calamity?

These passages will suffice to indicate the deplorable revolution of opinion which has followed those purer days, in most of the South, on the *general subject.* On the special question of the *extension* of slavery they bear also, though indirectly; men who deplored slavery like Washington, Henry, and Jefferson, could not but deprecate it. Every motive for its suppression was with them a reason against its extension. They represented, as we believe, what was then the common Christian and patriotic sentiment against it, recognizing it as an evil which, because it had become complicated with our social system, must be treated with caution, but which, under such treatment, must inevitably be ameliorated until it should be exterminated. The thought of its being fortified into a permanent

institution of the country, and a dominant influence in its policy, would have revolted their profoundest moral and political sentiments. Much more then would they have been startled at the later policy of *extending* it over territories unblighted by the barbarous and dangerous curse. It is, indeed, difficult for a mind uncommitted to the party politics of the day, and retaining any of the old national sentiment of liberty, to contemplate this aspect of the question without a species of horror. That the great arena won by the arms of the Revolution expressly for liberty, should, in its fairest sections, be converted into slave fields, that the government which, among all upon earth, is most avowedly based on the recognition of man's liberty, should be the only one on earth to sanction a national system of slave propagandism, is indeed a fact to startle the world and lay in the very dust the self-respect of the country.

The policy proposed by the fathers of the nation respecting the great "*Western Territory*," immediately after the Revolution, proves demonstratively that they entertained what are called "the modern anti-slavery doctrines" against "slave extension." The "ordinance" framed by a committee consisting of Mr. Jefferson, (chairman,) Mr. Chase, of Md., Mr. Howell, of R. I., contemplated the whole vast region then comprised within our boundaries North of the 31st degree of latitude and West of the old thirteen states—the whole of the "territories" that then belonged to the several states. It included some of our present slave states. It was proposed to divide this magnificent territory into seventeen states, eight of them south of the parallel of Louisville, (the Falls of the Ohio, as then called,) and nine north of it. Mr. Jefferson reported, among other laws for this region, the following:

"That after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said *states*, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted to be personally guilty."

For this act six states voted ay; three only nay; of the members present fifteen voted for and only six against it; but as the "Articles of Confederation" required the vote of nine states to enact any proposition, the proviso failed, though seconded by so large a majority. Three years after, the last Continental Congress, sitting in New-York, adopted the "Ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States *northwest of the Ohio River*," the more southern regions comprised in Mr. Jefferson's bill not being ceded to the general government by the states which had claimed colonial jurisdiction over them. The "Ordinance" embraced many of the provisions of Mr. Jefferson's bill, and declared that

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall be duly convicted."

This ordinance was *unanimously* adopted, not even Georgia or the Carolinas dissenting. Early attempts to escape its anti-slavery restrictions were manfully defeated by our statesmen. The new territory of Indiana struggled for a relaxation of the law in its own favor; a convention, in which the territorial governor presided, was held in 1802–3, and urgently petitioned Congress to suspend the clause temporarily in its behalf. A committee of the House, consisting of three members, two of whom were from the South, reported through Mr. Randolph, their chairman, against the petition. Mr. Randolph (himself a slaveholder) said in the report:

"The Committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor, and of emigration."

During four years was this attempt to *extend* slavery into the Indiana Territory (now the splendid States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) repeated before Congress; not till Nov. 13, 1807, was it put to rest by a committee which reported through Mr. J. Franklin, (a Carolinian,) declaring its inexpedience. Such, then, was the fate of an attempt to extend slavery, made not by slaveholders, but by citizens of a free territory, and defeated under the leadership of Southern men. What has since been our dominant policy? What but "compromises" and apostasies from the primitive statesman-like and Christian-like doctrines of the country? We need not speak of the Missouri Compromise, with its three desperate struggles; the annexation of Texas, an event most desirable in itself, but wrongly secured by our new policy; the Wilmot Proviso contest; the Oregon question, with the attempt of the Senate, under the leadership of Mr. Douglass, to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific; the Compromise of 1850, with its gigantic struggles; and last, and worst, and most irredeemable of all our national disgraces, the Kansas-Nebraska conflict, with the unparalleled barbarities of its territorial laws, its civil war, fire, and sword, and menaced revolution of the republic. How has the glory departed, how have the mighty fallen; alas for us and our children that the fathers are no more!

But this mournful retrogression of public opinion has revealed itself in a third, and, if possible, a more serious result, namely, the

virtual recognition of *slavery as a condition of the balance of power and of parties* in the government. The preponderating share which it has had for years in the patronage of the government—in appointments at home and abroad—egregious as it has been, is but a trifling incident compared with the deplorable fact now stated. The constitutional provision for Southern representatives in Congress, proportioned to the slave population, was but an accommodation to what was supposed to be but a temporary disadvantage of the South, and was in accordance with the other sentiments of the framers of the Constitution, on the subject. But it has come to be taken by the South, and for years it has been practically conceded by the government, that in extensions of territory, admissions of new states, and, in fine, all great public measures which can at all admit of the recognition of slavery, the barbarous institution is to be taken into account and *graduated to the national development*—that slavery, in brief, is the only great stake of half the republic in this grand modern experiment of popular freedom and Christian civilization! We need not argue this startling fact; it is patent in our whole political history, from the Missouri Compromise down to this hour. It seems to have become an habitual sentiment in the very political consciousness of our Southern brethren. The balance of power between North and South depends, in Southern opinion, not on any of those intrinsic interests of freedom, defense, commerce, civilization, which the enlightened legislation of the age admits, but upon an abnormal and barbarous fact of Southern life—a fact which the founders of the government lamented and expected to see extinguished—a fact which involves the interests of but a small proportion of the local white population, and which, in the language of Monroe, "We have found to prey upon the very vitals of the Union, and to be prejudicial to all the states in which it has existed." When the South is spoken of, it is slavery that is meant; when a public measure is propounded, it is its relation to slavery that is questioned; when a new national development is at hand, how to give slavery its due ratio of importance to it, is the inquiry of Southern statesmen. Not so is it between any other of the three sections of the country; the East with its factories, and the West with its farms, have their respective interests, but, like all great and real interests, they are found to be coincident, and bind rather than peril the Union; the South has sufficient real and local interests for an equally distinct and yet harmonious relative position, but all are overshadowed, if not utterly obscured, by the one disastrous question.

And now that, by the rapid development of the North, through

immigration and free labor, this deplorable policy of the equalization of free and slave progress cannot possibly be farther maintained, its advocates dare to broach suggestions which would have startled with indignation the fathers of the Republic—nothing less than the re-opening of the African slave trade, (which the fathers were the first, among all nations, to brand as piracy and to disgrace with the gibbet,) in order to keep up, not the *South*, but *Southern slavery*, the curse of the South, with the progress of freedom and its blessings in the North; or, as the only alternative, *a change of the Constitution* divesting the free states of the legitimate advantages of their superior condition.* It is acknowledged by them that the facts are sternly against slavery—that the North has the larger population—that it has sixteen millions, while the South has only ten millions; that the free States include only six hundred and twelve thousand square miles, while the slave states contain eight hundred and fifty-six thousand; that, therefore, with an equal application of its force to agricultural purposes, the North has an excess of about eight million people to apply to arts and emigration; that to every man, woman, and child, white or black, in the Southern states, there are about fifty-five acres of land to be cultivated; that every individual in the Southern states is not competent to the cultivation of such an amount of land; that there is land, therefore, beyond the wants of the Southern population; that they have no motive of interest to emigrate to other lands; that they cannot stay and cultivate their own lands and go abroad and cultivate others; and in view of these facts, it must be admitted that the Territory of Kansas or any other territory is not the want of the South, and not being its want, it is not fairly to be supposed that the South can take it; that if the South could send parties there, and hold it in military subjection, yet it is not to be supposed that she will persevere in such an occupation without the hope of ultimately sustaining it by emigration; and if this is not to be expected of Kansas, how much less probable is it in respect to the nearly two million square miles of territory, which still remain beyond the thirty-one States—territory out of which thirty states as large as that of New-York may be constituted?†

* Charleston Standard, S. C. "We must," says this journal, "demand a modification of the Constitution, or we must demand slaves, and the sooner we come to an election between these alternatives, the greater will be our chances of success." Its change of the Constitution is to "*give a veto to the South upon Federal legislation.*"

† The Charleston (S. C.) Standard admits fully these difficulties. It says: "One class of politicians at the South propose a revision of the Constitution, so that the South shall have a veto upon the Federal legislation. Another proposes

While the North have sixteen millions and sixteen states, and the South has only ten million of people and fifteen states, and while it is assumed that the majority must govern, it is not within the range of possibility that slavery will hereafter be able to maintain its former importance in the Federal policy, except by one or the other of the alternatives—the reopening of the slave trade, or a change of the Constitution in favor of the South. Neither of them, however, is practicable; the moral force of the nation must give way before the one can be adopted, and the moral force of the civilized world before the other can be admitted, even for discussion. There is but one course left short of revolution and dissolution, it is the restoration of the primitive sentiment of the country respecting slavery—the sentiment avowed by its founders—the sentiment that is legitimate to the spirit of its constitution, to its early history, to all that is good in its destiny, to the true interests of the South, to the civilization of these latter ages, to the self-respect of our common humanity, to the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. There are good men, we trust, all through the South, who still hold dear that sentiment; they must resist the ultraism around them as should good men in the North; on this condition only can there be hope for us and our children. But of that hope we shall speak hereafter; we are not yet through with our attempt to fathom the depth of corrupt public opinion into which we have fallen, under the guidance of reckless and demagogical leaders—a guidance from which the better moral sentiment of the land generally must revolt before *any* ground of hope can be sure to us.

We say then, further, that this "great apostasy"—and certainly by this time the thoughtful reader, of whatever party or locality, will admit the phrase—has revealed itself not only in a change of our original doctrine and national policy on the question; it has, if

to bring in foreign slaves, and thus acquire the ability to expand *pari passu* with the North. But if in neither of these ways can we find the road to political security, we have no hope of finding it in expansion. We regret the inability to indulge in the illusious which we believe are agreeable to the great majority of our people. There are many who believe we can take Kansas, and are unwilling that discouragements should be thrown in the way of efforts to that end; but we *believe it is not policy to expand our enegies upon a cause that can never be successful.* If we take that territory, the triumph will be illusive; we must take it at the expense of population from the older States. When we get it, the North will be ready with Nebraska. The States will then stand seventeen to sixteen. *The North will soon be ready with another and another, when we cannot keep in even this proximity to them.* At last we must ultimately fall from the greater impediments under which we labor, and we think it best that the public mind should be relieved from such illusive hopes, and be fixed, as soon as possible, upon the stern realities before us."

possible, a still more mournful revelation in the wide-spread degeneration of the public mind respecting not only slavery, but liberty, the honor of free labor, the dignity of virtuous and industrious poverty, and most other relative and once national sentiments—sentiments in vindication of which the swords of our fathers would have leaped from their scabbards, but which are now hooted by many of the very organs and guides of public opinion among us. Glance along the following extracts if you would have proof of the sad degeneration, the madness of folly which has overtaken us.

The Richmond Examiner declares that,

"Until recently, the defense of slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists (for they were mere apologists) took half-way grounds. They confined the defense of slavery to mere negro slavery; thereby giving up the slavery principle, admitting other forms of slavery to be wrong. The line of defense, however, is now changed. The South now maintains that slavery is right, natural, and necessary, and does not depend on difference of complexion. The laws of the slave states justify the holding of white men in bondage."

Another Richmond paper, the Enquirer, follows thus:

"Repeatedly have we asked the North, 'Has not the experiment of universal liberty failed? Are not the evils of free society insufferable? And do not most thinking men among you propose to subvert and reconstruct it?' Still no answer. This gloomy silence is another conclusive proof added to many other conclusive evidences we have furnished, that free society, in the long run, is an impracticable form of society; it is everywhere starving, demoralizing, and insurrectionary. We repeat, then, that policy and humanity alike forbid the existence of the evils of free society to new people and coming generations. Two opposite and conflicting forms of society cannot, among civilized men, coexist and endure. The one must give way and cease to exist, the other become universal. If free society be unnatural, immoral, unchristian, it must fall, and give way to a slave society—a social system, old as the world, universal as man."

This same paper quotes and endorses, from a work entitled "Free Society a Failure," by George Fitzhugh, the following sentiments:

"Life and liberty are not inalienable. The Declaration of Independence is exuberantly false and arborescently fallacious."

"We would not have your rich, vulgar, licentious bosses and your brutal, insubordinate factory hands in our midst for all

'The wealth of Ormus and of Ind.'

We would not exchange our situation for the countless millions of paupers and criminals who build up and sustain the cowardly, infidel, licentious revolutionary edifice of free society."

"Two hundred years of labor have made white laborers a pauper banditti."

"Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted."

"Free society is a monstrous abortion, and slavery is the healthy, and beautiful, and natural condition which they are trying unconsciously to adopt."

"The slaves are governed far better than the free laborers at the North are governed."

"Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than the free laborers, but their moral condition is better."

"Slavery, black or white, is right and necessary."

"Nature has made the weak in mind and body slaves."

The South Side Democrat says:

"We have got to hating everything with the prefix of FREE, down and up the whole catalogue—FREE farms, FREE labor, FREE society, FREE will, FREE THINKING, FREE children, and FREE schools—all belonging to the same brood of damnable isms."

The leading newspaper of South Carolina, the Charleston Mercury, speaks thus:

"Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black. The great evil of Northern free society is, that it is burdened with a servile class of mechanics and laborers, unfit for self-government, yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens. Master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child; and the Northern states will yet have to introduce it. Their theory of free government is a delusion."

The Alabama press thus gives in its adhesion to this infamous doctrine in the Muscogee Herald:

"Free society! we sicken at the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moonstruck theorists? All the Northern, and especially the New-England states, are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevailing class one meets with, is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery; and yet who are hardly fit for association with a Southern gentleman's body-servant. This is your free society, which the Northern hordes are endeavoring to extend into Kansas."

Even so respectable a journal as the New-Orleans Delta, in pleading for the "reopening of the slave trade," declares:

"We have a proposition to lay down that may appear startling to many, because it is new, but will have weight and consideration with the thinking, inasmuch as it is based on both philosophy and experience. We, therefore, declare that slavery is not only national, of origin and of right, but it is essential to republican nationality. But for slavery, Republicanism would have long since become a tale in these United States. It is among the slaveholding population that Republicanism has had its true home and only defense. It is they who have made the Union what it is commercially and politically. It is only they who can hereafter maintain a safe and honorable Union, and enjoy rational liberty."

The same paper asserts that

"Modern free society, as at present organized, is radically wrong and rotten. It is self-destroying, and can never exist happily and normally until it is qualified by the introduction of some principle equivalent in effect to the institution of Southern negro slavery."

Such, then, are the sentiments of the day, echoed by influential journals from Richmond to Charleston, from Charleston to New-

Orleans. "Slavery is right *per se*," affirms the Rev. President Smith, of Randolph Macon College, in the very first sentence of his book: "Slavery is *right per se;* the great abstract *principle of slavery is right*, because it is a *fundamental principle of the social state*," and from these premises flow consistently and inevitably the barbarous and monstrous sentiments we have quoted. How would they have sounded to our fathers? How must they appear to liberal and earnest men throughout the Old World, who, in their struggles for popular liberty, have been wont to point to us as the vindication of their long deferred-hopes? What would become of everything essentially distinctive of modern civilization if these degrading views of labor, of liberty, of man, were to prevail? What destiny could remain for Christianity itself? They need not refutation; the intuitions of the popular mind recognize them as "lies;" the moral instincts of humanity revolt from them as not admissible even to consideration.

God forbid that we should assume that these are the common sentiments of the Christian public of the South; we do not and will not believe that her millions of non-slaveholding white citizens, who, with the three and a half millions of slaves, may be set off in contrast with her three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, have sunk down from all the nobler primitive sentiments of the country to this degradation. But what we must affirm is, the undeniable fact, that the degradation—the "great apostasy"—has become so widespread and so profound, that these are nearly the only sentiments on the subject which are rife in her public journals and political discussions—that throughout an extent of the Republic, equal to half of Europe, any man who should openly denounce them and affirm against them the generous opinions of the fathers of the country, would be exiled or hanged. This *is* the condition we have reached, in the retrogression of the Southern public mind. We do not and dare not deny it. It is obvious to us all and to all the world. There are thousands of upright and self-respectful men in the South, some of whom will read these quotations with the same indignant disgust with which we cite them, but they are helpless; they find it not possible to respond to the instincts of self-respect and common humanity which revolt within them, at the debasement of public opinion around them. And here precisely do we, and they also, see the most grevious fact of that debasement—manly *utterance* is gone!—moral *courage* itself must cower to the dust, or throw itself against invincible prejudice and unendurable injury. Alas for both good men and evil, when the moral sense of a community is thus overthrown and confounded.

Thus have sentiments the most generous and the most consecrated in the traditional opinions of the country, become outraged through more than half of the land—and none more so than the one which was most fundamental in our history, most frequent on the lips of our fathers, and which, sent forth to the world, with the eloquence of their Council Halls and the shouts of their battle-fields, has been received as the Democratic motto of the race. It has become the self-complacent folly of pretentious, but puny-minded men among us, to laugh at the assertion of human equality, made in the Declaration of Independence, as no longer worthy of serious refutation. The supreme self-conceit of this profanity should excite the scorn of the popular common sense. Lord Brougham has somewhere remarked, that weak minds, in eulogizing better ones, usually reserve a compliment to themselves, by the use of the qualifying "but;" the illustrious "signers" were great men indeed, "but" *I* excel them in some respects; they made a declaration which I see was fallacious. The occasion is a tempting one for such weak folly; the assembly that committed the alleged fallacy represented the wisdom of the New World and the epoch of a new history of humanity; a capital proof of sagacity in us must it be, therefore, to detect and expose their errors. Rev. President Smith attempts the task through whole pages; the assertion "that all men are created equal" has been hooted even in the national legislature, and grandiloquent rhetoricians, whose glitter only disguises their want of logic, have criticised the noblest document of modern history, as a series of glittering, but fallacious generalizations. It is time that this folly were rebuked. Never were there engaged in the preparation of any document, five men more imbued with common sense and practical shrewdness, than the committee which submitted to Congress, The Declaration of American Independence. Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Philip Livingston, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams, were not men to dabble in glittering abstractions, or to head the revolution of a continent with the ambiguities of political *doctrinaires*. The "Declaration" is, throughout, a rigid enumeration of stern facts, and none was more sternly true nor sternly potent, than its assertion of the original equality of man. The quibbling question of whether men are born under equal circumstances, or with equal capacities, or to equal positions in society, is an imbecile irrelevancy, at which those practical sages would have smiled; their meaning was obvious enough, and was obviously not this. As well might their critics have required Michael Angelo to inscribe under his Moses, "This is not the child Samuel," or Greenough under his colossal Washington, "This is not General Tom Thumb,"

as to demand qualifications to the sublime postulate upon which our fathers staked the Revolution. They knew well enough the inevitable differences of the capacity of men, and of the gradations of social and political society; they were too wise to dream of ever equalizing them. But they recognized that back of all these incidents of human life, humanity is *one*—that before its great Author, and under his divine economy, to which all human governmental systems are subordinate, collective humanity stands on one common platform; its original rights, therefore, are the same, and human governments should be based on the recognition of this grand fact. This was their doctrine, and it was the sublimest verdict rendered for humanity from the councils of nations, since the foundation of the world. It is of the very essence of Christianity; it is fundamental in that Democratic development, which, as De Toqueville has taught the Old World, is the invincible law of modern civilization. The common people should shout it to the four ends of the earth, and should shout down with their manly denunciations the rhetorical Pharisee, whether North or South, who impeaches its sublime significance, or its noble and far-seeing propounders.

With such apostasy from the old and better sentiments of the land, we might well expect other signs of demoralization, more startling, if not more fundamental. Shall we add to the grievous catalogue one more example?

In the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal for December 25, 1856, is a report from a Boston physician, which was read before the Boston Medical Society; it opens with a telling literalness, thus:

"The first blow produced insensibility. It is not certain how many blows he received; they were many. He bled profusely, and fell insensible on the floor. When he was removed to the ante-room, it was thought he could not survive. He had two gashes on the back of the head, one above each ear, about two or two and a half inches in length. These gashes went through the scalp to the bone, which was laid bare, but it is supposed not fractured. Besides these, he had bruises on the face, on the back of each hand, and on the arms. When I saw him early on Wednesday, for the first time, professionally, he had a high fever, pulse 104, intense pain in the head, eyes suffused, and extreme nervousness. The scalp above the right ear was inflamed, having the appearance of erysipelas. This inflammation extended to the glands of the neck, which were swollen and tender to the touch. On examination it was found that pus had formed under the scalp, which escaped readily on opening the wound, which had been closed over with collodion. Mr. S. had suffered so much during the last ten hours, that he had become very much exhausted. He was put under the influence of opium; the wound was poulticed, and perfect rest enjoined. For three days he was in a critical situation. The local inflammation, the danger of poison from the absorption of pus, and the extreme nervous exhaustion, made it a formidable case."

Who was the victim thus brutally smitten? A senator of the nation; that is enough said for his character, whatever might be added. Where was the deed of vulgar ruffianism perpetrated? In the legislative hall, while he sat unarmed and unwarned in his senatorial chair. Who did it? A representative of the law and honor of the nation—let his name not be mentioned—the quickest possible oblivion upon his grave is his best possible eulogium. Let us vail the personal facts with haste; but what were the *public indications* connected with the shocking scene? Defiant of the congressional examination of the deed, its perpetrator resigns his seat in the House, and turns with an appeal to his constituents. They are a Christian people, it is supposed, civilized at least, and sharing those sentiments of "honor," so called, which had banished with contempt from the South, the bludgeon and pugilism, and substituted the more "chivalrous," though more fatal use of arms. How do they reply to his appeal, while yet the hissing of the civilized world is heard at the mention of the deed? They *send him back again*, their representative before the nation and the world! Fathers who have frank and noble-hearted boys, incapable yet of comprehending the cowardly crime, went to the polls and consecrated, with the solemnity of a public vote, an example, which, if followed hereafter by their sons, must darken their lives and graves with shame. Probable even is it that men who that morning read their usual household lessons of Christian sobriety and piety in the Bible, marched on with the shouting multitude to vote this insult in the face of Christendom and of Heaven! The dishonored man, dishonored among all the rest of his race, is received at public assemblies, is publicly banqueted, is voted a cane, as another bludgeon for similar crimes; men from the highest functions of the state, and from the legislative halls of the nation, address him in orations on the occasion. But a mightier voice addresses him; he is suddenly called away to a higher account. And now when death appears amid the clamor, and bids the heedless passions of the hour give way to better reflections, is the stern lesson regarded? The newspapers tell us that

"On the arrival of the news at Columbia, the mayor ordered the town bell to be tolled, and the exercises at the South Carolina College were immediately suspended. At Charleston, a large Palmetto tree, standing on one of the streets, was draped in mourning, and the flags of the shipping in port, and on the public buildings, placed at half mast. Throughout the state the same extravagant homage was paid to his unhappy memory."

Christian men of the South, was there not once a day when the religion of the South would have shrunk from such a scene? *Gentlemen* of the South, was there not once a day in which the chivalry

of the South would have disdained this triumph of the bludgeon? Is there one yet among you as *Christians* or *gentlemen* who would not disdain us, were we to refer to the case in other language than that of indignation and disdain? Is there one among you that does not see that demagogical leaders and a reckless press have fermented local passions, till they have subverted the ties of our common citizenship, common honor, and common religion?

We have not referred to the provocations of either party in this wretched scene; that is not necessary. We have never approved the severities of Mr. Sumner's speech; we read them with sadness; they were not the legitimate language of Charles Sumner, the accomplished gentleman and scholar—the disciple and friend of Story, and Channing, and Alston; but they were mild, compared with the long-continued and studied provocations of his opponents—provocations from men in a majority that could have afforded to respect its own strength, at least, against a minority, which, with whatever imputed errors, could claim the self-respect of talents, dignity, and gallant steadfastness to its position. We condemn the provocations of both sides; but we assert, in the name of Christian morals and national honor, that *no provocations* can justify the deed we have condemned, or the public homage with which it has been crowned.

We have already alluded to a fifth fact in this latest phase of the question—the proposition to *re-open the African slave trade.* Here, at least, was a point, at which we might have hoped the audacity of the times would hesitate; but it has not. The civilized nations of the world (at the instance of our own) have banded together to sweep this enormity from the seas; its penalty is capital; its past horrors form the most revolting page in modern history; thoughtful men must see, that however tolerated and regulated by law the traffic might be, yet with the usual motives of gain set off against those of humanity, the horrors of the middle passage, the sacrifice of health, decency, and life, for the sake of the larger cargo or speedier voyage, must still prevail; the traffic on the coast must enlist the interior tribes, and ravage them with mutual wars for captives; the domestic trade, already a detestation among us, must, with unavoidable abuses, become a main business of half the Union; and yet this traffic in men, women, and children, spreading the sea with horrors, demoralizing one continent and devastating another, finds unblushing advocates throughout the South. The New-Orleans Delta says:

"We shall announce it, and here declare, that we not only desire to make territories now free, slave territories, and to acquire new territory into which to extend slavery, such as Cuba, Northeastern Mexico, etc., but we would re-

open the African slave trade, that every white man might have a chance to make himself owner of one or more negroes, and go with them and his household gods wherever opportunity beckoned to enterprise."

The Charleston (S. C.) Standard says:

"That instead of a flank, we must present a front; instead of fear, we must have hope; instead of endurance, action; and to the end of changing our attitude in the contest, and of planting our standard right in the very faces of our adversaries, we propose, as a leading principle of Southern policy, to re-open legitimate the slave trade. There were few at first to come to this position. The Southern journals were generally silent, and all those which spoke, except the Charleston Mercury and the Richmond Examiner, deprecated its temerity. Since that time, however, there have been many circumstances to affect opinion at the South; * * * the minds of men are further forced to vibrate between the alternatives of perpetual dependence or the slave trade."

Both these papers have exultingly approved Walker's attempt to restore slavery in Nicaragua, where the semi-barbarous natives had abolished it—the former with an elaborate editorial to prove that civilization cannot be maintained in the Spanish Republics without it; they recommend not only slavery, but as essential to this, the speedy re-opening of the African slave trade. The Carolina Times declares:

"For our own part, we were highly pleased with the decree, for we are decidedly in favor of re-opening the slave trade, in order that the price of negroes may be reduced to such figures as that every industrious poor man may purchase and become a slaveholder. We regard the course pursued by General Walker as not only correct, but challenges the approval of the entire mass of people inhabiting the Southern states, and we believe that they will sustain him in the position he has assumed."

Thus again, from Richmond to Charleston, and from Charleston to New-Orleans, have leading journals echoed the call for the revival of a traffic which Jefferson declared to be an "infamous practice," and which even Calhoun denounced, regretting that his own state had been instrumental in keeping it open longer than it would otherwise have continued.

Higher authority even has joined in the demand. Governor Adams, of South Carolina, has ventured to recommend the nefarious design to the Legislature of that state. In his message he said:

"To maintain our present position, we must have cheap labor also. This can be obtained in but one way, by re-opening the slave trade."

"Had the slave trade never been closed, the equilibrium between the North and the South never would have been destroyed."

"The Act of Congress declaring the slave trade piracy is a brand upon us which I think it important to remove."

But let us drop the vail over these mortifying facts, gladly acknowledging, as we do so, that the popular Christian sentiment of

the South has not encouraged the design, and that even the Legislature of South Carolina laid the proposition of its governor on the table.

Such, then, are some of the proofs of the "Great American Apostasy." While our pen has been tracing this sad argument, and at times quivering over the mortifying facts which make up its too conclusive logic, we have earnestly and not unprayerfully endeavored to present a practical lesson—to show the disastrous drift of the public mind in order that good men, of whatever party or locality, seeing it, might be stirred up to do what may yet be practicable to correct it. We said in the outset, that no partisan reader need look into these pages for endorsement. We write our own individual and religious convictions. We believe that if just opinions—the old opinions, we mean—on this subject, can yet be recovered, and a healthful moral temper be restored to the national mind, it must be mostly by other agencies than those which now prevail among our political parties and ecclesiastical factions. We have yet to discuss the questions, What has occasioned this degeneration? and What are its remedies? When, in a future number, we shall come to the examination of these questions, we shall have occasion to show the same frankness in respect to our Northern responsibilities for the evil, as we have shown in our proofs of its Southern and intense reality.

Art. VII.—INFLUENCE OF METHODISM UPON THE CIVILIZATION AND EDUCATION OF THE WEST.

It is hard to properly define the West. Ohio and Indiana are really too far east of the Western frontier, as now fixed, to be reputable "middle states." Still harder is it to locate definitely the Western boundary. It is a changing line, moving toward the setting sun with the march of Anglo-Saxon "manifest destiny." Yet there is a literary, political, and geographical West, and of that we speak in this paper.

Its history is a marvel; its facts wear the hue of romance. Many years have not elapsed since its primeval forests stood unbroken, save where the "breath of the Almighty" had passed through, and overthrown them. The footprints of the red men are still visible, and the ripple mark of the "birch canoe" has not yet disappeared.

In the oldest of its states, yet remain the relics of the wigwam. Within a few hours' ride of the capital of Indiana, lives the remnant of a once powerful band of Miamis. We have seen some scores of them assembling in their picturesque costume, in a neighboring town, to receive their government annuity. And yet it is a land of cities whose inhabitants are counted by scores of thousands, of printing presses, of broad farms, golden grain, wide rivers and lakes, covered with floating wealth; of free homes, free Bibles, free and fearless pulpits, free men, and free women. It already has some thousands of miles of railway, and their countless trains, together with the princely steamers floating upon its waters, are thronged with its ever-moving and ever-restless population.

The rapid growth of our Western cities is so astounding as almost to seem fabulous, yet being well proved, indicates the advance of Western population. In 1830, the present City of Chicago was laid out. Ten years later it numbered 4,470; the next decade (1850) found a population of 29,964. Three years later the enrollment gave 60,000 as its sum, and when this paper shall be read, 115,000 souls will throng its busy streets. This may be an extreme case, hence we give another. Many, whose locks have hardly begun to whiten, still live, who stood upon the Ohio River where Cincinnati now stands, and around them was an almost unbroken wilderness. A few years later, and they saw a small village; a few years later still, and there were seen the commerce, the temples, the wide streets, and hurrying thousands of a great city. In 1850, it numbered 115,435; in 1853, 160,186; now it is rapidly nearing 200,000. These changes, we repeat, have occurred within less than one lifetime.

This rapid growth of its cities has been equaled by its physical and educational changes. The shop, the factory, the seminary, the college, the university, the church, these are dotted thickly everywhere. This Minerva has sprung into the arena full armed, though not full grown. Rather, we will say, the vision of the prophet has been realized: "a nation has been born at once."

The wonder excited by this rapid development, and the vigorous and manly type of Western civilization, is heightened by a brief reflection upon the character of its early population.

The West was not settled by religious colonies, coming intact, with all their appliances of Church and school; with the same teacher and ferule; the same chorister and tuning fork; the same deacon and the same dominie they had in staid New-England. The early settlers were often desperate adventurers, lured from home by the wild romance of border life, with its antlered deer, its foray, desperate charge, fierce shout, and the sharp crack of the death-

dealing rifle. They may not have been readers of romance, (the men who have *acted* it have seldom *read* it,) but they were its busy actors. After these came another class; men who coupled with this same reckless daring, a desire for cheap homes and large farms. The boys were becoming men, and the old homestead was begirt with other men's deadenings and clearings; but "out West" they could enlarge their borders, and secure a broad habitation. As peace succeeded war, as the pale face drove out the aborigines, came a motley throng. The wagon of the Connecticut deacon was followed by the team of the Carolinian, who was hard pressed by the Pennsylvania Dutchman. They swarmed from Maine, from Maryland, from "York State." "Old Virginia," with its poetical abnegation of weariness, sent a few of its *first*, and a great many of its *second!* and *third!!* families. England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Russia, Poland, Switzerland, all aided to swell the heterogeneous mass, which was drifting into the Mississippi Valley. It need scarcely be told that many of these elements were inharmonious, some essentially antagonistic, and could not readily fuse.

It will also be granted, that such a mingled, antagonistic population was not best adapted to the speedy development of a high form of civilization. There were also other adverse circumstances. Remote from presses, seldom did a newspaper find its way into the "new settlement." Schools were few and far between, and when found, the "course of study" was far from complex or elaborate. It was a real advance when a "winter school" became a settled fact, and the *master* (truly so called, as we well remember,) was bound by "the article," to teach spelling, reading, penmanship, ("a good copy-hand,") and arithmetic, as far as the Single Rule of Three. English grammar had a long and severe struggle, ere admitted to the rank of the useful sciences. Geography and natural philosophy came much later. Let no solemn sophomore shake the head, into which an idea has recently entered, and exclaim, "Barbarous, barbarous!" Not so. These men were educated for their sphere. To them, a stalwart arm was more valuable than polished scholarship; and the keen eye and steady hand were necessary accomplishments, superior to Latin and Greek. They could bring down the flying pigeon, trace the bear to his hiding-place, and circumvent the wily Indian. Who shall say they were not educated? They surely were in the utilitarian sense of that abused word. They learned in a rugged school, but they *learned well.*

The primitive Western dwelling was made of round logs, laid up in a "hollow square," the ends crossing and resting upon each other

at right angles, and were secured in their position by being "notched in." The door and floor were made of "puncheons," i. e., slabs split from large logs, and "dressed down" with an ax until of proper thinness. The roof was of clap-boards, secured in their place by long "weight-poles," laid along the roof so as to bind each course of boards. Not a nail was driven into the roof, and for that matter, sometimes, not one in the entire building. The spacious chimney received at once a half cord of wood. Cheerily crackled and roared the fire in the one room which served in all the relations of parlor, dressing-room, dining-room, sleeping-room, and kitchen; and around the hearth gathered father, mother, children, and the coy suitors who, habited in "new rig," had "come over to see the girls."

Their "gatherings" were the raising, the rolling, the husking, the quilting, the shooting-match, the election, and the wedding. For years an abundant supply of whisky was furnished at all of these, and produced its usual results. Various sports succeeded, which, to say the least, were as refined as the polka, the waltz, or german.

Of course, in such a society there would be no settled ministry. Even lately, it is said, a bishop resigned a Western see because the social and moral condition of the people were so uncongenial to his own. What would this self-denying "successor of the apostles" have done, had he been elected a quarter of a century sooner, and had suddenly found himself in an uproarious frontier shooting-match? Houses of worship were necessarily few and remote from each other. There were no provisions for the support or accommodation of ministers, and though they might safely reckon upon a share of the generous backwoodsman's cheer, and the hospitality of his cabin, they could expect but little more.

And now here is this composite population, with these conflicting elements, under circumstances adverse to mental and moral culture, and which apparently tend to develop the physical instead of the spiritual—in short, under conditions indicating a return to savage life, or at least to semi-barbarism. Yet such has not been the result. In its stead is a compact and massive civilization, full of *push*, and instinct with vitalized energy; building cities, tunneling mountains, spanning rivers, holding politically in its mighty grasp the angry North and the inflammatory South, and bidding them be still! And this West, so recently a wilderness, is preparing to assume its position as the law-maker of this great nation.

What has worked such results? Who can answer, and by answering give us the *rationale* of the swiftest progress the world has

ever seen, and write a most instructive chapter in the volume of historical philosophy?

A full answer to this question is beyond the scope and purpose of this paper. It only designs to notice the influence of *one power*. A distinguished jurist, Judge of Supreme Court in one of the Western states, used to say, "But for the Methodist Church and the Methodist ministry, this country would have sunk into barbarism." We will not argue the truth of this sweeping declaration, but simply give it as the deliberate and repeatedly expressed opinion of an intelligent deist, familiar with the progress of the West, himself no mean part of its history. Yet how widely different from the spirit of the most who have professed to write Western history! They have usually ignored the existence of Methodism; the work of its ministry and their noble spirit of sacrifice, have found no record in their volumes. Though our denominational history has all the sparkle of poetry, all the noble earnestness of chivalry, these historiographers have made a circuit of unalleviated dullness to avoid it, preferring much stupidity to a little justice.

What we do claim is, that Methodism was second to no other visible agency in advancing the civilization and education of the West. And take, first, the peculiar type of its pioneer ministry; *it was a missionary ministry, without the aid of missionary societies or missionary appropriations.* Of the latter they had small *experience.* Their ecclesiastical organization allowed them to join a circle or chain of appointments, each in a different neighborhood, blending the whole in one pastoral charge. These different societies, though spreading over an area of many miles, they regularly visited, remaining with each long enough to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom, to administer the ordinances, and exercise proper pastoral discipline. We think we are safe in saying that no other system could have given the teachings and sacraments of the New Covenant regularly to these frontier settlements. At least no other did. Most of the men denying the validity of Methodist orders, quietly waited until the "social and moral condition of the people became congenial," ere they pressed their way to the Western frontier lines.

Those early itinerants were a peculiar race of men. It is sometimes said, with a sort of faint-praise manner, "They were the men for *their* times." Well, so in truth they were. They were the heroes such times demanded; nobly did they perform the mission of their day. But they were men for *any* times! Then they spent day after day in the saddle. Did one of them reach an unbridged stream, swollen until overflowing its banks, he delayed not, but directly might have been seen in the midst of the turbid waters,

heading for the landing of the opposite shore. They could sleep in the rude cabin, or lodge in the Indian wigwam; or if these were not at hand, could bivouac beneath the branches of the beech or the maple. As one specimen, we mention, that while Bishop Ames was corresponding missionary secretary for the West and South, he passed over the whole frontier line from Lake Superior to St. Anthony's Falls, spending sixteen nights without the shelter of a roof, and during forty-eight hours partaking of no nourishment, save a little maple sugar. This pioneer band, this *legio tonans*, as it has been called, had no reserved funds upon which to lean in case of failure. Their "support" (how much irony in the term!) was often but a few dollars in the year. At this point could be arrayed an astounding chapter of facts and figures; but we are not writing a history of Western Methodism; that has never been written—when shall it be, and by whom?

Thus they reached the emigrant, and told him and his household, and the few neighbors, of the Cross of Christ, ere the roof was on the cabin, or the cat and clay chimney "was up." Remember, that society was then in its shaping state—that those men were measurably alone, and we ask, could such a band of earnest, practical men, fail to write visible lines upon that forming society? Must they not have largely aided to make it what it has become?

We are aware the answer to these questions may depend, in part at least, upon the distinctive character of their teachings, to those primitive assemblies, and the doctrines with which they built up "the Church in the wilderness." We accept the condition, and assume that their teachings were calculated to produce a noble style of manhood, and healthy organic development. Those they held in common with all Christians, need not be stated in this hasty sketch. Joined to these were some others made prominent in their prayers, sermons, and hymnology. They taught that all men were conceived and born in sin, and very far gone from original righteousness. As clearly did they teach that "Jesus Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man;" that the Son of God "died for all;" for those who sing among the six-winged cherubim, and those who "in hell lift up their eyes, being in torment." Here they taught man the dignity of manhood. Then followed the doctrine of the personal responsibility of this redeemed manhood. The will was free; choice was the heritage of every man. Those reckless men began to think, as they were told so earnestly, that they were individually responsible for their conduct; that they were the makers of changeless destiny. This doctrine became a living reality, and gave a fearful emphasis to the declaration, "So then every one of us

must give an account of himself to God." Then came the grand doctrine of spiritual regeneration; the soul was to be newly created and reëndowed. The doctrine was set forth clearly; the heart must come by faith to the Saviour, and be transformed; not have a change of purpose merely, but of character: a "new birth;" a "new creation." This was essential to eternal life; without this conversion, they insisted that the Great Master had explicitly taught, that "none can enter into the kingdom of God." And pushing still further, they insisted that this change must be a manifested fact. To him who received it, it should be a matter of personal consciousness; for God had promised the direct witness of his Spirit to its genuineness, and that the soul was insecure until this divine witness was obtained. Here, however, they guarded against enthusiasm by stating the apostolic doctrine of the "fruit of the Spirit" attesting the work of the Spirit. The reality of the change must appear, not only to its glad subject, but also to the *enemies* and the *friends* of religion. The former were incompetent to decide as to spiritual gifts, but they could decide whether "the works of the flesh" were left off. And these unbending theologians taught that as one form of sickness showed the presence of disease, so one unchecked, ungoverned "work of the flesh" revealed the control of the "carnal mind," which "is enmity against God." On the other hand, the *friends* of religion were to be convinced of the genuineness of this work by the living "fruits of the Spirit;" that the presence of all these was necessary to the demonstration and to symmetry of character.

This state of renewed character, they taught, could only be retained by ceaseless watchfulness; that "eternal vigilance" was necessary to completed salvation. That while there was but the one condition of simple faith required of the penitent seeking justification, yet another rule, another test would be applied to those seeking justification in the day of final decision; "by their works should they be justified, or by their works condemned." This point in theology was vital. The new convert was warned and urged to develop all the softening and refining graces of "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance." He was told that "being faithful," had reference to his whole internal and external life; to his social and political, as well as private duties. No wonder that the converted backwoodsman often sang as he toiled in his half-cleared field:

> "How careful then ought I to live,
> Who such a strict account must give
> Of my behavior here."

Yet was his a cheerful religion. In flying for refuge and in laying "hold upon the hope set before him," he had been taught to expect "strong consolation." Nor had he been disappointed. His piety poured sunshine over his soul, and in his own language, "religion made him happy." His minister warned him against "sour godliness,"* and urged him to obey the exhortation, "rejoice evermore."

Here are the doctrines which they preached with fervor; not coldly read. We submit to the mental philosopher the question whether their influence was not to soften, elevate, and refine those who heard them? Could they do otherwise than inspire a love for the good, the beautiful, and the true? By their fruits let them be judged. Had they been banished, nay, had not the Methodist ministry proclaimed them, we are not sure that the declaration of the Indiana judge would not have been realized. We claim that these teachings did arrest a retrograde movement; did rouse frontier humanity to essay an *upward* movement, a progressive movement!

Let us next turn our attention to the ethical teachings of this pioneer ministry. They proclaimed a stern, unbending morality. They "waged war with vice of every sort." Not content with denouncing sin as an abstraction, they came to particulars. More than once did they cry in the hearing of some obdurate offender, "Thou art the man." When any sought admission into their societies they were plainly told, that it mattered not what were the usages of their neighborhood, they were "expected to abstain from evil of every sort, more especially that most ordinarily practiced." The sanctity of the Sabbath, reverence for the sacred name of Deity, strict justice in dealing, obedience to lawful authority, and fraternal conduct, were insisted upon as terms of membership.

One point may demand special notice. Upon what has come to be known as "*the* temperance question," Western Methodism early assumed a bold and outspoken position. Drunkenness and even the drinking of drams were forbidden; the latter only tolerated in cases of "extreme necessity." This "prohibitory law" was no dead letter, but was enforced rigorously. The making and sale of alcoholic drinks were also denounced as murderous, as in conflict with every precept of the second, and most, if not all, of the first, table of the decalogue. In this they met violent opposition, of course, from all whose craft was in danger; but not from them alone. A virulent Antinomianism had early been planted in the West, and had been fostered by Church organization, and defended by pulpit argument. It opposed "means" as derogatory to the Divine glory,

* *Query.* Does *real* godliness ever turn "*sour?*"

and all moral reform effort as a presumptuous intermeddling with the Divine plans.* The pulpit announced alcohol as a "good creature of God, to be received with thanksgiving!" The same Church meeting is said to have laid aside one brother for habitual drunkenness, and another for being a member of a temperance society, causing thereby a curious member to propound the question, "How much liquor he must drink to retain his standing in ——— Church, since drinking *too much* and drinking *none at all* were both capital crimes?" Methodism grappled with this deadly heresy. Shall it be said that ethics so pure and exalted, enforced with the authority of Divine revelation, announced as God's will, had no influence in determining Western morals? To say so is simply absurd. By so much, then, as the Methodist clergy infused a sound morality into the chaotic elements of the new society, did they by their teachings promote a healthy civilization, and a sound progression.

Let us next glance at the *social* influences of Western Methodism and their work in determining the character of the masses. We have alluded to the opposing elements in our early population, and the difficulty of fusing them into one. We think that the social nature of Methodism did much in promoting this work. Its Church organization is eminently social. Once a week it brought together in the class-meeting the descendants of Cavalier and Roundhead, the New-Englander and the Southerner, the "Yorker" and "Eastern shore" man, the Teuton and the Celt. The leader was one of their own number, a neighbor and friend. They met on the floor of equality, and without constraint. Freely and frankly they conversed upon the subject of religion; told of outward fightings and inward fears; of spirit conflicts severe, gloomy, terrible; of spirit-triumphs bright, glorious, transporting. They sang the same songs, bowed meekly at the same mercy-seat, called each other brother and sister, and as they did so, they felt the fraternal emotion in the very depths of the heart. With that feeling passed away national and sectional prejudices, and thus they became "many in one." Again, they were called together by the prayer-meeting and circuit preaching. As the parents became acquainted, the children passed further, intermarriages succeeded, the neighborhood was harmonized, and the organism of society completed. This, however, was the merely local society, the quarterly meeting came on. To it went, from many miles, representatives from each society.

* A prominent anti-means proclaimer, not long since, destroyed the confidence of his flock in his sincerity, by erecting some half dozen lightening rods on his premises. He saw no need of means to save the soul, but did to save his oats and buckwheat!

Two days were spent in attending upon the ministry of the word and the sacraments, the business of the charge, and mingling Christian sympathy in the love-feast. Here was a blending of different societies and an extension of social influence.

Still more extensive was the mingling when, in the golden autumnal season, families from different classes, different circuits, and different districts, came, like Israel, from afar, and dwelt in booths and tents, worshiping, after this manner, the God of their fathers. Thus did Methodism prove itself a wonderful social chemistry. It reconciled opposites and harmonized impossibles. In this crucible perished former estrangements. What were now sectional prejudices? What the accidents of birth and education? Nothing, for all were one in Christ Jesus!

There is one other aspect of this social influence. In our early history the preacher usually passed the night where he preached, or in the immediate neighborhood. Leave out the religious influences of such visits; his example as a studious man and a gentleman was before them. His intelligent conversation frequently first excited in some stalwart boy, the eager wish *to know*, which subsequently ripened into refined scholarship and polished manhood.

But there are patent facts illustrating all we have here said. It is simply stating what is well known to every intelligent Western man, that villages and neighborhoods not a few, which were in a state of almost semi-barbarism, under the Divine blessing, Methodism has elevated, refined, and placed on the upward grade. It has planted the Church, the Sabbath school, the academy. These instances are neither few nor far between. The history, therefore, which ignores its workings is simply false to the fact, and consequently unworthy of credit.

As we now come to the second topic indicated in our title, and discuss the influence of Methodism upon the education of the West, we meet this same historic injustice. What it has done, has been denied or concealed. It has been studiously represented as the enemy, or at least the neglecter of education. Its friends knew they could "bide their time." They knew that it was true of Churches as of men, "we live in *deeds*, not words." Now their works, their facts, and figures testify of them.

Taking the term education in the sense of mental *development*, Methodism did an invaluable work in creating an early love of reading, by a timely and general circulation of its books. Its ministers were colporteurs before that word was domiciled in our language. In the old-fashioned saddle-bags they carried an assortment of books, which, at the conclusion of week-day services, they ex-

hibited and sold. They also distributed them in pastoral visitations. Thus were placed in Western cabins the works of Wesley, Fletcher, Benson, Clarke, Watson, Bangs, Lee, etc.; also books of biography, of history, travel, philosophy, and ethics. Let it be borne in mind, that a taste for reading was to be *created*, or, what was scarcely less difficult, excavated from the piles of rubbish beneath which the cares of pioneer life and the lack of opportunity had buried it. The demand for books had not called out the efforts of "the trade." Books must be carried to the people and resolutely crowded upon them. And for many years, the books thus sold constituted the sole library. Even now, you may go into hundreds of houses, and in them take at random a book from the shelf, and on the fly-leaf you will read, "Bought of Rev. J. B. on the —— of ——, 18—. Price $—." Another and another, still the same, only the name, date, and price varying. There is the same imprint on all. You may gather the history of the Church in part from these inscriptions. Each man sold some, and the date is scrupulously given; thus you trace the "footprints" of successive "itinerants." The price is given with the date, and thus we have the progress of our publishing department.

These books were read by the household, and then (for the Western man lends everything) loaned to the neighbors until they made the circuit of the "settlement." They went not forth in vain. In implanting a taste for reading, and giving to that taste a vigorous and manly tone, as well as in the conversion of souls, they "accomplished that whereto they were sent."

Early and successful efforts were also made for the circulation of periodical literature, which combined the æsthetical and the practical. Long before there was a single press under our control on this side of the Alleghanies, the Herald and Journal, Christian Advocate and Journal, and Methodist Magazine were among the people. But these were too remote, not sufficiently Western in news, communications, or discussions. "Home supply" became the demand, and has been followed by the establishment of the Western Christian Advocate, which was reported to the last General Conference (May, 1856) as having a subscription list of 28,718; the Northwestern Christian Advocate, 10,033; the Ladies' Repository, 29,589; Der Christeliche Apologete, 6,967. Since the date of these reports, there has been an advance in the circulation of all the above periodicals; but for convenience these numbers, then officially given, are presented. To these add the California, Central, and Pacific Christian Advocates, published at San Francisco, St. Louis, and Salem, (Oregon,) the circulation of which is not known to us. Nor

is this all. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, publish in the same field their Quarterly Review, two Advocates, a Ladies' Magazine, and Sunday-school paper. Our magazines and papers published East are widely circulated among us; among them, and in power second to none, is the beautiful Sunday School Advocate, the paper of the little folks, who are a numerous people out West. Now let the reader calculate the effect of this early and widely extended Methodist literature upon the public taste, the public mind, and the public conscience. Nay, let him suppose that all the volumes sold by Methodist itinerants, sent out in Methodist Sunday-school libraries, all the Advocates and Magazines which the denomination has scattered over the plains of the Ohio, the Missouri, the Wabash, the Platte, the Gila, the Feather River, had been withheld, then let him say what would now be the state of Western progress, Western civilization, Western education? Have those myriad pages made no impress upon the myriad minds of Western youth? Nay, verily! the influence of that literature is incalculable, and is extending. Its Briarian arms are reaching further; its Argus eyes are searching new avenues; it is *going*, GOING.

Whatever may be said of its fiscal management, of the principles which have controlled it, whether it is or is not (as is alleged) sufficiently *en rapport* with the moving energy of the times, there is history and startling significance in the inscription which meets the eye of the passer at 200 Mulberry-street, New-York, and the corner of Main and Eighth streets, Cincinnati, "The Methodist Book Concern." If it *be true*, that it has not yet been *nearly* worked up to its *maximum* power, of how much is it capable? The whole Church should reverently implore the Divine guidance upon those who direct its fiscal and editorial affairs; who control its great interests.

The erection of Methodist institutions of learning under the immediate government of the Church, early became a realized necessity, especially in what may be denominated the East Western States. Take Ohio and Indiana as illustrations. In these states, early legislation made generous provision for founding and endowing State Universities. These were to be in no sense sectarian; all should have equal rights. Into this arrangement the Methodist preachers and membership entered heartily. But the beautiful theory was found to be *only theory*. By some strange management, best known to the performers, these institutions passed into the hands of Calvinian presidents and professors. Mental and moral philosophy were so taught as to bring out the Necessitarian conclusions of Edwards and the Westminster Confession. Edwards on the Will could be found in the libraries; but neither Watson's

Institutes nor Fletcher's Checks could obtain a place; *that* would be in violation of the charter! In one of those State Universities, the president taught in the recitation room the doctrine "that the total apostasy of believers is impossible, not in the nature of things, but by the Divine constitution, and, consequently, that no man, who has been once received into the Divine favor, can be ultimately deprived of salvation." In vain did students modestly protest; there was a literary autocracy which was absolute. Nor did this end the chapter. In some of these state colleges, Methodist students were under bonds; scarcely allowed the rights of conscience. We here speak plainly, because we believe these facts should, in some manner, go upon the record. The true position of Methodism toward Western State institutions should be known.

Added to this injustice, was denominational indignity. The impression was studiously made, and, in more than one instance, openly avowed, that none but Calvinistic gentlemen were competent to fill professorial chairs; that Methodists were an inferior caste, and incompetent for university positions. The ignorance of its ministry formed a standing theme of animadversion and ridicule. "They were, *perhaps*, good men, but then they did not understand Greek; honest, but they had never digged among Hebrew roots; hence, they were surely incompetent as teachers. They might possibly do some good as frontier rangers; but when the refined era of towns, cities, and colleges came in, they should at once retire before an 'efficient ministry.'"

Let it be remembered that in these states Methodism was no feeble minority, pleading for an existence; but was numerically the first, and in point of wealth and refinement, was second to no denomination in the Mississippi Valley. Hence in being taxed to sustain these *de facto* denominational colleges, where tenets were taught which it considered as subversive of truth, there was the spectacle of the majority controlled by the minority, and a virtual adoption of compulsory tithes for the support of obnoxious errors.

Yet this did not at once drive us into denominational colleges, etc. Our people were loyal, and desired to aid in developing the prosperity and influence of the state. The spirit prompting them will be seen in the following extracts from a memorial addressed by the Indiana Annual Conference, in A. D. 1834, to the General Assembly of the State. After the usual caption they say:

"Your memorialists represent to your honorable body, that they, in common with their fellow-citizens, recognize in the munificent grant of lands by the General Government to our State, to endow a state institution of learning, a corresponding obligation so to manage it, as not to defeat the charitable bequests of our common country. We feel that cause of complaint exists in re-

gard to this matter, yet we do not approach your honorable body, as irritated and injured individuals, asking the redress of private wrongs; but as the patrons and advocates of general science, pleading her cause, and imploring you in your paternal character to open her prison doors. We would impress it upon your honorable body, that literature belongs to no one religious denomination, and no one, exclusively, should be allowed to possess the keys that unlock her treasures. * * * * * *

"We feel a deep and abiding interest in the success of the institution. We recognize in the provisions of its Constitution, and particularly the tenth section, the generous and confiding spirit in which its functions and powers were bestowed, as it were, in the absence of every uncharitable suspicion, that the hydra of sectarianism might erect its standard there. Yet we, in common with our fellow-citizens of the State, have to regret that our hopes in it have been disappointed. We look into the charter, and read that the places of presidents, professors, and teachers are open, soliciting capacity to occupy them, without regard to religious profession or doctrines. We then turn our eye to the faculty, from the organization of the institution until this hour, and we see that one common hue, one common religious creed characterizes every member, as if capacity and fitness were confined to one Church, and one set of religious opinions. We have heretofore borne this without complaint, and would now be silent, had we no higher object than to contend for the places and honors of the institution. But when we see the youth of our own, and other Churches, voluntarily renouncing and abandoning the institution because the religion of their fathers is but *tolerated*, not domiciled there, we feel impelled by every consideration that looks to the future, to speak out, and reclaim to *the State*, the power bestowed on the trustees of filling their own vacancies, and give to them a fixed and definite term of service in the future. This wholesome restraint would, it is believed, bring to the service of the institution a due proportion from other religious denominations, and breathe into it a new spirit, full of life and vigor. Your memorialists, therefore, earnestly solicit your interference in this matter," etc.

We have quoted this memorial because it is at hand, and because it shows the evil for which the remedy was sought. It is the old story. State munificence falls into the hands of a self-perpetuating oligarchy, titled trustees, sometimes regents, sometimes curators, no difference as to name. They hold the power, and are not responsible to the people. They administer the funds so as to advance, not the designs of the donors, but the interests of those who "frame to pronounce aright" some ecclesiastical *Shibboleth*. The Indiana Conference had previously adopted a strong report, contemplating the building and endowment of a denominational university; but had suspended final action until one more effort should be made to secure a fair representation in the State University of Bloomington, of the largest membership in the commonwealth. To effect this, all they asked was that the managers of that institution should be elected as were other state officers, for a limited period, and should be chosen by the Legislature. This granted, the Conference was content. But all in vain. This and similar memorials were decently "referred" and smothered in committee. This was far easier than to assign a respectable pretext for refusing so manly and just a request.

Methodism must be kept from halls of learning, or, if admitted *at all*, it must come in, not as a teacher, but as a snubbed and inferior learner. The next Conference applied to the General Assembly for a charter for the "Indiana Asbury University," which, after some ill-natured flings by the friends of the Genevan *regime*, was granted.

Such, in the main outlines, would be the history of Ohio and some other Western states; there would be seen the same monopoly of state colleges, the same struggle for equal rights and privileges, followed by the withdrawal of Methodist patronage and the opening of Methodist schools. We are reminded of the words of Joseph to his brethren: "Ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass this day, to save much people alive." As driving Wesley from Churches brought in field preaching, so driving us from state halls, hastened, if it did not cause, our denominational literary enterprises. We have no desire to indulge in unseemly exultations, yet we cannot refrain from saying that in what has followed, there is an apparent retribution. Some of those very same state institutions from which Methodism was driven out to be a fugitive, have, in their extremity, come bending unto us, saying "*We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us be called by thy name to take away our reproach.*" The men who sneered at our scholarship have come before our conferences in person, or by representatives, and said: "See the vacant halls, the unread libraries, the deserted dormitories of the State University. It has ample endowment, we ask not a dollar of your means, only give us men from your body to fill our chairs, or the university must be closed."

That the union of Methodism with state institutions will really benefit the Church is very doubtful. But it shows the "Influence of Methodism upon the Education of the West;" shows how strong its hold, *as an educating Church*, must be upon the public mind, when *its name* alone can exert greater power than the patronage of the state. If this dalliance with state colleges shall not cause us to neglect our own, to which our faith is plighted, then no evil need follow. But if such results shall follow, as some of our wisest men anticipate, then will we regret that, having once been deemed unworthy of a place in state institutions, we have not turned solely to our own.

Before closing this paper we wish to glance at what Methodism has done, and is doing, through our own institutions in the broad valley of the Mississippi. First as to Universities. There are the following in successful operation at this time, in any of which the student may complete the college curriculum: Ohio Wesleyan University, at Delaware, Ohio; Indiana Asbury University, Greencastle, Indiana; M'Kendree College, Lebanon, Illinois; the North-

Western University, at Evanston, Illinois; Iowa Wesleyan University, at Mount Pleasant, Iowa; Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisconsin; Hamline University, Redwing, Minnesota. Most, if not all, of these have living endowments, either of lands or vested funds. Away, away upon the Pacific, we hear of a University at Santa Clara. Some may prove to have been unwisely located; but evidently a bright future is before the most of them. Already, also, are steps being taken to establish and endow first class institutions in Oregon, in Kansas, in Nebraska, and soon will be in Washington Territory and New-Mexico. They will keep pace with advancing population.

We have, secondly, the Garrett Biblical Institute, located at Evanston, near Chicago, Illinois. This young institution, with its learned and accomplished faculty, has a good endowment, given by the liberal "elect lady" whose name it bears. Thus she "being dead, yet speaketh."

Thirdly, Methodism has planted more than thirty seminaries in the West. The number in attendance upon these varies from forty to two hundred, and upward. Their course of study is varied; being in some but little short of the university standard, while in others only designed to fit young men to enter as sophomores or juniors.

There has also been much attention given to female education in the West by our Church. We believe the first chartered female college in America or Europe, was the Wesleyan Female College in Cincinnati, Ohio; and right queenly does it yet wear its diadem. Most of our seminaries have the power of conferring degrees upon females; hence so many of them stand in the catalogue as colleges. Simple justice here demands that we state the above is exclusive of the efforts of the Church, South, in the great valley. We have not a list of its institutions at hand, nor would the limits of this article allow a sketch of their progress; but that branch of Methodism has not been idle. She is doing much in the Southwest, and with a vigorous liberality, is planning to do a little more.

Can the reader now estimate the power these institutions have exerted upon society? their influence upon Western education? To aid his efforts, let him take an additional fact: Most Western institutions have been endowed by the sale of cheap scholarships. These have opened their doors for the sons of *poor* men, for those of limited means. Such know the value of time and money; they will not waste the one nor squander the other. They come from the country with sound minds and sound bodies, not vitiated and spoiled by "softness and needless self-indulgence." Such will be manly men, and such are many of the alumni of Western colleges.

But their influence must not be measured by alumni alone. Many necessarily enter as irregulars. They have in view some special vocation; all their energies are devoted to a preparation for that, and for that *alone*.

Such are the youth who have come forth from Western halls, and are now at the bar, in the pulpit, in the medical profession, and in legislative assemblies. These, in their spheres, are *all* popular educators. We also see this "influence upon education" by looking steadily to the number who have gone out as teachers of all grades, from college presidents and professors, down (or shall we say *up?*) to the teacher in the common school. They are educating the million!

At this point we see the telling importance of our female colleges. Woman is the natural educator of childhood. And from these colleges has come forth a race of experienced teachers. They are spreading everywhere; in city, village, hamlet, and country. Their hand is upon the heart of childhood, and that hand, Methodism has trained. Nor can we forget that the "hands which rock the cradle, rock the world." The teachings of Methodism are giving the world a race of educated mothers. And thus is it setting its impress upon the babe in the cradle, the child in the common school, and the young man and woman of the college and university.

With this aggregation of power, shall we wonder that Western Methodism is represented in every department; on 'change, at the forum, on the tripod, in the senate, in the house, and upon the seat of judicial and executive power?

It is time that men who profess to write history should begin to realize that we are alive, that Methodism *has done* something in this new world, and while it has been all too little, yet it need not altogether be ashamed. In this field have we been the advance guard; so must historic justice pronounce.

Art. VIII.—SCHAFF ON AMERICA.

LETTER FROM B. H. NADAL.

Mr. Editor:—Dr. M'Clintock's letter in the last number of the Quarterly, on my Review of Dr. Schaff's Book, seems to me to require a brief reply. My deference for Dr. M'Clintock has grown into a habit, a habit so strong as to make it painful for me to express, much more to print, an opinion in opposition to anything he has written. But in this case I dare not remain silent,

believing, as I do, that the letter of my honored friend is likely to produce an erroneous impression, and to place Dr. Schaff, in the opinion of some, among the friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a position, I am sure, he would never select for himself.

Dr. M'Clintock understands me to impute to Dr. Schaff an "evil animus." If by this phrase, *intentional wrong* be meant, my friend misunderstands me, nor will the article in question bear him out. But if by "*evil animus*" it is only intended to express a *design to injure Methodism*, we at once plead guilty. For though Dr. Schaff's *animus* may not have been evil *per se*, both his book and his former course prove *it* to have been so toward Methodism. He is our enemy, though his hostility may be honest. A strong, conscientious foe, full of zeal against us, a *pelagianizing, proselytizing, fanatical, egotistical sect*, is more to be dreaded than a dozen rogues. From what we have now said it follows also that we have not charged the author reviewed (Dr. Schaff) with an *intentional* caricature of Methodism, but simply with a *caricature*, whatever may have been his intention.

As to my intimation that Dr. Schaff "intended by his lectures to hedge up the way of our missionaries in Germany, and secure their return without fruit," it appears to me impossible to gainsay it without attributing to the learned writer a recklessness even less defensible, than the honest design to put down the missionaries as interlopers and sectaries, meddlesome and dangerous to the state. Will a lecturer, discoursing before the dignitaries of the greatest of the German States, on the American Churches, tell his audience, perhaps already prejudiced against the Methodists, that "the zeal of the Methodist ministers is very much clouded by impure motives of proselytism, and indulges itself in the most shameless inroads upon the material of other Churches;" that "they formerly condemned learning and theology from principle and as dangerous to practical piety;" that "it is characteristic of them, that as soon as they get a little learning they are more puffed up than others, and even in the pulpit make a vain display of it;" that "they often in a shocking manner neglect the entire religious training of their children, in the vain, God-tempting expectation that the nervous agitation of an awakening sermon at a camp-meeting, or a few hours at the mourner's bench, will supply the place of the toilsome process of parental discipline," etc., etc., and that "therefore it is no wonder that the young generation, under such influences, grows up so destitute of good manners and good morals;" that the German Methodists, connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church, together with other German sects, "are a reproach and humiliation to the Lutheran, Reformed, and United Churches;" will he tell his audience all this? will he tell the King of Prussia,* who, as well as his ministers, and the élite of Berlin generally, perhaps heard the lecture, that the Methodists, the people who have been made to minister at once to the amusement and disgust of the evening, have shown their "overestimate of their mission in recently sending several missionaries to Germany, in order to draw it out of the slough of real or supposed heathenism, and to Christianize it after the Methodist fashion;" "that these

* The author tells us that the king and other members of the royal family sometimes honored these lectures with their presence.

missionaries have come as if to a heathen land?" Will he say all this, and more of the same sort? will he conclude with an application so direct, so suggestive of opposition and even persecution, and yet wish the missionaries success, wish them fruit? I cannot believe it. My respect for Dr. Schaff's intellect forbids. We are far from saying he was not honest; he perhaps thought he was doing God service, but certainly he was trying to put himself in the way—his whole spirit and temper put him directly in the way—of the missionaries, whose sect he considers "a reproach and humiliation" to the German Churches. Dr. Schaff's "animus," whatever it may be in itself, is clearly evil toward Methodism.

Dr. Schaff, in his address to the American reader, prefixed to the English Translation of the book in question, speaks of the volume as a "faithful translation." Let the reader determine how this statement accords with such facts as the following: In the original, speaking of the Romish Church, he declares he entertains for it "a powerful, historical, theological, artistic, and practically religious respect." In the translation this does not appear. In the German we have the passage quoted above, about Methodist ministers being puffed up when they get a little learning, etc. In the translation this is omitted.

Did the author permit or direct these and other passages to be left out, because, although they correctly represented his opinions, he knew they would give offense? then why did he call the translation faithful?

INDIANA ASBURY UNIVERSITY, Feb. 19, 1857. B. H. NADAL.

ART. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. THE NEW-ENGLANDER, February, 1857.—1. The President's Message: 2. India, Ancient and Modern: 3. The Kantian Philosophy: 4. Slavery and the Bible; Slavery and the Church; Slavery and Infidelity; Thompson; Barnes; Patton: 5. The Sphere of the Pulpit: 6. Notices of Books.

THE third article aims to give a view of Kant's Philosophy, (of which it considers Professor Hickok's work a reproduction, with some intended improvements,) in the dress of our ordinary English metaphysical language.

The fourth article argues, first, that American slavery has no support from Scripture, and, second, that the argument for slavery founded on Scripture does more for infidelity than it does for the peculiar institution. Its effect is to sink the Bible more than it can prop up slavery. The politic slaveholder accepts the argument as an expedient, but seldom is he deeply convinced that the book that sanctifies what the fundamental dictates of his own nature pronounces a crime, is a sacred authority; while he despises the suppleness of the clerical conscience-keeper, who twists his limber divinity to the purpose of suiting the demand of his lordly customer.

II. The Mercersburg Quarterly Review, January, 1857.—1. The Evangelical Church Diet of Germany: 2. The Anatomy of Sentimentalism: 3. Hodge on the Ephesians: 4. The Church System and the Heidelberg Catechism: 5. Sketches of a Traveler from Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine: 6. The State Church System in Europe: 7. Short Notices.

This Quarterly is edited by Rev. Mr. Gerhart and Dr. Schaff, for the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College. It has arrived at its ninth volume. It is published at Chambersburgh and Philadelphia. Its position is thus defined by its editors:

"In opposition to every species of Rationalism and Infidelity, it is *Christian;* in holding the sublime fundamental truths which are common to the Church under all its forms, it is *Catholic;* in opposition to all the corruptions of Rome, it is *Evangelical* and *Protestant;* and as an exponent of Anglo-German Theology, and embodying the genius and spirit of the Heidelberg Catechism, it is *Reformed.*"

III. The Free-will Baptist, January.—1. The late Political Contest and its Lessons: 2. Progress in Doctrinal Theology and Biblical Interpretation: 3. Idea or Doctrine of Atonement: 4. The late General Conference: 5. Kane's Arctic Explorations: 6. The Law of Retribution: 7. Biographical Sketch of Rev. John Frederic Farrens: 8. The Relation of Business to Christian Character and Culture: 9. Cotemporary Literature.

We have a liking for this nice little organ of a denominational organization not large, but catholic, evangelical, and, we believe, growing. The misfortune of the denomination is, that it has a single article, and that a mere ceremonial one, for its distinctive base and its only apology for its special existence as a denomination. It stands, like a spinning-top, upon a single point, and no whipping-up can revolve it into a very powerful Protestant extension. Not long since, this Quarterly contained a very able article on the causes of the great difference between the growth of the Free-will Baptist and the Methodist denominations. It was well worthy republication at our Book Rooms, as being equally instructive to both sides of the comparison. The Methodist success was plausibly attributed to some causes which our self-styled *progressives* are disposed to "*reform*" out of existence. At the same time, some wholesome inferences are afforded to our "conservatives." In fine, this Quarterly has a very practical character, and, without affecting to scale the heights of scholarship, it seems to attain a striking *adaptation* to its purposes.

IV. The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, January.—1. The Children of the Church and Sealing Ordinances: 2. Tischendorf's Travels in the East: 3. Grote's History of Greece: 4. Neglect of Infant Baptism: 5. Free Agency: 6. Annals of the American Pulpit: 7. Spiegel's Pehlevi Grammar.

The able organ of the Princeton Old School Theology, of which Dr. Hodge is editor. Many of its essays have been already published in independent volumes, and are esteemed in England and America as able and standard expositions of the doctrines of its school.

V. The Church Review, January, 1857.—1. Dissensions in the Apostolic Age and their Final Adjustment—No. 1: 2. The Rev. James Murdock, D.D.: 3. The Liturgical Movement: 4. The Unity of Mankind: 5. Rev. Dr. Turner's Letter on the American Bible Society: 6. The Late General Convention: 7. Free Seats.

An able and scholarly Episcopalian Review, published at New-Haven. The second article is an interesting biographical notice of one of the profoundest religious and ecclesiastical scholars of our country. He graduated at Yale in 1797, under Dr. Dwight, and afterward studied theology under the same able divine. He was successively Professor of Languages in the University of Vermont, Professor of Languages at Dartmouth, and Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Ecclesiastical History at Andover. He finally removed to New-Haven, where he prosecuted the study of Ecclesiastical History and Oriental Literature. He did the literary world great service by his genuine edition of Mosheim's Church History. He published, likewise, to great acceptance, Mosheim's "Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before Constantine." He published, also, a translation of the Peshito-Syriac New Testament. His miscellaneous productions were numerous and able.

Dr. Murdock was not a second-hand scholar. It was his temper to make fundamental researches, and to press his investigations into original sources. He prosecuted his studies with a youthful zest beyond his fourscore years, and completed his earthly task in August, 1856. In the early establishment of the Church Review, Dr. Murdock lent his efficient aid, and the memoir in this number is a grateful and graceful tribute to his memory. On both sides it is a pleasing specimen of Christian liberality crossing denominational lines.

VI. The Christian Review.—1. The Future State: 2. Future State of the Heathen: 3. The Providence of God in Books: 4. Cockburn's Memorials of his Time: 5. Notices of Scripture Translation in the Chinese Language: 6. Alison's History of Europe: 7. Notices of New Publications: 8. Literary and Theological Intelligence.

VII. The Theological and Literary Journal.—1. The Perpetuity of the Human Race: 2. The Whitbyan Hypothesis respecting Christ's Second Coming—a Novelty: 3. The Mystery Revealed to Paul: 4. The Chronology of the Old Testament: 5. The Bearing of the Geological Theory of the Age of the World on the Inspiration of the Bible: 6. Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation: 7. Notes on Scripture: 8. The Parables of the New Testament: 9. The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John: 10. A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah, chapter xxxv: 11. Literary and Critical Notices.

II.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. The British Quarterly Review, January, 1857.—1. Sir Edward Coke's great oyer of poisoning: 2. The Smoke Nuisance—its Cause and Cure: 3. Cornelius Agrippa: 4. Coal-Mines and their Accidents: 5. The Mosaic Dispensation and Christianity: 6. Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich: 7. The Bourse of Paris in 1790, 1800, and 1856: 8. American Democracy and the Slave Power: 9. The Doctrine of Inspiration: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

Like the rest of the world, we are unconquerably impressed by externals; and hence, we suspect, are hardly able to do justice to the British. The brilliancy of a homespun's wit borrows a blur from the rustiness of his coat. Would the British but don a brighter garb upon his back, and display a whiter sheen under his cloth, we are not sure but a deeper wisdom would seem to impregnate his philosophy, and a livelier rhetoric sparkle in his periods.

Cornelius Agrippa, the subject of the third article. is one of those semi-mythical characters, of whom everybody is traditionally accustomed to say what nobody believes. He was, forsooth, a *magician;* and the prodigies of that art have been attributed to him in that sort of settled way, that one knows not precisely how much to disbelieve. A biography of him by Mr. Morley, however, has now taken him from myth and inserted him in history. He never performed those attributed impossibilities, which one has had a great mind to believe, nor perpetrated those detestabilities at which we have a delight in shuddering. He never did wrap you in a mystical vapor made of spermaceti and aloes, and call up from the dead any departed shade you pleased to name. He never did fetch down a thunder-storm by burning a chameleon's liver on a house-top. He never did evoke hellish demons from the pit by spells written in books whose leaves are skins of murdered men. These delightsome horrors of the twilight ages are all ruthlessly dispersed by the broad glare of historical day. Agrippa was not a *magician*, nor even a *charlatan*, but, after the best wisdom and science of his age, a *philosopher*. He was really a noble German, born three years later than Luther, at Nettelsheim, and early distinguished himself as a writer and courtier. He wrote in his gallant youth, a treatise to prove the superiority in wisdom, as well as in beauty, of the female sex. He subsequently wrote a treatise on Occult Philosophy, in which the mysterious sympathy between the stars, and metals, and plants, and animals, were expounded, theosophically, on the theory of a *Soul of the World.* It treated also of *magic*, and the occult power of numbers, and the mysterious virtue of mathematical figures. Ascending a higher sphere of mysticism, from theosophy into theurgy, he explained how "the purified soul," through divine virtues, may acquire miraculous powers. It may get command of *words* of sacred power, by which diseases may be banished and harms prevented. He explained what guardian geniuses attend a man, and how the stars rule his destiny. He showed how by astrology the planets may be spelled, and how by necromancy the dead may be evoked. All this might seem to prove Agrippa a charlatan. Not at all. He only condensed in these branches what the sages of the age propounded, and clergy and court believed. At a later date he renounced the dreams of his younger years, and published a work on the Vanity of the Sciences. For a brief time Agrippa was high in favor at the court of the Emperor Charles V., as a philosopher and statesman. But the independence of his character and the freedom of his publications made him enemies. Pursued and stricken by powerful and relentless enemies, he retired to Grenoble, and expired at the age of forty-nine. The popular impression of his wisdom, magnified by sacred credulity, imaginatively conferred upon him supernatural powers, and rendered him finally a favorite hero, upon whom to gather the myths of superstition.

Sir Thomas Browne is a great favorite with many of the lovers of elder English literature. His works blend the philosophy and the imagination of a profound thinker and a poet. His style, too, unites the sonorous dignity of the Latin with the homelier flexibility of our Saxon. Dr. Samuel Johnson acknowledged Browne as his master and model in English style.

Browne lived in the times of the great English Revolution; but like a shell-

fish, fastened to his rock in the midst of storms, he adhered to his peaceful retreat amid the surroundings of philosophic study, through all the convulsions of the state. He flung out his publications, at the same time practicing his profession, until the voice of public approbation gradually surrounded him with fame. His works stand upon the shelf of all amateurs in fine old English literature, in three stately octavos, edited by Wilkins. His character and works form a subject for a pleasant literary picture, which we hope some of our contributors will conclude to draw.

II. The London Quarterly Review, January, 1857.—1. Revelations of the Microscope: 2. Hours with the Mystics: 3. Modern School Books: 4. Vagabond Life in Mexico: 5. City and Town Missions: 6. Emerson's English Traits: 7. French on New Testament Synonyms: 8. American Agriculture: 9. The Pulpit—Butler's Sermons: 10. Gothic Art—John Ruskin: 11. Human Longevity: 12. Our Youth—their Culture and Education.

This number of the London well sustains the high reputation of its predecessors, presenting, as it does, a train of rich topics well developed.

The second article, upon the subject of Mysticism, contains the following brief analysis of that peculiar mode of thinking. The book it reviews "opens with an introduction, which gives us definitions, causes, and a classification of Mysticism into theopathetic, thesophic, and theurgic, the first of the three being subdivided into transitive and intransitive. Theopathetic Mysticism is that phase of error in which the Mystic resigns himself more or less completely to an imaginary Divine influence, which impels him, as he supposes, to action, if it is transitive, or lulls him, if it is intransitive, in contemplative repose. The theosophist is the Mystic who theorizes about Deity, or the works of Deity, and believes himself to be in possession of a supernatural faculty for this end. Theurgic Mysticism clutches at the marvelous, and works wonders by the aid of angel, saint, or talisman. Thus, we may say, that the badge of theopathetic Mysticism is feeling; of theosophic, knowing; and of theurgic, doing."

We may add, that the first of these three stages may be based upon correct doctrinal truth, and becomes just what is, in our ordinary religious language, expressed by the phrase, communion with God. It is, then, a state of soul correspondent with what Richard Watson prescribes, in language quoted by the reviewer: "Rest not a moment without the felt presence of your God." So far, every devout Christian is a Mystic; or, rather, so far Mysticism is not specifically and exclusively itself. Even so materialistic a philosopher as David Hartley could recognize and define this state of mind, or rather of soul, appropriate the term *theopathy*, and affirm that *theopathy* is a right and beneficial mental condition. But parallel, true or false, to this Christian theopathy, based upon and regulated by Divine truth, are found, apparently in other systems of belief, theopathic phenomena associated with surrounding errors, and unprotected from the greatest practical dangers. Such a theopathic element frequently unnerves all the positive faculties of the soul and reduces the substantial manhood to a state of solution. It annihilates the world of surrounding realities, and creates a world of fixed and painted vapors. And then, when it attempts to rise into *theosophy* and propound *doctrines*, and Divine and cosmologic *constitutions*, what opium dreams does it conjure up! Thence, coming

out into action, we have all the mad mal-practices of theurgy. Witchcraft, sorcery, demon wonders, animal magnetism, and the devil doubtless knows what, follow in black train. The soul that aspired to go *upward* vibrates and quivers at the turning point, and too often, alas! takes the everlasting *downward*. These phenomena fill the psychical history of the Middle Ages. They are, at the present hour, transpiring in legionary numbers around us. Were it not for the scientific, and, more than that, the mechanical and practically active characteristics of the age, which draw out the faculties of men into healthful action upon objective solids, the equilibrium would much more extensively be lost, and a modern monasticism would rival the monkeries of the mystic deserts of Egypt. And more than these counteractives is the healthful spirit of the unclosed New Testament, with its cheery promptings to Christian action, guided by Christian truth and animated with Christian benevolence. The great outward organic benevolences of the day are much to be thanked for their reflex benefits upon our religion in preventing it from concentrating into too intense a subjectivism. We have sometimes suspected that, between these centrifugal and centripetal forces, Fletcher slightly lost his equilibrium; and that no man in modern times possessed both in more extraordinary power, or more complete balance, than John Wesley.

Dr. Thomson's Educational Essays stand at the head of the twelfth article; but the book forms the mere superscription, rather than subject, of the article. Yet the reviewer evidently highly appreciates the essays.

III. The Christian Remembrancer.—1. Bothwell: 2. A History of the Romans under the Empire: 3. The Police of England: 4. Natural Theology: 5. The New Testament, with Notes: 6. Religious Fiction: 7. Life and Writings of James Montgomery: 8. National Education: 9. Prospects of the Oriental Church: 10. Chaplains and Religion in the Royal Army.

IV. The Church of England Quarterly Review.—1. Liturgical Revision: 2. The Ottoman Empire: 3. Arthur and the Sangreal: 4. The Use and Abuse of Religious Words: 5. The Doctrine of the Real Presence: 6. Typology: 7. Archæology: 8. Abelard—his Life and Philosophy.

V. The National Review, January, 1857.—1. William Wordsworth: 2. The Relations of Art to Religion: 3. Balzac en Pantoufles: 4. Mr. Spurgeon and his Popularity: 5. Latham and Grimm on the Ethnology of Germany: 6. The Literature of Spirit-Rapping: 7. The Credit Mobilier and Banking Companies of France: 8. Strauss and German Hellenism: 9. The Slave Empire of the West.

VI. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, January, 1857.—1. Ranalli's Italian History: 2. Itinerating Libraries and their Founder: 3. Sidney Smith as a Minister of Religion: 4. The Church—its Perpetuity: 5. The Matter of Preaching: 6. Eli Smith's Arabic Bible; 7. Dove's Logic of the Christian Faith: 8. Theodore Agrippa: 9. M'Donald's Creation and the Fall.

Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, are taken from the Princeton Review. The others are original. The seventh article attributes a high character to Mr. Dove's work.

VII. The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, January, 1857.—1. Revisions of Translations of the Holy Scriptures: 2. The Lord's Day: 3. On the Word Hellenists, with especial Reference to Acts xi, 20: 4. The

Will Divine and Human: 5. St. Paul in Crete: 6. The Law of Burial and the Sentiment of Death: 7. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John: 8. Dr. A. R. Lipsius on the Ignatian Epistles: 9. The Septuagint Version, Part II: 10. Observations on Matthew xxiv, 25. Its analysis and Interpretations. Minute Details of St. Mark's Gospel. Proverbs iv, 7. Correspondence.

VIII. The North British Review, February, 1857.—1. Employment of Women: 2. Modern Style: 3. Dr. Samuel Browne: 4. Kane's Arctic Explorations: 5. Mrs. Browning's Poems: 6. Richard Hooker: 7. Art Union: 8. The Trade in Opium: 9. United States Politics—Foreign and Domestic.

IX. The Edinburgh Review, January, 1857.—1. Philip II. and his Times: 2. Human Longevity: 3. Convocation: 4. Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture: 5. Macaulay's History of England: 6. Rights and Liabilities of Husband and Wife: 7. French Society under the Directory: 8. Scottish Lawyers and English Critics: 9. Parliamentary Committees and Railway Legislation: 10. India, Persia, and Afghanistan.

Foreign Views of American Affairs.

The article that now sets heaviest upon the stomach of Europe, judging from the tone of the English Reviews, is America. Not merely from the stupendous increase of our national power and extension, but from the momentous questions of Liberty and Despotism, which the European friends of freedom conceive to be here at stake; the arrival of American news has never been waited for with so breathless an interest. From among the articles on this subject we select three.

The British Quarterly writes in a tone of decided nationality. It draws a *dark*, perhaps a *true* picture; but it seems to find a gratification in the very darkness of our hue, from the relief and even luster it reflects upon the monarchy of England.

It opens with expatiation upon the fatal defect in our Constitution, by which a possible re-election renders our president more a personal and partisan intriguer, than a national chief magistrate. To this are traced the errors, the violated pledges, and the complicity with conspiracies, fraud, and bloodshed which it affirms have made the name of Mr. Pierce a term of scorn with two thirds of the people of the United States. In return for all this truckling, the slave power, nevertheless, sacrificed him personally at the Cincinnati Convention, to the condemnation of the respectable business men of the North; but to replace him with a candidate equally pledged to carry out the despotic policy of the South.

The imbecility of our moneyed aristocracy receives the next castigation. The landed gentry existing before the Revolution having entirely disappeared, our present upper crust is a coarse-grained, cowardly article, with immensely more money than manhood. It is driven or bribed out of its political independence. It publicly affects democracy; but, like the Jew of the Middle Ages, it compensates itself for its open degradation by a style of princely splendor in the parlor at home, and a secret hatred of the dominant mobocracy at heart. Thus, schooled in cowardice, it is prepared to be the vassal and tool of the slave power. The Southern oligarchy is playing with this servile and

salable class, a twofold game—*cajolery* and *intimidation*. It cajoles by suspending trade and legislation upon concession of Southern demands. A tariff favorable to the North, for instance, was once offered by Secretary Walker, as the compensation for submission to the annexation policy. The North yielded; Texas was annexed; and by retributive justice, the two senatorial votes of Texas repealed that very tariff. Yet the thoughtless class of merchantable mercantiles are still being cajoled into the gradual surrender of the entire power of the national legislation into the hands of a dark oligarchy, that desires nothing so much as to legislate Northern prosperty southward. Intimidation in the form of personal bullyism, like that of Preston S. Brooks, but more extensively in the form of threats of disunion, one would suppose might give some warning to the Northern mercantiles, of the despotism they are preparing for themselves; but even down to the last contest the stale cry of disunion, perhaps, turned the scale of victory.

The reviewer seems vexed with the friends of freedom for being beaten. He saw, in the late contest, the best men of New-England bravely taking the right; the Germans apparently forsaking a nominal Democracy for a genuine advocacy of freedom; the ministers of religion and the thoughtful classes in a solid body, unanimous for the righteous cause; the four most powerful newspapers in America strangely combined in its behalf, and then he beheld the glorious cause itself—FREEDOM! and defeat appeared an impossibility. And when, on the other side, he contemplated Kansas enslaved, Nebraska and Utah dragooned, Mexico and Central America fillibustered, and Cuba annexed; how could a free nation hesitate or waver at such an issue? If with such advantages, freedom fails, what hope of future success? And of such a defeat what can be the plausible solution?

1. A system of despotic corruptionism on the part of partisan and especially governmental leaders, more stupendous and more unscrupulous than innocent England ever dreamed. In the early age of the Republic office-holders were forbidden to take part in politics. With the reign of Jackson commenced the reign of corruption. Official patronage became the instrument of reward and punishment, and the vast mass of official subordinates were transformed into a venal standing army disciplined for the support of the party in power. Its perfection of power was attained under Jackson; its perfection of shamelessness under Pierce. From the party head-quarters at Washington a manifesto was sent forth previous to the last election, to every postmaster throughout the nation, announcing that "every postmaster who wishes for a continuance of his official position will find it is his interest to use every effort to produce so desirable a result" as a successful electioneering campaign. "Postmasters," the official document candidly and logically adds, "being the recipients of the patronage of the administration, it is but *just* that they should comply with its demands!" What righteous venality! What cool assumption that postmasterships are a wages which imposed an honest obligation to pay the administration by partisan self-prostitution! Under such a system of barefaced official corruption, what chance has the moral sense of the people?

2. The depravity of the lower masses of voters under the universal suffrage system. The fact that the great body of the ablest newspapers were for the

freedom candidate is of little consequence, while vast masses of the voting dregs are too low to be touched by the revolutions of the power-press. From this fact the reviewer draws a mighty argument against universal suffrage. The "dangerous classes," "the shoals of emigrants," "the sporting characters," "the aristocracy of roguery," "the gangs of professed pugilists," the "brothel bullies," in short, the vast mass of our whisky-steeped mobbery are voters, and unregistered voters. The instinctive bias of this whole class is for the slavery-supporting Democracy. "In analyzing the votes of the different wards into which the City of New-York is divided, the striking difference between the class who voted for Buchanan and those who supported Fremont is very remarkable. Take the Five Points, for example, of which everybody has heard. In that sink of iniquity 911 polled for Buchanan and only 31 for Fremont, and even these few Fremont votes are said to have been nearly all from the two reformatory institutions in that locality. In the Second District, First Ward, 'where Tom Burns's crib is situated, and at which den the polls were held,' the vote was 532 Buchanan, 28 Fremont. The same proportions run throughout the whole of the St. Giles's of New-York. In the Fourth Ward, which is described as 'almost from end to end one sty of vice,' Buchanan polled 2,081, Fremont 286; while the 'Bloody Sixth'—as one ward is called —gave 2,355 for Buchanan and 294 for Fremont."

3. The deterioration and debasement of statesmen. This appears in the presidential occupants of the chair of Washington and the Adamses. The Republican leaders are men of fine moral caliber, noble orators, and men of brilliant talents, like the Girondins, but unable to cope with the unscrupulous strategy of their opponents. The paltry and purchasable character of the Northern politicians, who servilely combat for the privilege of putting their necks under the heel of the Southern oligarchy, is a curious phenomenon of pusillanimity. Under their management, using the depravity of the baser masses, the moral and reflective feeling of the North is overborne and overwhelmed. An alliance is thus formed between the Southern oligarchy and the Northern subterraneanism, through these low demagogues, by which the former maintains a terrible supremacy over the nation. "The slaveholding interest of the South, 'an aristocratic body of a hundred thousand voters, governs the United States of America, just as much as any other aristocratic body—Conscript Fathers, States-General, Council of Ten, or Polish Diet—has borne rule anywhere else.'"

As to the future, the auguries of the BRITISH have a slightly bitter tinge: Mr. Buchanan desires a re-election; he has not the slightest moral scruple in the way of a selfish purpose; the rampant energy of the oligarchy will carry him in their own direction; and he will stupidly follow in the tracks of his predecessor even at the risk of meeting his predecessor's fate. Space does not permit, if the occasion did, our making reply to the BRITISH, or expressing how far we coincide in its views.

The NATIONAL takes views of both higher elevation and greater moral breadth. There seems not the slightest tinge of illiberality, not the slightest Pharisaic wish to brighten themselves by black-balling us. The tone is pro-American; and its evil auguries and despondencies are the unwilling confes-

sions that the predominance of the slave power is a fearful falter of our great experiment of freedom; and that our failure would be an obscuration of the best hopes of liberty and progress for our race. Mistaken, or not, be its views, its voice is the utterance of a sympathizing friend.

The NATIONAL, after giving a description of the high and generous interest felt by the liberalists of England in our contest, adds: "Nor had our own *British* affairs anything to do with this excitement. It was a genuine self-identification with a struggle every way great—great in its principle, great in its scale, great in its consequences; and everything was forgot except indignation at the lawless wrongs which preceded and embittered it, and admiration of the men by whom they had been worthily denounced. No doubt our English sympathies have been all on one side, and *that* the defeated one; but for no other reason than prevails with patriots of Massachusetts or New-York; because resistance to the Southern policy appears essential to the true glory of the Republic and the best hopes of the world. If we are disappointed and disquieted at the issue of the contest, it is because we could desire better guarantees for the peace, the freedom, the permanently high example, of an empire nearest in kindred and youngest in promise."

The reviewer considers the cause of *freedom* as essentially LOST in America. The free North, bruised, stunned, and bleeding, is handed over, bound hand and foot, into the safe-keeping of omnipotent slave power. Herein he corrects the more sanguine views of the English liberalist: "All his strongest feelings and most fixed ideas render him inaccessible to such an apprehension: his instincts of justice, his political economy, *his respect for Brother Jonathan, who thrashed him and set up for himself, his admiration of Washington* and the *great Republic*, his trust in the veracity of their declaration, 'All men are born free and equal,' combine to assure him that, somehow or other, emancipation cannot be far off."

The reviewer proceeds to give a history of the entire struggle for freedom against domestic despotism from the Revolution to the present time.

During our colonial existence, slavery became diffused over the entire surface of *the old thirteen*. When the war of independence rose, the noble anti-slavery spirit rose with it. After the Declaration pronounced that "All men are born free and equal," the Supreme Court of Boston declared that that formula, incorporated into the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, terminated slavery. This example was essentially followed by New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. To the honor of these states, and, we may add, New-York, it may be affirmed that emancipation was the offspring of the genuine spirit of liberty. That was the noble spirit with which they were first born as states; and if ever the temper of servility and base apology for slavery has infected their sons, it has come as a *taint*, borne upon the breezes of political connection and expedience, from the heated climes of bondage. In every state, except Georgia and South Carolina, the tendency of this period, purified by the Revolutionary struggle, was for *abolition*. In this temper the *Constitution was founded*. That great COMPROMISE was based—at least shaped—in the understanding that the *duration of slavery was transient*. That monster has, at this moment, no equitable right to life. His constitutional duty, long since, was

DEATH. His very existence, at the present moment, is not only an insult to the nineteenth century, but a breach of faith, hardly less unequivocal than the great murder of the Missouri Compromise.

Meantime, a great material interest has shaped the moral position of both Church and State at the South. The rise of the cotton product and commerce is a great phenomenon. It sprung, in a few brief years, to a world-wide importance, and incorporated with itself the imagined necessity—certainly the great convenience—of slave labor. But the entire surface of the old states would soon have received an ample supply of slaves, and the system would have been at a stand. The institution would not, perhaps, have lived long within its old limits; but the remedy for its languor, and the renewer of its existence, was found in *annexation*. Annexation is the true perpetuator of slavery. When this new phase of slave-history commenced, a new *industrial* product and a new commerce were added to the cotton trade. Virginia and her old sisters have become the American Guinea. That once venerable state has gone to raising babies for sale! Each new annexation adds to her market, and renders her more wrathful at abolition *fanaticism;* at the same time, it increases her *pious* abhorrence at the foreign importation. Perhaps the great preventive of the revival of the slave trade, at the present moment, is, not the virtue of Northern politicians, but the domestic rivalry of the Old Dominion against that commerce.

The National reviewer next traces the history of the struggle through its successive stages, in which he finds that freedom has regularly waxed faint before the brow of despotism. The three great battles were over—1. The Northwest Territory: 2. The Louisiana Purchase: 3. The Acquisitions from Mexico.

The Northwest Territory was exempted from slavery simultaneously with the formation of the Constitution. "Squatter sovereignty" was then unborn. No one doubted the power of Congress over slavery in the territories. That *squatting* child of corruption has sprung full-blown, but very unlike Minerva, from a later brain. This constitutional period was the primitive age, and the age of the hard-won triumph of freedom.

Next came the acquisition of Louisiana, with slavery already existing at its lower margin, around the southern swellings of the Mississippi. But slavery, though thinning northwardly, was, even in those days, spasmodically energetic. She stretched the line of battle even to the Missouri plains, and there she waged a valiant fight. When, in 1818, Missouri applied for admission as a state, the House of Representatives, by repeated majorities, passed a proviso emancipating all persons at a certain period. The Senate struck it out, and the bill failed.

In 1819–20 the same contest reappeared. The Senate, as now, the stronghold of slavery, struck out the Missouri proviso. At length, the South said to the North, (and it was a Southern measure,) "Pass Missouri without the restriction, and we will agree to the restriction north of the Missouri line." This was the celebrated Missouri Compromise; a compact in which freedom was shamefully driven northward.

Some thirty years later came the acquisitions from the Mexican war—a war

solely prompted by the purpose of extending the area of slavery. The election of General Taylor placed in the presidential chair a slaveholder who would not truckle to slavery. Then came up Mr. Clay's Compromise of 1850. While General Taylor lived the cause of freedom was, at this crisis, evidently triumphing. The reviewer is utterly at a loss to discover by what means the free-soil side suddenly fell so low as to yield to that *compromise*, which was, in fact, no compromise at all. It surrendered the most important points; and the pretended set-offs it received were what really already belonged to the free states. The only thing conceded to the North was the removal of the Columbia slave-market from *inside* to *outside*. It was very much such a compromise as an honest traveler makes who surrenders his purse and *saves his skin;* and so patches up a peace with a bad customer. The puzzle of the reviewer as to this sudden sinkage of free-soilism we can fully explain. It arose from the death of General Taylor and the accession of Mr. Fillmore. Previous to those two sad events, the Whig party had been essentially the effective freedom party; but that party was now called upon to cultivate Mr. Fillmore's chances for a reëlection by courting the slave power. A liberal slaveholder is always safer for freedom than a bargaining Northern concessionist. Forthwith, the Whig party led the way, and the two great political parties engaged in a rivalry to show which could make the largest bids to the slave power. Freedom at once fell to zero. This will explain to the reviewer what he calls "The Disgraces of 1850."

The Review next traces the great national treachery of the Nebraska bill; a measure by which all that the great *surrender* of the Missouri Compromise had reserved for freedom was to be now handed over to slavery. And this congressional *surrender*, in theory, was simultaneous with a previously prepared military plot for an armed incursion into the free section, by which the ground which the bill surrendered the usurpation should seize. The *surrender* and the *foray* went hand in hand, as counterparts of the one great plot from the one vile source. The peaceable and legal obstacle interposed by the emigration aid societies, if it has not defeated the crime, served to develop the atrocities of the conspiracy, and draw it out into manifestations which shock the civilized world, and will draw upon it the execration of indignant history. The wrath of the myrmidons of slavery, at this righteous and skillful expedient, proves its brilliant efficacy; and that the wrath should come fulminated forth in the form of high executive messages, proves that the border ruffian was fully in league with the central accomplice in the presidential chair.

That, under the moral pressure of these atrocious aggressions from the slave power, the late contest should have gone in favor of slavery, is, to the reviewer, a token of *despair*, not only in regard to emancipation, but even in regard to limitation. The man whom the extensionists elected is President; and annexation, which is extension and perpetuation, is triumphant.

We offer no opinion as to the probable correctness of these convictions; but there is one idea with which we desire to take issue: "It is little that England can do toward solving the domestic problems of a susceptible people, not yet forgetful of old injuries, and avowedly preferring even Russian sympathies to her own." Now, we can assure our English friends that the *heart* of our

nation has not the slightest yearning toward his despotic majesty, the Imperial Knout of all the Siberias. The slave-power did, for a while, talk of alliance with England as against the free-power of the North. When the people of England scouted their pretenses with just scorn, they then turned, with a more natural affinity, to the great KNOUT; and, if repelled by him, may find their next natural ally in Bomba, of Naples. But the free heart of our great America, in spite of all differences, beats with an independent sympathy for Saxon, Protestant, constitutional England—the land of the BIBLE, the JURY, and the fetterless PRESS.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW takes a more hopeful view of the ultimate triumph of freedom; nay, of the destruction of slavery, and the consequent peace and prosperity of the Union. But this future *paradise* it describes beyond a previous terrible purgatory for the South:

"We have taken up our pen, on the present occasion, to call attention to the slow but sure working of a cause which few seem to notice; but which will, ere long, cut the Gordian knot which so many hands are trying in vain to untie. The great 'difficulty' in and with America is the system of slavery. The great support of slavery is not any set of particular political opinions, not the predominance of any one party in the state, not even the ascendency of the South over the North in the great council of the nation, but the cotton crop. Slave-grown cotton supplies free England, and, through her, all Europe, with cotton goods. They are grown in America, made up in Lancashire, and thence diffused over the world. India and China clothe their swarthy sons and daughters with the slave production of Carolina and Georgia; and, so long as this monopoly lasts, so long slavery in America is safe. But there is a net-work of railways covering British India which will, in a few years, bring down Indian cotton more in quantity, and even finer in quality, than that which America can supply, and at a considerably cheaper rate. Tunis is commencing, under the most favorable auspices, the same kind of agriculture. The French government is encouraging its growth in Algeria. Liberia is becoming, also, a competitor in the market; and it seems morally certain that, in a quarter of a century, we shall be as independent of the United States for cotton as we are now for sugar. Such a circumstance as this can have but one termination: the estates in Virginia and the other earlier planted states are already becoming poor and exhausted; slavery has brought poverty with it; and when there is no longer the same demand for cotton, and when, after a comparatively short time, the demand almost ceases, then slavery can no longer be upheld. The estates in the Southern states will pass through the same cycle as our own West India islands have done, and will, perhaps, go almost wholly out of cultivation. That much calamity will attend such a cycle, we cannot for a moment doubt; but the result will be a far greater degree of prosperity. They will pass from slave states to free states; the rivalry between North and South will come to an end, and America will be fully at liberty to pursue her glorious destiny, and be the civilizer, and, ultimately, the ruler of the Western hemisphere. It is a singular, but a most encouraging proof, that this theory is not a mere theory, that our West India islands are now beginning to recover from their long ruin. Estates in Jamaica which, but five years ago, were offered for £3,000, are now sought for at £7,000; and we have no hesitation in predicting that, before ten years are passed away, those magnificent islands will be rejoicing in a *free* prosperity, far greater than that which they enjoyed during the most palmy days of their slave cultivation."

On this we may remark, that deeply as we condemn slavery, and earnest as is our moral abhorrence of the course of its extensionists North and South, we earnestly desire and pray the peace and happiness of the present slave states. Slavery, though *in the South*, is not *the South*. It is only the terrible, oppressive night-mare *upon* the South, struggling to extend its catalogue of curses over

the North. For the people over whom that curse and crime reigns, blasting their soil, consuming their wealth, depopulating their towns, corrupting their sons, shriveling their intellect, and ruining their souls, we have a heart of as true a sympathy, as earnest a desire for their true, highest happiness, as the South herself contains. It would, then, be no matter of rejoicing, that their genuine prosperity should be even partially suspended; but this extract does illustrate the fearfulness of that policy, which slavery compels the South to adopt, of embarking all their prosperity upon the permanent monopoly of one great staple, amid the present mighty changes of the productive sources and commercial currents of the world.

We may call attention to the fact that, in spite of the pro-slavery pretenses to the contrary, the sublime and costly act of emancipation, by which England abolished slavery in the West Indies, *has been an ultimate triumph for freedom and humanity.* Let both the friends and foes of human welfare note the propitious omen!

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

1.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Essays and Reviews*, by Charles Hodge. Selected from the Princeton Review." (8vo., pp. 633. New-York: R. Carter & Brothers; 1857.) We have here a stately specimen of the fine old cast-iron Calvinian Theology. *Old* we call it, but not *ancient;* for the Augustinian heresy, of which it is the hard-favored but legitimate descendant, or rather the essential identity, belongs not to the pure antiquity of the Christian Church, being unknown to the first three centuries of her history. It was and is simply an attempt to establish the fatality of old Stoicism in the center of the Christian system; a principle which is about as genial to our blessed religion, and about as amalgamable into its life and substance, as a blacksmith's anvil and sledge imbedded into the heart of a blooming young palm, would be to the living growth that painfully incloses it. As a solution of the problem of human responsibility and divine government, it is a grim and ghastly failure. It is based upon the very policy of ignoring the difficulty, and not only crushing the inquiry by arbitrary authority, but of suppressing the indestructible instinct of *justice* in the human soul which creates the inquiry. As it thus abhors the natural and most sacred sentiments of the human soul, the souls of men naturally and sacredly abhor it. The consequences are, that the sullen system is generally confined to a narrow and crisped school in the Christian Church; a school which, as human inquiry

grows more independent and the natural sense of right and justice more developed, is growing "small by degrees and beautifully less."

Of this system it is the melancholy inheritance of Dr. Hodge to be a set defender. The man was worthy of a better fate. His works exhibit qualities deserving to be employed in a truer and more hopeful cause. There are that robustness of thought, that capacious erudition, that trained logic, that measure of imagination which, dealing more in shapings than in colorings, furnishes palpably forth the conceptions with which logic operates, all wrought into an animated stateliness of style which imparts a manly form and consistency, and suggests the presence of a massy and columnar intellect. Where truth is really to be defended, or actual error to be routed, the work is done with the power of a master. Where a set error is to be maintained, an ancient sophism to be retwined, he performs the hereditary maneuver in the well-established and most approved method. Where a counter truth is to be parried or a winding evasion is to be threaded, the feat is performed with a very eel-like lubricity. But, worst of all, when a terrible proposition—menacing the foundations of human responsibility and the divine government, mutilating the human soul and disfiguring the divine countenance—is to be broached, Dr. Hodge can state it with that terribly calm precision, that placid unconsciousness of all demand for flinch or shudder, that proves how much the living *man* has evanesced and left nothing but the *schoolman*.

Let the reader who thinks this language too strong, accept a specimen. Dr. Hodge believes most blandly—he treats its opposite as an *of course* absurdity—that no human volition, however atrocious its nature, could be otherwise than it is. Nay, he believes that for every sin ever committed, there existed in the sinner in the case no volitional power to will otherwise. That this falsifies human nature and belies all human action; that it sheds a bleak, unnatural aspect of automatism upon the free, living world, every unperverted mind sees. Put on these necessitarian spectacles, and all live agents look granite colored, and forthwith the world is a rock-hewn panorama. No man sees it as he sees it with the natural eye. Yet for these actions without power of willing otherwise in the case, Dr. Hodge believes that it is just to inflict eternal damnation! A grim, gentle smile lights his features at the stark absurdity of supposing otherwise. And as if this did not make damnation quite fatalistic enough. Dr. Hodge believes that God arbitrarily decrees the sin for which he forever damns the sinner. And as if this were not quite fatalistic enough, he renders the volitional actions of God as necessary and as incapable of alteriety as the actions of men, and so God is petrified into the same universal rock-hewn Petra as automatic man. So by Dr. Hodge's terrible theory of the moral universe, are God and the universe reduced to an infinite mummy, bandaged with an eternal "iron shroud" of relentless fatalism. On this theory God is a corpse and the universe is his coffin. Dr. Hodge's axioms are the last propositions of a *reductio ad absurdum*. We have no conception precisely of what stuff men's cerebrals are created, to whom absurdities like these are first truths; or to whom horrors like these are, forsooth, "doctrines of grace." We tell Dr. Hodge that no theory he assails can be so false as the assumption whence he starts. He deals refutation bravely round

the ring; but his opponents are only at the circumference while he is at the center of absurdity.

All these pieces are incidental; being shafts drawn forth by some errorist to be transfixed, or the shield interposed over some champion of truth to be defended. Dr. Cox had woven heresy about regeneration into some of his terribly pompous Anglo-Romanic vernacularities, and Dr. Hodge proceeds to eliminate the false threads from the fabric. Professor Stuart had embodied Pelagianism into his exegesis upon Romans, and Dr. Hodge proceeds to rescue St. Paul from Pelagius. Dr. Andrews Norton had endeavored to put the quietus upon the "Latest form of Infidelity," but had performed it in so semi-infidel a way, that Dr. Hodge manfully rushes out, with sharp and glittering annihilator in hand, reslays the slain, and then immolates the slayer upon the pile of corpses. The various attempted theological improvements, by Beman upon the Atonement, by Finney upon Responsibility, by Bushnell upon the Trinity and Christian Nurture, are successively ejected from the ground, and the old Genevan system is restated and re-instated. Then come two pieces upon the subject of slavery and emancipation, which ably state the anti-agitation argument as it existed anterior to the rise in the South, of the strange, and, we trust, temporary phrensy in favor of perpetuating and extending the slaveocratic despotism. Last of all, we have Dr. Hodge's able refutation of Professor Park's ingenious, but untenable doctrine of duplicate theologies.

We close the volume with a profound respect for the abilities of the writer, and a profound regret that truth is not at its center and life is not in its soul. It is a powerful yet fruitless series of attempts to revive the obsolescent. For a while Princeton will reverently enshrine these essays with her standard authorities, the strongholds of her traditional theology. But it is but for a while. Truth and time will conquer. In due time they will pass from the enshrinement to a stratification. At a still later period, they will be only occasionally exhumed by the amateurs in the relics of departed systems in Princeton's somewhat fossiliferous region.

(2.) "*Religious Truth illustrated from Science*, in Addresses and Sermons on special occasions, by EDWARD HITCHCOCK, D.D., late President of Amherst College, and Professor of Natural Theology and Geology." (12mo., pp. 422. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1857.) The double character of President Hitchcock as clergyman and savant, has admirably qualified him for developing the contact points between religion and science. He has done much to maintain the independent march of scientific truth against the cavils of well-meaning, but superstitious alarmists. Few in this country have contributed more toward navigating the public mind in its dangerous transition from an old to a new mode of Biblical interpretation under the guidance of scientific discovery Few have done more toward illustrating the principles and confirming the verity of revelation by the light of nature's developments. Each new publication of his is, therefore, welcomely received as the manifesto of an authority in this important department.

The pieces of this book mostly bear the impress of Christian science. Those

of this sort are divisible into two classes: those in which religious morality is illustrated, and those in which the truth of religion is argued.

The former class might well be called *scientific parables.* In them the more occult facts of science are made to bear the same relation to religious morality that the patent facts of nature do in the parables of our Saviour. Thus, from the popular and obvious facts of the *leaven* impregnating *the flour*, our Saviour illustrates the impregnating influence of religion in the heart. Thence our author takes the same illustration, and, under the title of "Catalytic Power of the Gospel," he traces the analogy between the chemical secrets of fermentation and the penetrating energy of the Gospel in the masses of mankind. From *mineralogy* he portrays the various characters of his auditors as *transparent, hydrophanous, semi-transparent, translucent, doubly refractive, phosphorescent, dichroic, chatoyant,* and *opaque.* From astronomy he illustrates the *opposite attractions* of heaven and earth upon the Christian heart. These were, in fact, *sermons;* doubtless as unsuited sermons for an ordinary audience, as Father Taylor's seamen sermons for mere fresh-water landlubbers; but as impressive for the scholars to whom they were delivered, as appeals ever are when drawn from sources familiar and dear to the habits and hearts of the hearers. More interesting, however, is the class in which he states the logical relations of scientific facts to religious truth.

In a lecture upon "Special Divine Interpositions in Nature," Prof. Hitchcock discusses the nature of *miracle* and *special Providence.* He finds an instance of a sort of special Providence for the race in nature, in the instance of the immense deposits of coal laid up for human generations. But might we not argue that every class, as a class, is a unit? And so, as the human race is a unit, and a specialty, every provision made for the race is a special Providence. So that all the adjustments of Nature, in which the arrangement seems an antecedent and man's enjoyment the result, are of the nature of the special Providence. They differ from a special expenditure of contrivance upon a single man, only in extension. The one is a specialty for one race, and the other a specialty for one individual. The object in one case is simply larger than in the other.

In a lecture upon "The Religious Bearings of Man's Creation," Prof. H. illustrates the marked separateness of man from all mere animal races. It is a great mistake to suppose that from the summit of the Caucasian race down through the lower races of humanity, and even to and through the animal species, there is an unbroken series shading off by infinitesimal differences. The human race, as animal frame, is encircled by a broad trench isolating it from the surrounding species. "Any anatomist, who will take the trouble to compare the skeletons of the negro and orang, cannot fail to be struck at sight with the wide gap which separates them. The difference between the cranium, the pelvis, and the conformation of the upper extremities, in the negro and the Caucasian, sinks into insignificance when compared with the vast difference which exists between the conformation of the same parts in the negro and the orang."

Dr. H. then traces the mental differences. The main differences he finds in individual mental *educability* and in the *idea of right and wrong.* But on

the *former* of these *two points* he omits the more powerful argument drawn from the educability of man as a *species*. The beaver of two thousand years ago built as good a hut as he builds to-day. During that time the Anglo-Saxon has risen from a wigwam to the splendors of the exposition of the Crystal Palace. On the second of the above two points, Prof. H., in addition to the absence of the *moral idea*, might have added the brutes' incapability of all the pure reason conceptions. The brute has a certain negative horror of destruction. The cattle raise a moan of horror over a spot bloody with slaughter. But the positive idea of *immortality*, of eternity, of infinity, or even of number, can never arise in their minds.

Prof. H. traces with much interest the logical results arising from the clear proof of man's recent geological existence. This negates at once the *theory of development*, by which man is supposed to have *grown* from an atom by infinitesimal improvements to his present perfection. It negates the theory of his production by an infinite series of causes; for nothing but a specialty could have produced man in a sudden perfection. It negates the idea of creation *by mere abstract law;* for here is a being springing into full-blown existence without the uniformity of law. It refutes all argument against miracle; for, as was well said some years since in the Edinburgh Review, (we quote from memory,) the greatest miracle that earth ever saw was on the day when man walked forth in the full completeness of his nature. The description which Milton gives of the scene and sensations of man's creation, are as scientifically true as they are poetically beautiful. Finally, man's recent creation gives a general verification to the Mosiac chronology. The "endless genealogies" of infidel fancy are clipped with a fatal scissors, and we come back to find a wondrous truth again in the good old book.

The argument in favor of miracles, though placed on more definite and firmer foundations by geology, is hardly as new as Prof. H. seems to intimate. Dr. Campbell, in his masterly reply to Hume on Miracles, has a chapter on the necessary certainty of miracles, founded on the origins of things, of the same nature as this geological argument; which, though less sustained by the then existing state of science, exhibits great ingenuity and no mean force.

President Hitchcock, as a writer, most excels in the clear and regular level of scientific style. He is naturally a clear-minded observer and thinker, who is well qualified to write good sense in lucid language. He has *enthusiasm;* which, however, animates his actions rather than *inspires* his periods. His *eloquence* is rather the product of effort arising from the consciousness that the *earnest* is required, than the spontaneous glow of a mind that naturally catches fire. His exclamations do not set his reader's mind ablaze like the rapid periods of Prof. Sedgwick or Hugh Miller, nor has he anything of the elegant flow of Lyell. But he occupies the position of a master in his department; he has done much to tranquilize the thoughtful public on a disturbing subject; and even where, as in the present volume, he produces little that is essentially new, it is his fortune, as it is his right, to find willing audit from the public attention.

(3.) "*The Gift of Power;* or, the Special Influences of the Holy Spirit the Need of the Church, by Rev. S. H. PLATT, with an Introduction by Rev. NATHAN BANGS, D.D." (12mo., pp. 277. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1856.) We recognize the simultaneous appearance of the Tongue of Fire in England, and the Gift of Power in America, as among the most auspicious of "the signs of the times." Amid the intense worldliness which is so eminently characteristic of the present age, it is truly refreshing to a Christian heart to know that there are men of God who are carefully inquiring what is the need of the Church and the world, and to hear their trumpet-tones as they sound the convictions of their minds and hearts upon the ears of their fellow-men. The spirit of the apostles has not yet passed away; the mantle of the fathers has fallen upon more or fewer of the children. There are those who propose the questions, How can the Church be rendered more holy and efficient? and, How can the world be reached and saved? with as intense an earnestness as the masses inquire, what they shall eat, and drink, and wear; how they shall acquire wealth, secure honor, possess power, enjoy pleasure, or accomplish any grand and important, yet worldly and selfish object.

Though hastily written, as appears from the statement of the author, and from even a cursory perusal of it, it abounds in thoughts and sentences of beauty and of power; and being, we believe, the first publication of the young author, it gives cheering promise of what he may yet accomplish for the Church as a writer. No observant and thinking Christian can have failed to arrive at the conclusion that the Church has done and is doing little, compared with what she might and ought to do. That "the utmost exertion of every faculty in its appropriate sphere is always duty," is a truth to which reason, conscience, and the Bible prepare every man to yield assent. And that the Church has *not* exerted all her powers, and employed all her resources, clearly appears, whether we consider her dayly movements or the results which she achieves.

Her origin is divine; her resources are the treasures of Omnipotence; her mission is to evangelize and save the world. Of course she is adapted to the work for which a God of infinite wisdom destined her; no endowment necessary to render her competent to its accomplishment has been withheld, and if she has failed she is to blame, and she alone. Thus have we reasoned for years gone by; but seldom have we had so deep and painful a conviction of her delinquency as has been produced by the arguments and statistics of this volume. The world should have been, ere this, evangelized; but how very little has been done, if the resources of the Church and the masses who are living and have died unsaved are but considered. Nor can aught else than "the gift of power" stir up the Church to avail herself of her resources, and to put forth the efforts demanded by God; and requisite, in order to success upon the scale marked out by him. In vain, without this, are her material advantages, her position, her gold and silver, her trained ministry, her multitudinous publications, her seminaries and colleges, her costly and magnificent churches. Good in their place, they are powerless as is a corpse, to bless and save, without this "gift." Despite them all, souls around us in countless multitudes are passing onward and downward to the pit, and, in too many instances, the professed disciples of the Saviour, instead of drawing them back by their

contributions and their toils, actually impel them deathward by their gross inconsistency. And so it must and will be, until the Church is "endued with power from on high."

We do not, however, believe, with our author, that faith either *has* or *needs*, in our day, the power of working physical miracles. "The common belief of the Church, that the power to work miracles has passed away, and that it is nothing less than fanaticism for any one now to claim even the possibility of possessing that power, much more the actual possession of it," was ours when we commenced the perusal of this volume, and is ours still, despite the earnest reasonings of the author to evince the contrary. Indeed, we regard this part of the book as "*the fly in the ointment.*" Nor do "the qualifications of divine suggestion, stimulating faith, nor divine power working by it," sufficiently guard this point; for all enthusiasts pretend to both the one and the other. "The gift of power" attainable by us, as we do and must believe, consists, not in the ability to perform physical miracles, but in a supernatural influence *alone*, quickening the intellect and stirring the heart, and preparing us to affect mightily the intellects and hearts of those around us. This only, the Church needs to day, and this she may possess. Would she but seek and secure it, the ministry would go forth burning with love, pure and quenchless, to the divine work of winning souls for heaven, and the membership would soon form a triumphant army in conquering the world to Messiah's dominion. T.

(4.) "*Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, by Dr. HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, Professor at Erlangen. Revised after the fourth German edition, by A. C. KENDRICK, D.D." (Vol. II. 8vo., pp. 624. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) The second volume of this great work has promptly appeared. So far as we have observed, the publication meets a universally favorable reception. We may note, with approbation, the fact, that the translator uniformly supplies to the Greek phrases, when quoted, the equivalent English. The notes of the American editor are very few; fewer than we think, on the whole, desirable. This second volume nearly closes the Evangelists. We need not repeat our own commendations of the work; but we may add, that we do not by any means advise its *substitution in the place* of our standard English evangelical commentators. Our own young denomination has done things in this department, which time and comparison will not put aside. Wesley, Benson, Clarke, and Watson, may receive comrades upon the shelves of our ministerial libraries, but no supplanters. But as an addition to these, there is nothing in our language like this splendid, suggestive, and luminous series of dissertations on the sacred text.

(5.) "*Jerusalem and Tiberias;* Sora and Cordova: a Series of the Religious and Scholastic Learning of the Jews; designed as an Introduction to the Study of Hebrew Literature, by J. W. ETHERIDGE, M.A., Doctor in Philosophy." (12mo., pp. 507. London: Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1856.) Dr. Etheridge is by birth "a Hebrew of the Hebrews;" but in spirit and faith

he is now a Christian of the Christians; and in the purity and beauty of his style, an Englishman of the Englishmen. He is evidently a great master of his recondite subject; and it was the absolute absence of any treatise of the kind in our language, which happily compelled him to become its author.

Upon the first page, the volume is touchingly "Inscribed to the Memory of Eliza Middleton Etheridge," a departed daughter, for whose sake some portions of the work were written. In the preface a reference of exquisite pathos is made, and a page of parental biography devoted to her, which, however little apparently germane to the subject of the book, every person of sensibility will not only indulge, but feel sorry to have lost, and will find himself prepared for the unconscious pensiveness which reigns through this memorial of the sad fortunes, but rich literature of his race. His daughter had, merely as a pastime, gradually won a complete mastery of the sacred dialect, and through it, had entered the domains of the holy records. Her heart had enjoyed the purifying influences of the inspired poetry; and thence been led to the enjoyment of those Christian truths, which beautified her life and made her death sad to her parental survivor only. The doctor believes that it would be well, could all our children thus be led direct to the pure sacred fountains, and thence "to a rich and beautiful department of the belles lettres in the moral writings of the Jews." The work contains a concise view of the post-Biblical literature of the Jews, from Ezra to the present time. Through the various schools of Jerusalem, and of Tiberias, of Sora on the Euphrates, and of Cordova, in Spain, he traces the intellectual progress of his race, and closes with a cheerful view of their ultimate restoration and conversion by the second coming of the Messiah.

(6.) "*Private Thoughts upon Religion and a Christian Life*, by WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, D.D., Lord Bishop of St. Asaph." (2 vols., 12mo. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) Bishop Beveridge, one of the few prelates of the English hierarchy to whom we feel no incongruity in applying the epithet *saint*, was born a little more than two centuries ago, and was in his prime during the revolution that banished James II. from the throne of England, and fully established the Protestant religion in the realm. His piety was of the pure and lovely kind of Fenelon and Fletcher. He was truly pronounced by one high in the Church of his day, "one of the greatest and best men that England ever had."

The volumes are somewhat miscellaneous in their character. First, there are twelve articles of Christian Faith, truly Scriptural and truly Protestant in their character, with a meditative elucidation of the doctrine attached to each article. These are, in fact, the Thoughts upon Religion, which, although embracing but about half the first volume, somewhat improperly give title to the whole works. The twelve articles are followed by a fivefold series of Resolutions, with expanded dissertations upon each Resolve; concerning the Affections, the Words, the Actions, the Relations, and the Talents. Then follow a number of brief, but valuable Tractates, upon various topics of religion, blending the meditative, the doctrinal, and the practical, in a very pure, perspicuous, and often eloquent style of discourse. The concluding treatise is

upon the importance of frequent communion. This last topic is calculated, we think, to awaken in the minds of our ministry who may peruse it, the query whether the fear of formalism in the sacramental ordinance in our own Church, has not reduced it to a mere form. How very seldom do our ministry precede the communion with a sermon on the communion. How rarely are its holy obligations broadly expanded, enforced, and applied to the conviction, consolation, and sanctification of the soul.

(7.) "*Duties, Tests, and Comforts*, by Rev. DAYTON F. REED, of the Newark Annual Conference, with an Introduction by Rev. J. M'CLINTOCK, D.D." (12mo., pp. 219. Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine, 1857.) This little volume is the production of a young minister endowed with a somewhat unique power of pointed illustration. That gift, consecrated to the cause of God and employed in pulpit service, is often effective in touching and disturbing the conscience, and yet so attracting the attention, as to win the wounded sinner again to attend and court the point that stung him. The book has not a little of the same attractiveness. Few will feel exactly happy in reading it; few but will be drawn to read it again; and few will doubt that it is the kind of book they ought to read; or deny that it discloses dangers, reproves shortcomings, and disturbs false reposes that very much need the alarm of such an awakener. It would be a great blessing if every member of our Church could read and feel its detective power over sin in the heart, laziness in the limbs, and covetousness in the purse. If some benevolent spirit would donate it as a tract to many of our *wealthier professors*, it might do much good to that increasing, and perhaps neglected class of objects of Christian faithfulness.

(8.) "*French Mission Life;* or, Sketches of Remarkable Conversions and other Events among French Romanists in the City of Detroit; with Five Letters to the Roman Catholic Bishop residing in that City, by Rev. THOMAS CARTER." (16mo., pp. 157. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1856.) The transparent French thought of Mr. Carter runs through his English style, rendering it the easiest reading in the world. There is a genial spirit, too, which belongs to the French character, with which the geniality of Methodism so naturally blends, that it has repeatedly suggested the feeling that to Methodism belongs the mission to Protestantize France.

Mr. Carter encountered Romanism in all its grades, from the humble servant girl to the haughty prelate himself. There are polemics who might have fought a tighter argumentative battle; but there are few who could so blend the gentle spirit of the Lamb of God with the force of the argument as at once to melt, convince, and win. His series of little narratives is full of interesting event and dialogue. It is a most readable book, and will do to put into the hands of any Romanist open to conviction.

(9.) "*A Book of Public Prayer*, compiled from the Authorized Formularies of Worship of the Presbyterian Church, as prepared by the Reformers, Calvin,

Knox, Bucer, and others. With Supplementary Forms." (12mo., pp. 360. New-York: Charles Seribner, 1857.) Recorded prayer is the most sacred of all possible permanent forms of words. Whether in the Psalms of David, or in the formula dictated by our Lord, or interspersed through the sacred records, no part of the Bible itself can be more instructive than the Biblical prayers. And so, also, the recorded prayers of holy men in past ages of the Church, are to a right understanding, perhaps, the most valuable part of Christian literature. They are more sacred than articles of doctrine. They are the essence of religion in the clearest, most unalloyed possible shape. We hesitate not to say that to us the most touching and most valuable relics of primitive Christian antiquity, are the earliest extant prayers. Mr. Wesley's revised Prayer Book is a volume scarcely known in our country; it has never had a republication; but we have examined with great interest a copy of its first edition, which has fallen in our way, once owned by an official member of the earliest John-street Church.

To persons of like feeling on the subject, this beautiful volume, containing the prayers of the early reformers, published without any purpose of general adoption in public worship, is a gem in the literature of prayer. To their notice we heartily commend it.

(10.) "*Seven Years' Street Preaching* in San Francisco, California; embracing Incidents, Triumphant Death-scenes, etc., by Rev. WILLIAM TAYLOR, of the California Conference. Edited by W. P. STRICKLAND." (12mo., pp. 394. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 200 Mulberry-street.) Of all Protestant ministries, the Methodist, it is now fairly allowed, presents most *history*. Clerical biography is still and nearly dull, until you approach the itinerant confines; and then a certain lively action seems to commence. Before it was slow, flowing dissertation; it is now piquant anecdote, marked character, stirring event. Mechanical routine is disturbed, and direct operations, aiming unceremoniously at an end, take place. Before, we had Christianity in form; we have now "Christianity in earnest."

Mr. Taylor's narrative is just a specimen in point. Who should be a California missionary but a man of action, flexibility, and versatile expedient? He should be ready for every emergence, and have a turn for every crisis. His voice should be heard in the street, and he should have a brave heart to risk a martyr's death in fighting the battles of God against the desperadoes of Satan. Such a man wins spoils for his holy cause, and makes rare materials for stirring history like the book before us.

(11.) "*Fidelity to Truth;* or, What Church Shall I Join? A Discourse, by REV. FRANCIS HODGSON, D.D." (24mo., pp. 80. Philadelphia: T. K. & P. G. Collins, 1857.) Dr. Hodgson is a penetrating, independent, and somewhat unique thinker. He is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; not on the authority of the teachings of that Church, but because said Church and he mainly *agree*. He is Wesleyan; not because he follows, but because he *coincides* with John Wesley. With him, the organism is deeply loved and

warmly defended because it successfully blends with the individualism. The moment a discord takes place, and he finds that the pearl of doctrinal truth is inclosed in some other organism, no motive of interest can continue his allegiance to error; he takes a transfer.

This, doubtless, is the general ground the moral law requires. The man who, from motives of interest or other selfish feeling, supports a false religious doctrine instead of what he conscientiously believes the true, is therein a sinner. If he does it from motives of convenience and ease, he is a sluggard; if from pride or money he is a traitor; if from fear, he is a coward. We have sometimes had an intrusion of infidel doubts as to the genuineness of religious experience, when we have seen young converts, yet warm in their first love, turn from what they felt to be the Church of truth and genuine piety, and from motives of worldly connection or supposed higher respectability, become the stereotype parts of what they felt to be a dead and erroneous denomination.

Dr. Hodgson has opened, but perhaps has not exhausted, this fresh vein of thought. Might he not render his treatise more complete and more exact, by drawing out the universal rules of moral law on this topic, and thereby meet the various supposable cases and possible excuses for belonging to a Church, in whose articles one does not fully believe? What am I to do if my belief does not fully accord with any Church? Suppose I have embarked my whole life, and passed long years, and am doing much good in a given Church, when a doubt of some article arises, what is my right course? Suppose I am fully convinced that a certain Church, though less accurate in faith, possesses more piety and will help me more to be pious? How important in fact, after all, are the points that divide evangelical denominations? Suppose I am a minister, and upon some point do not coincide with my Church, may I consent to be silent on that point? These are not mere theoretical questions. They are not unworthy discussion. Perhaps in another edition, Dr. H. may give them the benefit of his acumen.

(12.) "*The Inspiration of Holy Scripture;* its Nature and Proof. Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin, by WILLIAM LEE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College." (8vo., pp. 478. Carter & Brothers, 1857.) This is, undoubtedly, the greatest work in our language on the most important topic of religious inquiry now before the religious world. It contains some striking views. The writer is a great master of his subject; and his work, with some defects of style, is a repository of erudition for the student. We should enter more fully upon its merits, but it will form the topic of a complete article, in a future number, by an able hand.

II.—*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

(13.) "*Modern Atheism* under its Forms of Pantheism, Materialism, Secularism, Development, and Natural Laws, by JAMES BUCHANAN, D.D., LL.D., Divinity Professor in the New College, Edinburgh." (12mo. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1856.) Dr. Buchanan is the successor to Chalmers in the Edin-

burgh "New College," under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland. Hugh Miller's verdict upon the present work was, "One of the most readable and solid which we have ever perused." The Scotch Free Church organ announces that "it fixes irreversibly the name of its author as a leading classic in the Christian literature of Britain." An "American critic" pronounces the author, or at least his work, "strong as a Titan." We have no wish to disturb an irreversible fixture, or reduce the dimensions of a genuine Titan. We recognize no *giant*, however, in the performance; but an able intellect which has fully mastered a great subject, and is endowed with the faculty of clearly expounding it. He belongs to the order of *constructive*, rather than of *creative* minds. He lucidly and roundly states *the* argument, rather than brings into existence *a* fresh solution, or a hitherto unthought demonstration. There is an orderly system in his arrangement, a perspicuity in his expression, and a copious flow without redundancy in his style, which render him a most acceptable manager of a subject in itself frequently abstruse. Yet we are forced to confess that sometimes we seem to find in the roundness of the author's periods, a certain want of sharp, definite outline, and an absence of a logical compactness, by which you would feel that the thing is concisely and completely said, and forever stays said. We leave his subject, with a certain unsatisfied consciousness, as if a screw were slightly loose; as if either the essential argument were somehow defective, or as if it had not been quite effectively put.

Indeed, we are inclined to feel that the *natural impression* of God's existence is stronger than any arguments to prove it. The attitude of arguing the subject is unnatural. It puts us into a position of voluntary doubt; and when in that position, logic has scarce the purchase whereby to push us to our place again. Sermons to prove God's existence are inefficient things, simply because the faith of the congregation is stronger than the argument of the preacher; and so, after he has put his hearers in the attitude of questioning, and finished his performance, they are unconsciously half inclined to say, "And is that all the reason for believing there really is a God?" And so, could a Berkeleyan philosopher put the same audience really into the position of sincerely *doubting* the existence of the external world, he would find all the arguments he could invent to refute the doubt perfectly fruitless; he could never undo the damage he had done; and his only remedy would be, to send them out into the fresh open air, and allow their instinctive faith again to recover the power to affirm that a world is materially a world, and a spade is truly a spade.

And we seem to think that all the arguments for Theism and all the sophisms of Atheism are early in the thoughts of the rudest mind. The argument for a God springs up full grown in the childish query, *Who made the world, and who made me?* The stoutest atheistic problem that Hume or Holyoake were ever able to forge is embraced in the youngster's question, *Who made God?* Topsy, in her famous reply, "*'Spect I growed*," furnishes the theory of Development. Maillet only extends the time and broadens the maxim of Topsy over the universe, and he has simply *'spected that it growed*. Volney's theory of Natural Law is the expansion of that satisfactory maxim of every fogy solutionist who undertakes to explain any puzzling problem, natural or social, *it hae always been so*. The Materialism of Comte and Martineau is simply the

crude notions of every gross mind, that *sensible things are the only things, and all the rest are nothings*, elaborated into a scheme. Every man carries with him all the germinal faiths of Theism and all the doubts that the profoundest Atheism can evolve. And yet every ingenious mind awakened to the subject desires and delights to trace the germ to its furthest ramification, to know into what result the argument, whether of faith or doubt, will wind itself.

The work before us is aggressive and not positive. It disproves all the various Atheisms of the day as they are developed to their most complex perfection by the greatest masters of Doubt, without stating the affirmative argument of Theism. That argument is fully stated in the previous section, unpublished in this country, of the great work of which this is the latter and negative part. Meanwhile, for every young minister we would recommend Paley for the positive and Buchanan for the negative of the argument, as the best short course upon this most interesting branch of Theology. At the same time, this book is a most excellent compendious posting up on the subject to the present date.

(14.) "*The Constitution of the Human Soul.* Six Lectures delivered at the Brooklyn Institute, by RICHARD S. STORRS, Jr., D.D." (8vo., pp. 338. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1856.) This volume would be an *ornament* to any man's library; and perhaps it would be nothing more. Externally, it is a fine octavo with rich crimson cover; internally, it is superficial thought clothed in a full flowing style, printed in a stately type, spaced with "magnificent distances," and based upon a paper-ground of snowy whiteness. That is all. Not one striking original thought, not one new solution, not one mental addition to the existing treasury of public thought, have we discovered in the whole series of sonorous paragraphs upon beautiful pages. If the author's high reputation has risen by productions like these, it is about right that by productions like these his reputation should fall. Composed, indeed, for oral delivery, we doubt not that the old truths freshly invested with a new and attractive verbiage, and adorned with a graceful elocution, may have produced a salutary impression for the hour upon the listening audience, and have left a happy effect upon the memory, perhaps upon the character. We doubt not, that the noble intention of the late Mr. Graham, in leaving a rich bequest for the purpose of founding a course of Sunday Evening Lectures, on the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, for the benefit of the young men of Brooklyn, was truly and abundantly fulfilled in these elegant performances. But it is frequently the case that the most effective oral discourse is ill-fitted to instruct or to edify the larger congregation of the reading public, and the author, in such a case, would act wisely by confining the production to the scene of its proper triumphs.

(15.) "*An Introduction to Theosophy*, or the Science of the Mystery of Christ, that is, of Deity, Nature, and Creature. (Col. i, 15–20.) Embracing the Philosophy of all the Working Powers of Life, Magical and Spiritual. And forming a Practical Guide to the Sublimest Purity, Sanctity, and Evangelical

Perfection. Also, to the Attainment of Divine Vision and all Holy Angelic Arts, Potencies, and other Prerogatives of the Regeneration." (12mo., vol. i, complete in itself, pp. 512. London: John Kendrick, 27 Ludgate-street.) The above is the somewhat enigmatical title of an odd-looking volume, transmitted to our office from London, addressed by name to our predecessor. It affects the sable in its exterior, exhibits a type of intense nigritude, is preceded with a manuscript page of preface, and finished with a penciled epilogue on a final fly-leaf, upon the proper mode of reviewing a book. His mode is decidedly more laborious, though perhaps a trifle more fair, than Sydney Smith's. The book would doubtless be a riddle to most readers of our day, being the product in this nineteenth century, of a genuine and sincere, as well as zealous live mystic.

We cannot give the book the ultimate and exhaustive analysis which the lead-pencil of the author requires, because life is briefer in our day than in Methuselah's, and one is obliged to be selective in the employment of its moments. We must have some anticipative faith in the intrinsic value of the book, or at least must see something promising in its first presentations, to induce us to suppose *that* to be the proper object of selection for the expenditure of our delay. But though the lures are plentifully hung out from this little volume, and the efforts to be unique and taking at first sight are earnest, the experiment upon its pages does not sustain the presumption that it contains any extra truth, originality, or beauty to purchase our time or reward our labor.

III.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(16.) "*The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.*, by WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D., with an Account of the Emperor's Life after the Abdication, by WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT." (In 3 vols. 8vo., pp. 618, 604, 565. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.) The Life of Charles the Fifth, by Dr. Robertson, was one of the productions that first raised history, in English literature, to an honorable competition with the great productions, in the same department, of classical antiquity. It is an English classic. Since that period, England has repeatedly maintained the same high competition, and in the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Gibbon—with all its faults, by far the greatest of histories—she has distanced all past competition. Within the present generation, America has placed histories in the library, quite worthy to stand on the same honorable shelf. The name of Prescott has been naturally associated with that of Robertson, by his later researches in the same field, upon the Southern part of our own continent. The same circumstance of later research unites their names more indissolubly in the present valuable work.

The reader of Robertson is left to suppose, by the then existing state of the narrative, that Charles, upon retiring from the throne, withdrew his mind from all affairs of state, and that the once proud emperor subsided into a saint. Quite contrary was the fact. He remained very much a monarch, even in his monastery; somewhat as one of our American Presidents remained very much a dictator, even in the shades of the Hermitage. Charles retained not

only his old wisdom by which he dictated the policy of his successor, as well as the anxiety for the progress of the momentous events then transpiring, but he retained the scathing bigotry by which he repented of not having perjured his soul, by murdering Luther at the Diet of Worms, and he manifested the unsubdued despotism of his spirit, by interspersing his devotions with bursts of imperious passion, at which his brother monks had reason to tremble. Alas! the piety to which Charles was trained was little calculated to soothe the fierce and bigoted spirit, or animate the heart with tranquillity and love. The great rent in the religious world, which divided his empire and distracted his life, haunted his death-bed, and made the very process of repentance a double-minded act.

The scenes of the closing days of the abdicated emperor are narrated by the pen of Prescott, with all the grace and picturesque power for which his pen is justly celebrated. We venture to say, that this supplement will never be separated from the history. The entire work does credit to the enterprising publishers.

(17.) "*Annals of the American Pulpit;* or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished Clergymen of various Denominations, with Historical Introductions, by WILLIAM SPRAGUE, D.D.," (2 vols. 8vo., pp. 723, 778. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) This is a *monumental work; monumental* from its perpetuation of the memory of the virtuous dead; *monumental* from the finality and permanence of form and substance to which it has wrought their memorial. It may be called monumental, too, from its very solid and architectural look and its massy weight. In this cubical cemetery of paper and ink, are gathered the worthier memories of the spiritual ancestry of the Puritan ministry of the present day. The book is as compact as any part of the catacombs. Each occupant is economically condensed to his own location, taking little elbow-room, to avoid crowding his parallel-lying brother. We suppose, too, that here

> "The living men may view the ground
> Where they must shortly lie."

Each reverend successor may, with tolerable accuracy, measure his own space in the enshrinement. And truly what is a human immortality, a place in history, worth? To leave, as the choice few do, a little scrap of memorial paper, is little better than to leave, as all do, a little handful of indestructible dust. Man can afford to his brother but a mock perpetuity. God "alone hath immortality;" and he alone can give both "immortality and eternal life."

But these massy volumes are not the monument; they are mere blocks of the monument under the hand of Dr. Sprague, the large-minded architect. The whole design, as by him contemplated, is commenced with, but not to be limited to, this one denomination. All the Protestant denominations of America are to furnish each a block for the column. The purpose, therefore, is to render it a very complete religious biographical history of our country. The plan of procedure seems to be laid down with much liberality, and great caution to secure denominational and doctrinal fairness.

Much pains have been taken to obtain the most accurate possible testimony.

Special delicacy has been used in regard to personal character. It is right to allow the author to say in his own words, that "the other characteristic feature of the work is, that it at least *claims* an exemption from denominational partiality. Though I have, of course, my own theological views and ecclesiastical relations, which I sacredly and gratefully cherish, I have not attempted, in this work, to defend them, even by implication, my only aim has been to present what I supposed to be a faithful outline of the life and character of each individual, without justifying or condemning the opinions they have respectively held.

"I have assumed, in general, that a man's theological views are sufficiently indicated by the denomination to which he belongs. But in all cases that required a more definite statement, I have avoided making it, even from information which I deemed most authentic, well knowing how easy it is for one person, in describing the opinions of another who differs from him, to give to them, without intending it, some slight hue which the individual himself would not acknowledge. I have preferred, as far as possible, to let my subject represent himself by faithful extracts from his writings; and where he has left no expression of his opinions, I have endeavored to procure a substitute from some one of his intimate friends. In this way, I trust, I have effectually guarded against misrepresentation."

"I have hesitated considerably as to the order in which the different denominations should be arranged; but have concluded, on the whole, that it would be most simple and natural to let them follow each other, according to the number of subjects which they have respectively furnished. This principle of arrangement, therefore, has been adopted."

Dr. Sprague gives with entire faithfulness, the sources of his work, whether they are already existing publications or special contributions to his enterprise. Among his contributors, are a good share of the most eminent living Congregational clergy, and a number of eminent laymen. The names of Rufus Choate, Professor Silliman, Harrison Gray Otis, Mrs. Sigourney, President Nott, and many others of note are found in the list.

Dr. Sprague remarks the uniformity, and we may add, the monotony which arises in a continuous history of men formed by the same process and hemmed by the same surroundings. The formative process, too, was of a rigid and scientific type, entering very deeply into the personal character; jealous of all redundancies and repressive of idiosyncrasies. It reduced everything to abstract principle, and depreciated all mere *feeling*. It profoundly revered deep intellect, but undervalued all emotional talent. Hence, we are at a loss to find in the whole list of New-England orthodox Congregationalists, deceased, one world-renowned pulpit orator. There are plenty of deep thinkers, sharp metaphysicians, homiletic analyzers, and scholastic disquisitionists, but where is one illustrious Golden-mouth? Where is the Massillon or the Saurin; the Chalmers or the Hall; the Whitefield, Thomas Spencer, or Summerfield; the Robert Newton or Richard Watson; the Channing, the John M. Mason, or the Henry B. Bascom? Under the ministration of these men, religion is generally held to have been *low*. Whenever the icy fetters were burst, the process was watched with a very jealous eye as to its *genuineness*. There were true doc-

tors of divinity there, who took a very rigid diagnosis, scanned symptoms with a most scientific scrutiny to pronounce whether all was spurious or pure. And sooth to say, the eruptions were sometimes of a violent form; and then, the repressive powers of the doctors were laid on heavily; and so between doctors and disease, it must be confessed, the poor patient was generally rather low. Perhaps it would be thought sectarian in us to add, that the harsh and alkaline character of Calvinistic doctrines have a natural tendency to give to periods of high religious movement, a fierce and violent form; that the tone of address is hard and fulminating, and that the emotions raised are the fearful and angry; and that, in fact, they are hardly capable of eventuating a general, genial, and fertilizing revival for Church and people. And so the general Church, perhaps, waits the disappearance of that acrid element, before revivals can hope to be safely and refreshingly universal.

And yet, let it be admitted, that the stern, solemn, unsmiling, despotic cast of New-England preaching, did much to stamp the New-England population with its grave, conscientious, industrious character. What else made her the "land of steady habits?" The very imputations flung upon New-England are of the same character that every profligate rake flings out upon every conscientious man. When Randolph pronounced the political association between Messrs. Adams and Clay to be "a coalition between the *Puritan* and the *blackleg*," the antithesis was at once geographical and moral. Its very point consisted in the assumption that a New-Englander was a Puritan, and that the blackleg was of another section on the map, and of an opposite pole of character.

(18.) "*Beaumarchais and his Times.* Sketches of French Society in the Eighteenth Century, from unpublished Documents, by LOUIS DE LOMENIE, translated by HENRY S. EDWARDS." (12mo. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) A charming biography is this, full of entertainment and romantic interest; a record of the eventful and extraordinary career of one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of the remarkable period in which he lived; a period which abounded in wonderful characters and singular vicissitudes. Pierre Augustin Caron, for this was his name until, upon his marriage at the age of twenty-five, he assumed the name of Beaumarchais, was born in January, 1732, and died in May, 1799. He was the son of André Charles Caron, a watchmaker of the St. Denis quarter of Paris, and was brought up with considerable difficulty (for he appears to have been rather a fast youth) to his father's profession. He first comes into notice at the age of twenty-four, as the inventor of a new escapement for watches, which invention having been stolen by another watchmaker, he boldly asserted his claim before the Academy of Sciences, and obtained a decision in his favor. From this point he steps almost directly into the royal palace as Clerk Controller of the pantry of the household, and speedily, as a musical instructor, becomes the constant and indispensable companion of the king's daughters and a privileged member of his majesty's household. Thenceforth his career is still more unique; he climbs high and slides down swiftly, but climbs again as if no bone had been broken or bruise incurred by his fall, and this process is so often repeated, that one stands amazed and almost bewildered by the energy, the sagacity, the ver-

satility, the perseverance displayed. He suffers hardships now for the want of a few francs, and is anon one of the leading financiers of Europe, and the owner of millions. He is prostrated by an ignominious decision of Parliament, stripped of houses and home, of social influence, of civil and political rights. But, behold! he speedily rises up to prostrate the Parliament itself. A little while since the mob loaded him with curses and hooted at him as a poisoner and an assassin, and now the king himself, for fear of that very mob, releases him from the prison where he had confined him in a fit of rage a few days ago. Now as a secret agent and a sycophant he does the meanest work of royalty, and now with the wildest enthusiasm, he stands forth the champion of liberty and humanity. He was a watchmaker and an inventor, a merchant, a courtier, a diplomatist, a lawyer, a songster, an admiral, a contractor, a banker, a publisher, (of the first complete edition of the works of Voltaire,) and one of the most successful dramatic writers that France ever produced; the author of the Marriage of Figaro, and several other celebrated plays. Nor was he a "smatterer at all trades and a proficient in none." His wonderful energy and talent were apparent in every undertaking, and almost invariably won him success. But his life was a continued contest with fortune, and what he won she would not permit him to keep. He seemed to fight against fate, and he *almost* conquered.

His connection with this country in its early struggle for independence will increase the interest of American readers in his biography. In that early struggle, he did more for the infant cause of freedom than any other man on his side of the ocean, and he was probably the first man in all the world who saw and predicted the separation of the American colonies from Great Britain, and their erection into an independent nation. We imagine many an American will be surprised to learn the influence that Beaumarchais exerted on our country's destiny, and blush to know how tardily and meanly she repaid her obligations.

This biography throws but little new light upon the times in which Beaumarchais lived, or upon French society in the eighteenth century. His times were, as we have all learned from history long before this book was written, times of intrigue and corruption, when many a sharp and polished intellect did the work of a corrupt heart and an unscrupulous conscience; when a cool brain, and a quick perception, and a dauntless courage, and a regard for uprightness not too high, were needful to force one up from the lower ranks of society to place and power, and Beaumarchais was "a man for the times."

The translation is faithful and somewhat spirited, and the book is very well written; but were the style clumsy and awkward, instead of being, as it is, quite agreeable, the subject and the matter could not fail to make a readable book. H.

(19.) "*Biblical Researches in Palestine* and in the adjacent Regions. A Journal of Travels in the year 1838, by E. Robinson and E. Smith. Drawn up from the Original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations by Edward Robinson, D.D., L.L.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New-York. With new Maps and Plans." (2 vols. 8vo., pp. 614, 600. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1856.)

"*Later Biblical Researches*, in the year 1852, by the same." (1 vol. 8vo., pp. 664. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1856.) Professor Robinson left New-York the middle of the year 1837, on the Palestinean tour, which had formed the guide of his studies and ambition for some years. He passed through Germany, and received the suggestions of the ablest scholars of the age, with whom former associations had made him familiar. He had prepared himself with all the extant scholarship on the subject. He took as his traveling associate, Rev. Eli Smith, whose familiarity with Arabic, both philologically and colloquially, furnished an important aid, amply acknowledged. With the exception of an unexpected deficiency of apparatus, arising from their not having fully anticipated the unrifled geographical spoils of the field, their preparation for thorough investigation was hopeful.

Passing through Athens, Professor R. ascended the Nile, visited Thebes, the Pyramids, and the other celebrated localities of the Nile valley. He next bent his course from Suez to Sinai, making the most fundamental inquiries, and illustrating his route with the amplest dissertation. Thence he proceeded to the Holy Land, of course making Jerusalem his central object, and thence sallying out to the various points of highest interest, Bethel, Jordan, the Dead Sea, etc.

In the summer of 1851, Professor Robinson undertook his second tour, for the purpose of settling various still existing doubts by a re-examination, and extending his researches, especially in Northern Palestine. The records of this investigation constitute the third volume, whose title stands at the head of this notice. The three volumes are supplied with copious miscellaneous appendices. Among these is an article on the Philology of Arabic names, on the Literature of Palestinean Travels, and on the Sinaitic Inscriptions. There is also a note on the discussion which occurred between the lamented Olin and Dr. Robinson, upon which we at present make no remark, other than to place it on record, that the friends of Dr. Olin have an issue with Dr. R. in the matter. A separate Atlas of Maps by Heinrich Kiepert, of Berlin, accompanies the volumes.

It is a point of settled agreement with the various periodicals of Europe, that deal with the subject, that Dr. Robinson's investigations stand at the head of modern research within their field. His examinations were keen and accurate. His comparison of authorities exhaustive and judicially just. His opinions independent without eccentricity, and generally unswayed by any wayward pride of originality. No one has during his generation so advanced this most interesting department; yet no one opens so fully and freely to view, the immense amount of territory yet to be conquered.

Dr. Robinson, it is gratifying to learn, is engaged in the preparation of a Geography of the Holy Land. We look forward to its appearance with interest, as to an era in sacred geographical science.

(20.) "*Sinai and Palestine*, in Connection with their History, by ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY. With Maps and Plans." (12mo., pp. 535. New-York: Redfield, 1857.) A splendid work—both as written by the author and as published by Redfield—on the subject of Biblical topography.

Stanley is celebrated among English theologians, as an eminent scholar, eloquent writer, and deep thinking divine, slightly tending to Latitudinarianism. His work is marked by a healthful skepticism, duly limited by a rich enthusiasm for genuine Biblical history. It is written in a rich, eloquent, scholarly style, and is unsurpassed in the fullness of its geographical contributions, by any publication since the issue of Robinson's great work.

The work is a skillful blending of the observations of a genuine traveler over the grounds, with the freedom of an essayist upon its striking aspects. It is more purely dissertational than Robinson's; flinging out his incidental traveling details, yet preserving the lifelike spirit of a real spectator, and discoursing very much like an eloquent lecturer, from a bird's-eye view over the actual scene.

The illustrations are plentiful. The maps possess the unique advantage of being colored, to correspond to the aspects of the surface of the country. The object sought, and very successfully attained, is to produce to the reader's mind a vivid conception of the visible reality.

(21.) "*Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana*, with an Account of Excavations at Warka, the Erech of Nimrod, and Shush Shushan, the Palace of Esther, by WILLIAM KENNET LOFTUS, F. G. S." (8vo., pp. 433. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1856.) With Mr. Loftus we travel into a deeper Orientalism than Robinson or Stanley furnish; and mount up even to an earlier antiquity, although with a far less affluent archæological spoil than Rawlinson or Layard. Mr. Loftus, after having cast a passing glance at Babylon and Nineveh, which had been scientifically sifted by the last of the above-named savans, boldly struck a route hitherto untrodden by European travel, against the earnest remonstrance of the native authorities, through the wild hordes of the Mesopotamia, over the vast marshes which, from the skirts of the Euphrates, broaden their phylacteries until they sometimes touch the hem of a brother quagmire from the Tigris, until he arrived at the profound desolation of the ruins of Warka.

The unchanged radical consonants of the name of these ruins, identify it with the Greek Orchöe, and the Hebrew Erech. It is thus ascertained to be one of the hamlets of the hunting ground of Nimrod, (as enumerated in that wonderful scrap of primeval topography, Genesis x, 10-12,) which formed the germ of the stupendous monarchies of Assyria and Chaldea. Mr. Loftus describes the solitude of the lonely Warka as most intense; unbroken by the wing of bird or foot of beast, forsaken by the very hyena. It was a necropolis, a burial city, and the stratum of human bones, the remains of corpses borne down the Euphrates from Assyria, for more than two thousand five hundred years, is more than sixty feet deep. In this and neighboring spots, Mr. Loftus continued his excavations, until a rise in the great rivers filling marshes and channels with a rising freshet, compelled him somewhat suddenly to desist. He loaded a couple of ships with the results of his excavations, and descended with them to Bussorah, whence they departed for the British Museum, while he started on a new pilgrimage of research.

He bent his course northward toward that belt of Asiatic mountains that divides that vast continent in two, and which from their misty tops send down the Euphrates, Tigris, and their kindred streams, through the southern plain with a rapid commission to the Persian Sea. The object of his present errand was the ancient capital of Persia, where by tradition Daniel had his tomb, and where Esther attained a crown. He first visited Shuster, and decided against its claims to that high honor. He next visited Shush, a little to the westward, commenced his excavations, and soon disclosed an inscription which identified this locality as the veritable "Shushan the Palace;" nay, he soon arrived in his perforations at what he reasonably identified as the very palace which furnishes this title; the very palace, probably, where the feast was held, in which, according to old Westminster,

Vashti for pride
Was set aside;

though some writers aver that it was a firm womanly *modesty* rather than *pride* which thus vacated the throne for Esther's occupancy.

The whole of Mr. Loftus's discoveries are soon detailed, and are essentially mentioned in his title-page; but the value is not to be estimated by the length of the catalogue. His itinerary narrative, his descriptions of varied adventures, unique characters, and strange agglomerations of humanity, are told in a style which might have excused his modest apologies, and possess a vivid interest for the reader.

The work is finely executed by the Carters, is furnished with numerous engravings, and is a valuable addition to the honorable list of their publications.

(22.) "*Scampavias from Gibel Tarek to Stamboul*, by HARRY GRINGO," (Lieut. Wise, United States Navy.) (12mo., pp. 362. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.) Rather a lively book, though not quite so wicked as the first syllable of its title threatens. The word Scampavias designates the ancient clipper ships of the Knights of Malta; as Gibel Tarek is the Arabic name of Gibraltar and Stamboul, the corrupted Greek designation of Constantinople. His own fictitious name the author translates; so that he has the pleasure of writing *incog.* and *excog.* at the same time. The whole nomenclature, therefore, when Anglicised, as the reader will gather, indicates a trip, rather more *fast* than rapid, from Gibraltar to Constantinople.

(23.) "*El Gringo;* or, New-Mexico and her People, by W. H. H. DAVIS." (12mo., pp. 432. New-York: Harper & Brothers.) Although we have many books of wild Western adventure, there are but few specially devoted to New-Mexico. In the days of Texan warfare, Kendall wrote his graphic description of the Santa Fé expedition, in which he bore a part. And, later, Josiah Gregg published his "Commerce of the Prairies," now issued under the title of "Scenes and Incidents in the Western Prairies and New-Mexico," which is still the best work on the subject. To these have been added several books by United States officers. Major Emory and Lieutenant Simpson, each, published an account of his explorations.

Mr. Davis, the author of El Gringo, has had a better opportunity than any of his predecessors to write historically of New-Mexico. Being secretary of the territory, all the public records are in his keeping; and there are cart-loads of them in the palace in Santa Fé. The transactions of Spanish governments, more than any others, perhaps, abound in written details. The Spaniards certainly excel every other nation in adulatory verbiage, burying unimportant facts under heaps of wordy chaff. The labor of sifting such accumulation is great, and requires indomitable perseverance. But, making all due allowance for the difficulty of the labor, we expected more from Mr. Davis, in consideration of his advantages, than we find in this volume. Very little is added to our knowledge of the early history of New-Mexico.

The chapters on the Pueblo Indians are the most interesting in the book. We have not so full an account of this class of "red brethren" anywhere else. The Pueblos are an interesting people. They have a history extending far up the stream of time—a history written in their rude style of civilization, but which, we fear, will never be put upon paper. If we could get the history of the Pueblo Indians, we should have the history of the New World; at least, of its center and Western coast. The Pueblos have occupied it, semi-civilized, from time immemorial. The error should be corrected that the civilization of these Indians is due to the Romish priests and Spanish government. It is not so. If any change has taken place under their influence, it has not been an improvement. Their Romanism, forced upon them by the sword, has no more real Christianity in it than their Montezuma dances, which are still held with all their ancient enthusiasm. These Indians present the most inviting field for Christian missionaries of any other aborigines on the continent.

Mr. Davis deals very tenderly with Romanism; entirely too much so, we think, for one who has witnessed its terrible desolations, in morals and manners, as seen in New-Mexico. After describing a state of morals which has grown up under its teachings and influence, which we care not to spread upon our pages, he says: "I have nothing to say about the peculiar tenets of Catholicism; whether the belief of those who profess this religion is right or wrong; the creed true or false; because this is a matter which lies wholly between the professor and his Maker, and with which I have nothing to do." If the writer did but know it, the immoral practices he condemns are the legitimate fruits of the system of faith with which he has nothing to do! Such apologetic distinctions may be very amiable; they certainly are not very acute.

Mr. Davis, in criticising a school-boy's "Farewell Address" to the Bishop of New-Mexico, when he started on his pilgrimage to Rome to kiss the pope's toe, says: "It might have been accused of toadyism." We were reminded, by this severe criticism of the "boy," of the return of this same dignitary from Rome, and of his reception by boys of older growth. We extract from an editorial in the Santa Fé Gazette—November 25, 1854—Mr. Davis being the editor: "About eleven o'clock, Saturday morning, Company H, First United States Dragoons, in full uniform, commanded by Lieutenant Sturges, paraded in the plaza, preparatory to marching out to meet the bishop and escort him in. They left town about noon, accompanied by a numerous cavalcade of gentle-

men, composed of officers of the army, and citizens, etc. * * * * At Aroyo Hondo they met the bishop and his party, whom they received *in due form.* * * * * The procession entered the plaza, at the northeast corner, about three o'clock; at which time a *salute of artillery* was fired by the military in the barrack-yard." Query: What number of guns constitutes a Roman bishop's salute in the American military code? "Arrived in front of the church, the dragoons formed in line and saluted the bishop as he passed in; when *Te Deum* was offered up, which occupied half an hour, after which he remounted, and, in the same manner as he entered, was escorted to his place of residence." What "*toadyism*" was this! What a prostitution of the American army!

But the "toadyism" was not yet played out. In the evening a supper was given to his eminence. "Judge Houghton proposed the health of the guest, with hearty good-will, from brimming glasses." The bishop, of course, replied. "Among those assembled were the Hon. Chief Justice Davenport, Hon. Secretary of the Territory, *Mr. Davis!* Major Nichols, etc., all of the United States army, and our leading merchants and citizens."

This "toadyism" of American Protestants, and prostitution of the American government in the persons of its officers, have been carried to an undue length in New-Mexico. It may be worth while to give a few other instances. "To-day we went to church in great state. The governor's seat—a large, well-stuffed chair, covered with crimson—was occupied by the commanding officer. The church was crowded with an attentive audience of men and women; but not a word was uttered from the pulpit by the priest, who kept his back to the congregation the whole time, repeating prayers and incantations. The band—the identical one used at the fandango, and strumming the same tunes—played without intermission."—Emory's Reconnoisance, p. 34. Wonder if the commanding officers would have gone to such a dumb show in a Protestant church! Would they have gone to church at all? Again, in Doniphan's Expedition, p. 17, we read: "The church was crowded to overflowing, though ample enough to contain two thousand persons. The altar was lighted up with twenty-four candles. Six priests officiated. General Kearney and staff officers, and some of the officers of the volunteer companies, were present, and looked, and, no doubt, felt, supremely ridiculous, each one holding a long greasy tallow candle in his hand, which was to be blown out and relighted at certain intervals during the ceremony." A pretty exhibition of an American general and his staff!

But Major Emory tells us, p. 42: "It was thought proper that the officers should show every respect to the religious observances of this country; consequently they did not decline participating in these ceremonies." But, in illustrating the "toadyism," we have been led quite away from "El Gringo."

The Indian policy recommended in this book merits severe censure. After detailing several instances of cruelty, the author says: "Yet, with such abundant evidence before our eyes of the savage cruelty of these Western Indians, there is a class of people in the United States whose hearts are constantly overflowing with sympathy for these inhuman fiends. This mawkish feeling of pity for the 'poor Indian' has existed long enough, and it is quite time the

people should come to view them in their proper light. * * * * The only mode of governing these savages is by fear of punishment—the 'moral suasion' of powder and lead—as their flinty hearts are not capable of appreciating kinder treatment." Such sentiments are expected from borderers, who have passed a lifetime in personal conflicts with savage foes; but for an educated and professional man, a literary gentleman, who writes books, to indulge in such savage recommendations, is almost as uncivilized as it is unchristian. The Indians are savages; and Mr. Davis recommends that the United States government become equally savage in its treatment of them.

The depredations of the Indians are constantly complained of; but, in the vast majority of cases, they are retaliatory, or acts forced upon them by starving necessity. The Indians have long been at the point of starvation, and the increasing encroachments of the whites are constantly reducing their supplies. Some of the tribes of New-Mexico, within the last few years, have been reduced to the necessity of living upon the bark of the pine-tree. In such necessity, unpitied by the white man, they are compelled, in self-preservation, to steal. This tribe, so reduced, did steal three horned cattle, after asking the owner to give them, stating their necessity; for which a war was commenced upon them, lasting some two years, costing the United States near a half million of money, the lives of about one hundred citizens and soldiers, and almost the extinction of the tribe. And this is the policy that Secretary Davis recommends; and, alas! this is the policy which our government has too long pursued.

The military establishment in the department, including New-Mexico, costs the United States government about one and a half millions annually; and almost the only use of the military is to keep the Indians in subjection. Half a million appropriated to feed, and clothe, and shelter the red man, whom we have robbed, would protect more property and preserve more life than all the sabers in the territory. The best Indian agent in that country, and one who has charge of about ten thousand Indians, says he will obligate himself to be responsible for all the depredations committed by them if the government will furnish him $20,000 per annum with which to take care of them. The regular appropriation for the Indian department in that territory is, we believe, only some $30,000; and there are not less than thirty thousand Indians within its limits.

But we must lay aside Mr. Davis's book on New-Mexico. Those who have read nothing on the subject will find it interesting and instructive, though somewhat tame in description and confused in arrangement. L.

(24.) "*New-Granada;* Twenty Months in the Andes, by ISAAC F. HOLTON, M. A., Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Middlebury College. With Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 605. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Professor Holton was induced to pay a visit to New-Granada from motives of scientific interest. The fact that New-Granada was literally a "*flowery land,*" and yet that its botany had been little investigated, prompted him to go very much upon a botanical pilgrimage. His attention was, however, awake to every

variety of topic, and his observations are a vast miscellany, without much formal plan, embracing traveling incidents, geographical delineations, characteristic pictures, and a slight amount of history and politics. The whole is conveyed in a lively style, bordering on colloquy with his reader. The information it conveys, though unsystematic, is multifarious and entertaining, forming a very readable and rewarding book.

IV.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(25.) "*Westward Empire;* or, the Great Drama of Human Progress, by E. L. MAGOON." (12mo., pp. 425. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) This work is an attempt to trace the history of civilization, or to unfold the sources and indicate the results of human progress. The author thus defines his purpose: "Civilization is earth's central stream, and all literatures, arts, sciences, philosophies, and religions, are tributaries to swell its tide and increase its current. To indicate the successive sources, describe the multiform elements, and demonstrate the progressive aggregation and enrichment of this unity in diversity, is the object of the present work."

The ages of Pericles, Augustus, Leo X., and Washington, are considered epochs; and under each, literature, art, science, philosophy, and religion, are made the subjects of treatment. In this, certainly, there is nothing original, unless it should be the dignifying of the last age, as that of Washington, to which, of course, as Americans, we cannot patriotically object.

The book possesses some excellences, and abounds with surprising blemishes. It is neither history nor philosophy, nor yet a mixture of the two. It was not intended for poetry, and it is certainly not good prose. There are in it unmistakable proofs of genius; but of genius hampered—struggling in a mist. An everlasting word-lunacy marks every page. Despite of richness of material and thought, the reader sinks down, suffocated and fainting, under the torrent of stilted terms, or reels away blinded with the glare of meretricious sentences. All antiquity is ransacked, but without bringing back any idea, except that it had some brilliant names in poetry, oratory, sculpture, and other departments of mental power. The stream is traced down through the ages; but in the author's hand it becomes a roaring, tumbling, foaming cataract, wreathed in vapor, which one in vain seeks to follow. Where we ought to expect calm and lucid statement, and philosophic generalization, we encounter but the most bombastic declamation. This is all the more to be lamented, because there are abundant proofs of industry, research, and information, which, but for the passion for picture drawing and extravagant garnishing, might have been productive of both an entertaining and useful book.

But with all this that is exceptionable in the work which we have felt it our duty thus to notice, we are not sorry it has been written and published. Some, doubtless, will read it, and derive profit from it; and it will add something of value to the general stock of knowledge. And it is but just to say, that, unlike many, on the whole better works, this book, besides scattering many good things by the wayside, grows better as the reader advances, to very near the close. F.

V. *Belles Lettres.*

(26.) "*The Tragedies of Euripides.* Literally Translated or Revised, with Critical and Explanatory Notes, by THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY, of Christ Church." (2 vols., 16mo., pp. 402, 334. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) The Harpers have here given us a Bohn as like as Bohn is to himself. Those to whom the original Euripides is a sealed book, including, doubtless, the Democracy in general, will doubtless think the great dramatist of the Athenian Democracy "done into English," the next best substitute. We have laid out no pains to ascertain how *literally* he is "done." But our eye has fallen upon a chance specimen, which is perhaps translated so *literally* as hardly to be translated at all; it stays Greek. Thus in the Cyclops, the wretched Cyclops exclaims, "Alas! I am burned to ashes *as to my bright eye.*" It needs a second translation of this transferred Grecism, to enable a plain Anglic to understand that Cyclops means, Alas! my bright eye is burned to ashes. The universal combustion of the Cyclops thus suddenly limited to the *eye* is very good Greek; but in English it is about as ludicrous as if a poor pauper should exclaim, "O! I am dying of a consumption—*as to my pockets.*" Only in the Cyclops' speech the anti-climax is decidedly more tapering.

In the selection of this accidental passage for criticism, we intend no display either of erudition or captiousness. We doubt not, from the scholarly position of the translator and the judicious selections made for the Harper Classical Library, that our readers will find this not only the cheapest, but the best translation of this dramatist in reach. We confess the "masterly inactivity" of omitting a perusal of the whole.

(27.) "*Autumnal Leaves:* Tales and Sketches in Prose and Rhyme, by L. MARIA CHILD." (12mo., pp. 363. New-York: C. S. Francis & Co., 1857.) In matters of religion, Mrs. Child is the child of bewildering doubt; but in the field of pure literature few possess more power of attraction. She expresses the conceptions of a refined and lively fancy in language of great music, grace, and beauty. A humane and tender vein runs through her productions; and were she a safe, she would be a pleasant guide, in matters of serious moment.

(28.) "*Essays, Biographical and Critical;* or, Studies of Character, by HENRY T. TUCKERMAN." (8vo., pp. 475. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1857.) Mr. Tuckerman has here presented us a critical portraiture of some thirty different personages, characterized each by some leading trait, and furnishing together a group worthy of attentive study. The subjects are selected from various countries, but none beyond the limits of Europe and America; and from various periods, but all from the range of modern history. The various professions and callings of life furnish a representative; though we may, perhaps, except the sacred profession, since its only specimen selected—Roger Williams—is contemplated simply as a founder of toleration.

Mr. Tuckerman has attained a high reputation in American literature as a refined and clear thinker, and a subtle and attractive writer. He dares to use a pure, perspicuous English style, venturing, that in the breadth of the reading world he will find correct taste, and good sense enough to furnish him ample audience and remunerative market. He has the courage to think and speak with calm and reflective repose, at the risk, may be, of being hurried off the stage by the impatient, or drowned by the clamor of the mob; yet reliant that his calm and unwavering voice will reach its correlative lot of listening ears and sympathizing minds. We pay our age the compliment to believe that he will not be disappointed.

Which is the best of his portraits? The answer will depend quite as much upon the taste of the respondent as the character of the piece; for so equal are the efforts of Mr. Tuckerman's mind, and so uniform the flow of his style, that it is doubtful whether there is much difference in the execution. But we should prefer to hang the portrait of Berkeley in our study.

(29.) "*André;* a Tragedy in Five Acts, by W. W. Lord." (8vo., pp. 138. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1856.) Our young patriot poet was not unconscious of the arduousness of his self-imposed task. To impart poetic zest to transactions which distance of time or space has invested with no enchantment, is about an impossibility even for genuine genius. History is a jealous goddess, who by the broad glare she flings around the event, frightens her more timid sister muse from the ground. On opening this poem we are at first rather repelled at the idea of Washington and Arnold, etc., talking blank verse. Yet the author has managed his difficulties with skill. He puts not into the mouth of his characters any of the subtle etherealism or the intense subjectivism which impregnate much of the poetry of our later day. His easy measure rises but slightly above prose; and the general tone preserves but that gentle elevation that even historical dialogue demands. We soon find that he has endeavored to translate into rhythm the natural feelings which may properly be supposed to have passed through the minds of the persons engaged in the transactions. In this respect the effort is not a failure. Yet it scarce rises above a middle flight, quite short of immortality.

VI.—*Miscellaneous.*

(30.) "*Tales and Takings*, Sketches and Incidents, from the Itinerant and Editorial Budget of Rev. J. V. Watson, D.D., Editor of the Northwestern Christian Advocate." (12mo., pp. 466. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1856.) This entertaining work of Dr. Watson's contains several articles from the pen of paid contributors to the paper which he edited during the last ten years of his life; a smaller number appropriated from the public domain of literature, because of their intrinsic excellence, and by way of reprisal for the straying away beyond his reach of some of his "intellectual children;" and a number of contributions from his own pen. All its contents are rich and valuable;

but, to us, his own articles, which constitute the staple of the volume, are its most attractive portion. Indeed, we have learned to prize the writings of Dr. Watson, in any department of literature, more highly than those of almost any other man of mark in the same department. He seems to us to have had, in a remarkable degree, the power, which is seldom possessed by a single individual, of penning a logical and strong political, moral, or religious article, or a sprightly and attractive moral fiction. It is impossible, we think, to read his "Helps to the Promotion of Revivals," and the volume here noticed, without wondering at the versatility of the talent which he possessed. The former is full of strong thoughts, strongly and impressively presented; the latter of beautiful conceptions, beautifully clothed, and of admirable descriptions of "personal adventures" in the "Western wilds," and of the natural scenery upon which he had gazed. His "Incidents" and "Lights and Shades" in the Itinerancy "have cheered our hearts, and led us to see more of" the "silver lining" of the "cloud" which overshadows the path of the itinerant, while his "General Conference Takings" have made us so familiar with some of our "men of renown," that we seem to have known them all our life, and to be within speaking distance of them, and on speaking terms with them. We sorrow that our gifted brother has left us for his brighter home and nobler and more befitting labors; but rejoice that his "intellectual children" are being placed within reach of the Church of which he was so bright an ornament. With interest and eagerness we look for the forthcoming volume of Lectures, Essays, and Sermons; assured of an intellectual feast when it appears. T.

Of most of the following we give the titles only:

"*Physical Geography*, for Families and Schools, by R. M. ZORNLIN, author of Recreations in Physical Geography. Revised, with Additions, by WILLIAM L. GAGE, late Master of the Taunton High School." (18mo., pp. 159. Boston and Cambridge: James Monroe & Co., 1856.) A beautiful little volume, on a delightful and valuable branch of school education.

"*Examples from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, by Mrs. L. H. SIGOURNEY." The examples which Mrs. Sigourney has here presented, from her popular pen, are Wesley, Roger Sherman, Chief Justice Ellsworth, Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, Mrs. Hemans, and others.

"*Elements of Plane and Solid Geometry*, together with Elements of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, by GERARDUS B. DOCHARTY, LL.D." (12mo., pp. 189. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) This forms one of Professor Docharty's series of valuable Mathematical Class Books.

"*Heaven*, by JAMES W. KIMBALL." (12mo., pp. 281. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1857.) A beautiful book, abounding with peculiar, and yet not too daring, speculation.

"*The Doctrine of Baptisms.* Scriptural Examinations of the Questions respecting, 1. The Translation of Baptizo; 2. The Mode of Baptism; 3. The Subjects of Baptism; by GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, D.D." (12mo., pp. 319. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.) An able work, adopting President Beecher's exposition of the word Baptizo, and maintaining infant baptism.

"*Our Friends in Heaven;* or, the Mutual Recognition of the Redeemed in Glory Demonstrated, by J. M. KILLEN, M. A. From the fourth Edinburgh edition; edited by Rev. D. W. CLARK, D.D." (18mo., pp. 285. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1857.) The most thorough work extant upon a subject of deep religious interest.

"*Pastors and Churches* at Washington, D. C., together with Five Hundred Topics of Sermons, delivered in 1855 and 1856. To which is added a list of all the Church Edifices and their Localities, by LORENZO D. JOHNSON." (18mo., pp. 171. New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1857.)

"*Life of Prince Talleyrand*, by CHARLES M'HARY." (12mo., pp. 382. New-York: C. Scribner.) A most impartial and interesting life of a bad man.

"*The Laws of Health;* or, Sequel to the House I live in, by WILLIAM A. ALCOTT, M.D., Designed for Families and Schools." (12mo., pp. 424. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co., 1857.)

"*Memories of Bethany*, by the author of 'Night Watches.'" (18mo., pp. 270. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.)

"*Roman Catholicism Scripturally Considered;* or, The Church of Rome the Great Apostasy, by CHARLES P. JONES, of the North Carolina Conference." (12mo., pp. 396. New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1856.)

"*History of the Invasion* and Capture of Washington, by JOHN S. WILLIAMS." (12mo., pp. 371. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.)

ART. XI.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

The Established Church.—The Denison case continues to keep both parties of the Church in anxious suspense. The Court of Arches has been compelled, by the Court of Queen's Bench, to entertain the appeal of Mr. Denison. There is no doubt that it will confirm the decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the last refuge of the Tractarians in this question—the Privy Council—inspires them with no greater hope of a final victory. The party has, in the meanwhile, time to discuss the question, What to do, when the last appeal will have proved fruitless. The joint declaration of the leading men in the party—Pusey, Keble, Bennett, and many others—that they share the opinion of the impeached archdeacon, will be of no avail to the latter, no more than their appeal to the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, and, eventually, to a general council of the Episcopal Church. The party itself is aware of this, and is taking a general secession from the State Church, and the establishment of a free Episcopal Church, into more serious consideration. The state of affairs in the Establishment is becoming altogether too bad for them; for another episcopal see, that of Ripon, (the fourth within the last twelve months,) has been filled by an "Evangelical;" and even at Oxford, at the election of a new hebdomadal councilor, the candidate of the Evangelicals was elected, by a majority of eighty-nine to sixty-seven, over his Puseyite antagonist. What consolation can it give to them, in view of such facts, that the Bishop of Exeter upholds the purity of doctrine by suspending an Evangelical clergyman (Rev. Henry Seymour) for doctrines at variance with those of the Church of England; and that the Bishop of Oxford lays aside his timidity to ask, with

his colleague of Exeter, the separation of the "consecrated" burying-ground of "The [Episcopal] Church" from the graves of dissenters by a sufficiently high stone wall?

The Dissenters.—The Wesleyans are making efforts for the missionary cause which may serve as a model for the whole Christian world. They are deliberating upon measures to secure for their missionary society, as a minimum, £150,000 of yearly receipts. The peace of the Congregational Union has been greatly disturbed by the controversy on the negative theology. The autumnal meeting could not be held, the independent Churches of Cheltenham refusing to have it in their town. A special meeting, held in January, did not succeed in settling the question; but the many warm protests entered against the imputation of heterodoxy, and the unanimous, solemn declaration, that the Congregational Union, as a body, "maintain an unabated attachment to those great principles on which they have been incorporated from the time of their formation," has done much to disperse the fear spreading among many members of the Evangelical sister denominations, with regard to the orthodoxy of the Congregationalist ministers.

The Roman Church has received about the usual number of "converts" from Puseyism; but the hope of making some progress in England is greatly outweighed by the fear of losing Ireland, where the national feelings of the people, and a large portion of the lower clergy, are more irritated against Rome than ever. In Rome itself there begins to be disquiet on the state of Ireland; and all the archbishops have been summoned to the tribunal of the pope, in order to have grave consultations with his holiness on the dangers menacing their flocks.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

United Evangelical Church.—The whole Protestant Church of Germany has followed, with an uncommon interest, the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Conference at Berlin, convoked by the King of Prussia, in order to hear, on several vital questions of the Church, the opinion of her most distinguished members. The list of names contains most of the celebrities of the Prussian clergy and laity, as Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Nitzch, Stahl, Gerlach, and many others of world-wide reputation. Owing to the close connection between Church and State, the governors of all the eight provinces were also present, except the Governor of Westphalia, who is a Catholic. No other fact can show, in a clearer light, the great change of religious opinion in the higher circles of German society, than such a conference. Not one of its members professed the old Rationalism. With a single dissent, it was unanimously declared, that the members of the Prussian Church were bound to acknowledge the validity of the symbolic books of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches respectively, or of the common points (the consensus) of both. The Conference claimed, as a right of the Church, to legislate independently, and without regard to civil legislation, on the cases in which divorced persons may be remarried. This will remove one of the most serious grievances of the Church, whose ministers were heretofore compelled to remarry all persons divorced in accordance with the civil law, although the reasons of the divorce were contrary to the Bible. No great confidence was expressed in the usefulness of a General Synod. If the king persists in the wish of convoking it, it will consist of chosen representatives of the district or provincial synods, the right being reserved to the king to add to these chosen members as many men in whom he reposes confidence as he pleases.

Lutheran Churches.—Several decrees of the Supreme Consistory of Bavaria, betraying the wish of introducing into the Bavarian Church the reforms resolved upon by the Conference of Dresden, have occasioned a general excitement among the Protestant laity. The consistory desires to make private confession, previous to the reception of the Lord's Supper, the general rule; to place public sinners in reserved seats at public worship; to mention, at the baptism of illegitimate children, the sin of their parents; and to return, in the official catechism and the liturgical books, as much as possible to the language of the sixteenth century. The wide-awake suspicion, that a restoration of the Lutheranism of the sixteenth century may easily become for many a bridge to the Romanism of the fifteenth, has organized a general resistance to the consistorial decrees. A great majority of the church-wardens have petitioned the Catholic king to annul the decrees, as detrimental to the Protestant Church; and, at the new election of church-wardens, the "Evangelical" party has won a signal vic-

tory over the "Lutheran." As a majority of the clergy is as decidedly for the consistory as the laity is against it, very hot debates may be expected on the next General Synod of the Bavarian Church, which is to take place in May, and which consists of two thirds clergymen to one third laymen. In Hanover and Mecklenburg the influence of the new Lutheran tendencies on the government of the State Churches has been increased; but the sympathy of the people with them is not greater than in Bavaria. In Holstein, a new Lutheran liturgy, which resembles, in many points, that of the Roman Church, has been introduced in some places; and, in Hanover, the Lutherans have formed a new "Luther Association," which has the same objects as the Gustavus Adolphus Association, and is intended to withdraw from the latter all the contributions of Lutherans. The Lutheran Associations of Hesse Darmstadt, and of one province of Prussia, have petitioned their governments for having the "Lutheran" name restored to the Evangelical state Churches; but, notwithstanding this zeal in behalf of Lutheranism, the participation of the Lord's Supper has been again denied by the Free Lutheran Church of Prussia to all members of the State Church.

Protestantism in General.—In two countries of Germany, only, the clergy is almost unanimously opposed to the tendencies of the New Lutherans—in Wirtemberg and Austria; in the former country more from evangelical, in the latter more from rationalistic, reasons. In Hungary, all the synods of the two Protestant Churches have reclaimed against several provisions in the draft of a new ecclesiastical constitution, as proposed by the government, and have demanded the convocation of a general synod as the only competent authority to legislate on a new constitution in a Protestant Church. It is, however, generally acknowledged that, besides many obnoxious passages, the ministerial draft gives, in some points, to Austrian Protestantism, a greater independence than any other German Church enjoys. In Berlin, preparations are already made for the general assembly of the Evangelical Alliance. The whole union party will take a lively part in it, and distinguished speakers have already been appointed. The attitude of the Lutheran party has not yet been decided upon. Several of their High-Church organs declare for preferring an alliance with Rome to one with the sects of England and America. Others, however, declare in favor of a participation; which will be, however, on the part of all Lutherans, very lukewarm. The largest attendance may be expected from Wirtemberg, where a synod, under the presidency of the pious prelate, Kapff, has, almost unanimously, declared its deepest sympathy with the cause of the alliance.

Church and State.—The great number of religious questions pending in the German Parliaments is justly considered as a sign of the greater interest now shown by the governments and the people in the religious development of the country. In Prussia, the government has brought in a bill repealing a number of the trifling pretexts under which the common Prussian law permits divorces. A majority of the committee charged with the examination of the bill declares in favor of it. The wish to restore to the State a Christian character, leads, however, to continual acts of injustice toward the dissidents. The Prussian courts claim the children of all persons seceding from the State Church as members of the State Church until their fourteenth year; and parents, who have joined the Baptists, have again been fined for refusing to have their children baptized. Another one of the smaller states has, also, reinforced an old decree, according to which all members of the Church must have their children baptized within fourteen days, and are fined for every subsequent day in case of omitting it. The Jews are, in almost every state, threatened with the loss of their political rights. In Hanover, they can no longer be elected as members of the Parliament; and in Saxe Steiningen, the communities are authorized to prevent any further settlement among them of a Jew; but, in Hesse Cassel, the Parliament has, by a great majority, advocated the political rights of the Jews.

The Roman Church in Austria.—The long-expected marriage law was published in October. Few events in the history of the Roman Church, in the nineteenth century, equal it in importance. All matrimonial causes will, henceforth, belong to the exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts; and the civil authorities will have no other function but, most officiously, to execute the decrees of the Church. In most of the Austrian dioceses the ecclesiastical courts went into operation on the second of January. The project now mostly oc-

cupying the episcopate is the erection of the Free Catholic University, which has been promised to the Church. A memorial concerning it has been drawn up by the Archbishop of Vienna, and is now circulating among the bishops, each of whom will add such remarks as will seem proper to him. After the opinions of all the bishops have been thus ascertained, a deputation of bishops will present the memorial to the minister of public instruction. The clergy, in the meanwhile, have become aware that, whatever facilities the government may offer, there is a great difficulty in the scarcity of Catholic scholars in Austria; in the department of theology not less than in all the others. A clerical professor of Austria has, recently, published a special work on the question, why Austria has no theological scholars, and on the means to produce a better state of things for the future. Among these means, we believe, will not belong the recent condemnation, by Rome, of the first philosopher of Catholic Germany, Dr. Anton Günther. While all literary life in Austria was in stagnation, Günther alone succeeded in establishing his reputation as one of the first philosophers of Germany. Most of the Catholic professorships of philosophy are, at present, occupied by his pupils; the majority of the Austrian clergy, archbishops and bishops not excepted, have been reared in his views; even the whole Protestant literature has not withheld its admiration of the depth of his science. The latter circumstance has, probably, worked in Rome against him. His party will, undoubtedly, submit to the authority of the holy see; but, according to all reports, the discouragement produced by this latest measure of Rome among the Catholic scholars of Germany will prove one of the heaviest blows which the literature of the Roman Church has suffered for a long time.

The Roman Church in the rest of Germany.—Encouraged by the success of their Church in Austria, the Prussian Catholics demand that also the Protestant government of Prussia re-establish the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts over all marriage affairs, and execute, by the secular arm, their decisions. The Catholic party in the Prussian Chamber of Representatives, counting about forty members, is bargaining with the government to get its support. The government, however, found this wish a little too much for its Protestant feelings; and it is expected that the Protestant members, of all parties, will vote as unanimously against it as was the case in the committee. Wirtemberg and Hanover have concluded new agreements with Rome, which, it is believed, will be satisfactory to the Catholic party; but they have not yet been published. There is, at present, scarcely a single Protestant state in Germany in which the bishops are not quarreling with the government. Every government, pushed by the Austrian diplomatists, is ready to make some concessions, although they still hesitate to go the full length of the Roman claims.

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.

The Roman Church in Belgium.—At the opening of the Belgian legislature, the liberal party made fruitless efforts to secure to the professors of the state universities liberty of speech. The Catholic majority in both houses has endorsed the circular of the minister of the interior, who threatened the professors who do not refrain from attacks upon the Catholic Church with deposition. The skillful advocacy of freedom of speech by the liberals has called forth, however, a serious split among the Catholic party, and induced the minister of the interior to make the significant admission that a people, educated according to the principles of the Roman index, would soon become a generation of idiots. The minister, with some of his colleagues, has seen himself, since that declaration, exposed to the most violent attacks of the more Ultramontane fraction of the Catholic party.

The Jansenists.—The bishops of the small Jansenist Church in Holland, which has been, for longer than a century, without connection with Rome, because it rejects the infallibility of the pope and appeals from him to a general council of the Church, have entered a joint protest against the pope's presumption in adding, by the dogmatic definition of the immaculate conception, a new dogma to the belief of the Catholic Church. The pope has answered, as usual, by a new bull of condemnation.

Protestantism.—A great revival has been witnessed by the small Protestant Church of Belgium, and the meetings for reading the Bible have been frequented by thousands of Catholics. The alarm produced in the ruling Church, by the progress of Protestantism, has given rise to disgraceful riots in several places, especially in Antwerp and Ghent, where a

fanatical mob has endeavored to disperse the religious meetings of Protestants. In Ghent, the mayor has been cowardly enough to dissuade further meetings of the Protestants, instead of defending their constitutional rights. In Holland, the alliance of the evangelical party with the political reactionists injures the progress of evangelical principles in a Church and country where German rationalism is still prevailing.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—The controversy between the "Univers" and its opponents (see January, 1857, p. 171) took, in the latter months of 1856, a dimension which filled the whole Catholic world with alarm. The Bishop of Chartres intimated, in a public letter, his dissatisfaction with the course of the "Univers;" and it was understood that thirty-one other bishops shared his opinion. Every leading organ of the Catholic world found itself induced to meddle with the contest, and the split extended from France over the whole Church. The "Univers" complained that most of the foreign papers did not understand the exact nature of the contest; but it was a remarkable circumstance, that nearly all the papers which, in their labors for Rome, rely particularly on the weapons of science, were against, and all those which put a greater trust in fire and sword, were for the "Univers." The lawsuit against the pamphlet—"The 'Univers' Judged by Itself"—had already commenced, when the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris put an unexpected end to it. The administrators of the archdiocese urged the author of the pamphlet to withdraw it from public sale, on which condition the "Univers" was willing to desist from its complaint. The collision of the two parties was thus postponed to a future period. In another controversial question, Ultramontanism has completely overcome the resistance of the bishops. For centuries France has clung to its national or Gallican liturgy as a sacred palladium. The popes wished, in vain, to replace it by the one used in Rome; but, in these last years, the efforts of the Papal party have been so successful that, out of eighty-four dioceses of France, only eight, and, out of fifteen metropolitan secs, only one, (Besançon,) still retain the Gallican liturgy; and even these few are tired of their solitary resistance, and are on the point of submitting.

Literary Items.

The subject of Scripture inspiration is, at the present time, very much a topic of public thought. Mr. M'Naught has been replied to by Rev. J. B. Lowe, in a work entitled, "*Inspiration a Reality; or, a Vindication of the Plenary Inspiration and Infallible Authority of Holy Scriptures.*" Mr. M'Naught has rejoined in a pamphlet of sixteen pages, entitled, "*Inspiration a Reality and Infallibility a Delusion.*" Mr. Lowe has the last word, in a pamphlet of eighteen pages, entitled, "*Criticism Criticised and Misrepresentations Corrected.*"

There has been commenced, in London, under the editorial care of several clergymen, the Hexaglot Bible, containing, besides the original tongues of both Testaments, the Septuagint, Hebrew New Testament, the Vulgate, and the authorized English, the French, and the German versions. Part I, Genesis i–xxxiii, 4to., pp. 96. Henry Cohn, 111 Strand.

Keil's Commentary on the Book of Joshua, translated for Clarke's Foreign Theological Library, is to be followed by Keil on Kings and Chronicles.

Professor Bopp is engaged in publishing a revised edition of his celebrated Comparative Grammar.

Messrs. Didot, the celebrated French publishers, have been, for several years, engaged in issuing a standard edition of the Greek classics. They have favored scholars who are interested in that department, with what has heretofore been very inaccessible—an edition of the Greek Plotinus. The best elucidators of the Neo-Platonic philosophy are French, namely: Jules Simon, Vacherot, and Matter. Didot's edition of Plotinus contains the Latin translation of Marsilius Ficinus, carefully emended by the ablest scholars. Further and important aids are added.

"*Christianity and Hindooism;* their Pretensions Compared, and various Questions of Indian Religion and Literature Discussed, in a Dialogue. Being an expansion of the Muir Essay, to which a prize was adjudged, in the year 1847, by the University of Cambridge. By Rowland Williams, B.D., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge." This work is the result of great research, and is intended as a weapon against the Hindoo religion, in the work of practical conversion.

Art. XII.—PARLEY EDITORIAL.

As we intimated in our last number, the articles of our present issue are mainly upon home topics.

The narrow limits of our little Quarterly have compelled so much, both of compression and abridgment, in the first article, that the author fears that some obscurity will appear in the development of his topic. We hope that an independent publication of this and other essays, from the same hand, will furnish him ample scope for the full unfolding of his analytical acumen and affluent erudition.

The lively sketch of Western Methodism furnishes a picture of intellectual as well as religious successes. The keen touches upon the illiberality of other denominations toward our literary claims in that region, are plentifully sustainable by facts. At the same time, it may be queried whether this illiberality, without being justified, is not in some degree palliated by the apparent contumely with which scholarship and scholarly men have been mentioned by some of our influential men in that section. To have had anything to do with a college has sometimes been made so prominent a merit, apparently, that outsiders have understood scholarship really to be proscribed. And this has transpired not simply in the days of yore, but, if we mistake not, down to the latest General Conference harangue, and in the freshest autobiography. To all these manifestoes of individual peculiarity, most of us have listened with good-humored indulgence; well knowing that our denomination is able to exhibit an honorable literary record, and not doubting that these very men were, in fact, about as ready to make heroic sacrifices for our literary, as for our religious prosperity. But, meantime, the spoken word and the written page take wing and go forth; they drop irrevocably into the public mind. These men are held to be our spokesmen, and we are taken at our own word and appreciated at our own price.

The article on Slavery is from one of the ablest and most conservative pens in our Church. The same pen produced an article not less nobly free, for the Quarterly, years ago. We have arrived at a crisis in which *firm boldness* is the true and only conservatism. Pusillanimity is destructivism. Avoiding any discussion of changes of our own Church organism on this point, the Methodist Quarterly, as the anti-slavery organ of an anti-slavery Church, based upon an anti-slavery Discipline as it is, will be fearless and free.

A memorial to the "Last of the Huguenots" comes appropriately from a writer who is himself one of their descendants, and is therefore a living proof that the last of their *race* has not come and gone. We suppose we betray no literary secret in saying, that the same pen produced the Appendix to Weiss's History of the French Protestant Refugees, in which the Narrative of the American branch of Refugees is supplied.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1857.

ART. I.—ARMINIUS.

The Works of James Arminius, D.D., formerly Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden. Translated from the Latin, in three volumes. The first and second by JAMES NICHOLS, author of "Calvinism and Arminianism compared in their Principles and Tendency." The third, with a Sketch of the Life of the author, by Rev. W. R. BAGNALL, A.M., of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Auburn: Derby & Miller; Buffalo: Derby, Orton, & Mulligan. 3 vols. 8vo., pp. 669, 538, 565. 1853.*

IT is our purpose in the present article to consider the relation which Arminius sustained to Christian doctrine; to estimate the influence which he exerted upon its historical development, and the rank due to him among the great theological leaders of the Church.

* We have here ventured to associate as subject and review, a book and an article, which were furnished without any reference to each other.

The three stately volumes of Arminius's works, partly translated and entirely edited by Mr. Bagnall, and issued from the publishing house of Derby, Orton, & Mulligan, Buffalo and Auburn, have long deserved a full notice in the pages of this Quarterly. They are the first complete edition of Arminius that has appeared in the English language, and the first edition of any material part of his works that has appeared in this country. Our denomination, whose creed accords so completely with the teachings of this learned, and accomplished, and holy man, is bound to maintain the freshness of his precious memory. We cannot better do it than by well sustaining this beautiful monument of his genius, his piety, his erudition, and his misfortunes. An appeal to his works, as they stand, will show with how much candor or learning the Calvinistic pulpits of our country have applied his name, to designate doctrines which he condemned with as much explicitness and far more consistency than Calvinists themselves. The name of Arminius is one of the brightest records of the modern Church, and passing years will but increase the luster with which it beams.

Mr. Bagnall, the editor, is a graduate of the Wesleyan University, and was subsequently tutor at that institution, where he was distinguished for the thoroughness of his classical scholarship. We trust that this enterprise of his youthful scholarship is but the first-fruits of what he will accomplish.—*Ed. Qu. Rev.*

The difficulty of such an estimate is greatly enhanced by the fact, that nearly all our standard histories of the Church, which cover the period of the Calvinistic controversy, and from whose statements the prevailing estimates of the great theologians who have figured in the Church, in bygone years, are formed, are written by men whose sympathies are all enlisted against Arminius, either from Lutheran jealousy or Calvinistic hatred; and who, on that account, are really, though often unconsciously, incapable of either recognizing or delineating the true significance of the great ecclesiastical movement, to which he gave the initial impulse. Let an Arian write a History of the Nicene Age, and his estimate of Athanasius would be just as reliable as most of the representations given us in our *ex parte* histories of the Remonstrant Age. Perhaps the historical documents which have been published in the Netherlands by the Remonstrants, relative to the events of that age, may be deemed equally one sided and partial; but granting that they are so, they have by no means counteracted and neutralized the subtle influence of contra-Remonstrant misrepresentation, because, from the nature of the case, it is impossible that a transient and ephemeral pamphlet literature, written in barbarous Latin, or inaccessible Dutch, should exert the same influence in the formation of the popular judgment, respecting a past polemical discussion, as would be exerted by the standard historians of the time. We shall endeavor, however, to lay aside, as far as possible, every prejudice which we may have imbibed from the representation of either party; and so far as our studies of the original sources have qualified us, give a just and conscientious valuation of Arminius, and of the services which he rendered to Christian orthodoxy.

The whole sum and substance of religious doctrine and theory is embraced in these three terms: *God's nature, man's nature, and the relation subsisting between the two.* Theology is nothing more than the systematic definition, adjustment, and exposition of these three terms. Christian theology, or genuine orthodoxy, is simply a system of theological views upon these three points, which is self-coherent and harmonious with the teachings of Scripture. For the development of such a system, exhibiting the precise truth relative to these cardinal points, without redundancy or defect, it is necessary that each of these three points be made a special object of scrutiny and discussion. An error, in respect to either, will not only destroy at once the system's self-coherence, but infallibly conduct to the gravest heresies. For example, an error respecting the first may give us Pantheism; an error on the second point, anthropology, may lead to Atheism; while an erroneous theory respecting the

third gives us the two extremes of an iron fate or a groundless chance. True orthodoxy states and maintains a consistent doctrine respecting each, authenticated by the assertions of God's revelation.

Casting now a philosophic eye upon the panoramic depiction of the Church in history, we cannot fail to be struck by the remarkable fact, that the three great controversies, which trisect the historic development of Christian doctrine as a scientific system, have followed without deviation the natural order of these three terms. That development has hinged successively upon each in order. Athanasius, Augustine, and Arminius, represent in themselves the whole sweep of the dogmatic unfoldment of Christianity; these factors being given, we can construct the whole history of Christian doctrine. The first is the representative of that speculative movement, which developed into scientific form and defensible shape the ecclesiastical doctrine respecting God's nature; the second, of the subsequent movement by which the true doctrine of man's being was evolved; the third, of the still later and scarcely yet completed one, by which the relations of the two are investigated and defined.

The ancient Church believed vaguely in the true divinity of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit; but Athanasius was raised up to explain with clearness, to maintain, and to bring forth into suitable prominence, the great doctrine of a substantial tri-unity of the Divine essence, under all temporal manifestations of separate hypostases, on which suppositions only the ancient beliefs of the Church and the unqualified declarations of Scripture could be true. His mission was the enunciation, exposition, and defense of a great truth respecting the *Divine nature*, and round that truth was grouped all the Christian thinking of that age. There was no great doctrinal system of the time, heretical or not, which was not logically related to this center-thought of the Church. It implied in itself all anterior, and all subsequent speculations upon the Divine nature, Origenistic, Arian, Sabellian, Monophysitic, Nestorian, or orthodox.

Augustine was commissioned for another work. The Church, in the centuries antecedent to his appearance, had vaguely believed in the depravity and helplessness of human nature; but Augustine was raised up to explain with clearness, to maintain, and to bring forth into suitable prominence, the great doctrine of the native corruption and moral ruin of man; his utter hopelessness apart from the remedial agencies of Divine grace, on which supposition only the ancient beliefs of the Church and the unqualified declarations of Scripture could be true. His mission was the enunciation, exposition, and defense of a great truth respecting *human nature*, and round that

truth was grouped all the Christian thinking of that age. It is this which gives that age its character. The whole scholastic theology is but the radicated and ramified outgrowth of that live germ of truth. To him is the Church indebted for her first vivid apprehension and scientific statement of the Christian doctrine of man. Augustine is the historical representative of that organic evolution.

The third of these divinely appointed representative men laid hold of both these truths, which, for sixteen centuries, had been developing; accepted the Church's developed ideas respecting God, and respecting man, and then expounded with keen dialectical rigor the only doctrine which could harmonize the two. His mission was to point out *how* God could be what the Church taught that he was, and man what the Church declared him to be, at one and the same time. The readjustment of the disturbed and abnormal relations of man to God, by justification, is the central thought of Protestant theology; the announcement and exposition of their relations in that readjustment was the work of Arminius. Magnify either of the related terms to the final suppression of the other, and error is the result. Magnify the Divine agency to the complete suppression of the human, in that readjustment, and fatalism is inevitable. Magnify the human to the complete suppression of the Divine, and the most ultra Pelagianism is the result. To Arminius is the Church indebted for her first vivid apprehension and scientific statement of the Christian doctrine of the relation of man to God. And only until Arminius is placed in this relation to the doctrinal development of Christianity in the Church, is there attained a true perception of the grand and growing rhythm of its history.

Let us look a moment more at this rhythmical sweep of Christian science through the ages. Had the Nicene Age furnished the Church with nothing more than a definite apprehension and scientific statement of the essential trinality of the one God, and the essential unity of his trine hypostases, it would have been difficult to see, how by logical consequence it would follow, that the relation between the Divine nature, so defined, and human nature as defined by Augustine, must be a soteriological or redemptive one. There is no evident and palpable necessity, that the relation between guilty man and a God essentially and formally trinal, should be such, any more than there is, that the relation between guilty man and a God essentially and formally unitary, should be of that character. But the Nicene fathers did more than furnish this bare scientific fact respecting the Divine essence. By establishing the real and true consubstantiality of the atoning, mediating, and interceding Christ, and the convicting, regenerating, and comforting Spirit, with the

eternal, omniscient, and all-ruling God, there was laid a foundation for such a conception of the Divine nature, that the relation of that nature to the human, whenever, in the scientific elaboration of her doctrines, the Church should arrive at a systematic enunciation of her idea of that human nature, could, by no possibility, be other than the soteriological one made known in the Gospel.

That relation we will consider as dual. The relation between the triune God and *guilty* man is one, the relation between the triune God and *regenerate* man is another. The true and normal relation, which ought to subsist between the Creator and a creature, has been disturbed. The method and rationale of the readjustment of this disturbed and abnormal relation is the object of *soteriology*. And did not the problem of this readjustment resolve itself into a higher one, we should place Luther, the second apostle of salvation by faith, as the third and final exponent of completed Christian theology. But as a temporal phenomenon, whose efficient cause sustains some relation to the Divine efficiency, that readjustment does resolve itself into a higher problem. The whole theological interest of the Predestinarian controversy is located precisely on this point. Both parties maintain the same scientific notion of the two natures, the Divine and the human. The apostle of the third great movement in the evolution and development of Christian doctrine, was not to expound the relation subsisting between the ecclesiastical idea of God, and the ecclesiastical idea of a *sinful* man, for concerning that relation there could be no dispute; neither was he to set forth the relation subsisting between the ecclesiastical idea of God, and the ecclesiastical idea of a *regenerate* man, for this, too, was clear as sunlight; but the mission of that great apostle was to point out the mutual relations of God and man, in that very readjustment, by which the sinning man becomes a regenerate one. The whole Church, meaning by the term, all who accepted the Nicene doctrine respecting God, with all which that doctrine logically implied, and the Augustinian anthropology, so far as it related to man's present actual condition, the whole Church, we say, were perfectly agreed touching the relation of God to man in his natural state, and his relation to him in his regenerate state, and touching the necessity of man's passing from the one relation to the other; only until errorists rose up, and taught a false relation of God and man in that passage, did the Church find it necessary to set forth the truth, in scientific form and with logical precision. As twice before error had forced her to give *belief* the form and shape of *science*, so when the third great factor of her religious theory came up, error forced her to define the truth. As Arius and others rose

up in the Church, and taught a false doctrine of the Divine nature, and as Pelagius and his followers rose up, and taught a false doctrine of human nature, so Calvin and his associates, entirely misconceiving the relation of those natures, in the process of human conversion, set forth with eloquent advocacy an erroneous doctrine respecting that relation. But as the two former heresies only occasioned a more clear and distinct definition of the truth, which had almost slumbered in the consciousness of the Church, so the latter only occasioned a clearer and more discriminating definition of the truth which had been assailed. Neither of these great teachers were wrong on all points. The sum total of the first one's heresy could be expressed in Greek by a single vowel. The errors of Pelagius all sprang from one false anthropological view. So everything distinctively Calvin's came from one false idea of the soteriological relation of God and man. The great error with which the Church of the Remonstrant Age had to combat, and which occasioned the scientific elaboration of her present doctrine respecting the third factor of theology, consisted in making the relation of the Divine efficiency to one temporal phenomenon, namely, the readjustment of the disturbed and abnormal relation of God and the sinner, an exception, *making the relation of the Divine efficiency to that phenomenon essentially unlike its relation to any other temporal phenomenon in the universe.* The Church held that *every* exercise of the Divine efficiency, in the production of temporal phenomena, was subjectively conditioned by Divine wisdom, omniscience, and goodness; these errorists constituted themselves such, by maintaining that *this* particular exercise of Divine efficiency, by which the abnormal relation of God to a sinner is readjusted, was unconditioned by anything whatsoever, and was grounded solely upon the arbitrary good-pleasure of the Almighty. Maintaining this unconditioned elective volition, they naturally demanded an "effectual calling," "irresistible grace," and "persevering succors," for all these were necessary concomitants. The refutation of this error, and the establishment of the opposite view, was the mission of Arminius. His labors gave scientific form to the ecclesiastical opinion upon the third great point, and completed the cycle of Christian theology. As in the development of Apostolic doctrine, the Pauline and Petrine elements were unified in John, so in its uninspired development, after Athanasius had set forth his truth, and Augustine his, Arminius steps forth, the later apostle of dogmatic completion.

Such is the position due to Arminius, and such the relation which he sustains to the *general* development of Christian doctrine. The philosophy of its history demands that this position be assigned him,

and, we repeat, that only when this position is assigned him is there attained a true perception of the symmetry and rhythm of doctrinal history. We proceed to speak of his relation to the historical development of this particular dogma of Predestination.

The unanimous and unquestioned doctrine of the Church, anterior to Augustine, upon this point, was, so far as developed into distinctness, precisely identical with that which owes its scientific and final form to Arminius. The fathers often expressed themselves unguardedly, and, in so doing, sometimes laid themselves open to the charge of a leaning toward the erroneous views afterward systematized by Pelagius and his coadjutors; but the general sentiment was soundly evangelical, and capable of an enunciation entirely free from every suspicion of consanguinity with that heresy. The Greek Fathers, whenever their sentiments were called out, express unequivocally their belief in the conditionation of the Divine decrees, upon the Divine prescience. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Chrysostom, all, in clear and decisive statements, gave their adherence to the theory of conditioned Predestination, decidedly rejecting the opposite, as false, dangerous, and utterly subversive of the Divine glory. In the Western Church, all the early theologians and teachers were equally unanimous. Tertullian, much as he sometimes needed the doctrine of irresistible grace, would never adopt an unconditional election even, much less an unconditioned reprobation. So Hilary of Poictiers (Pictoviensis) declares that the decree of election is not "*indiscretus*," and Neander, in describing his system, says: "Hilary considered it very important to set forth distinctly, that all the operations of Divine grace are conditioned on man's free will, to repel everything which might serve to favor the notion of a natural necessity, or of an unconditional Divine predestination."* So Ambrose, who lived a little later, and even Jerome, who exhibited such zeal in behalf of Augustinism, declares, without any reservation, that even the Divine election is based upon foreknowledge. True, Augustine cites two passages (De Dono Perseverantiæ, 19) from Ambrose, as favoring his scheme of the unconditionality of the elective decree, one of which, "God calls those whom he designs to call, and whom he will he makes religious," he alludes to in one or two other places, but all commentators upon the father assure us, that these passages by no means give ground for the Augustinian doctrine of election. To quote Neander again: "Although the freedom of the Divine election, and the creative agency of grace, are made particularly prominent in these passages, still they do not imply any necessary exclusion of the state of

* Torrey's Version, vol. ii, p. 562.

recipiency, in the individual, as a condition, and, accordingly, this assertion of Ambrose admits of being easily reconciled with the assertions first quoted. In another place, at least, (De Fide, lib. v, § 83,) he expressly supposes, that predestination is conditioned by foreknowledge."*

Thus for more than four hundred years, not a voice was heard among the theologians and teachers of either the Eastern or the Western Church, to disturb the concord and unanimity of the Christian world respecting this doctrine. During all this time, not one had advocated the absurd idea of a motiveless Divine volition respecting the immortal destinies of men.

In tracing the rise of the view, properly known as the Calvinistic, we behold two distinct steps. The first was taken four hundred years after Christ, the second four hundred years after the first. The first consisted in making the salvation of those who, during all the years of humanity's history, shall experience the saving transformation of Divine grace, dependent solely upon the bare will and sovereign pleasure of God. The second consisted in making, not only the salvation of the saved, but likewise the damnation of the damned, dependent upon that same bare will and sovereign pleasure of the Almighty. The first was taken under a mistaken impression, that thereby the glory of the Divine grace would be enhanced, the second for the sake of logical consistency. The first was taken by Augustine in his dotage, the second by Gottschalk in the prime of his manhood. Had it not been for the immense authority of Augustine, and an impression that it enhanced the glory of Divine grace, the first step would never have been taken. As it was, at that time, it was sufficient for the condemnation of any doctrine, that it was held by the Pelagians. True, the Pelagians held to the view of foreordination which had received the unanimous sanction of all the fathers of the whole Church, during its whole lifetime, but, forsooth, if these heretics held to it, it must be false! So the Bishop of Hippo, an old man of seventy-three, with but three more years to live, nibs his polemic *calamus* for a last campaign. In these three years, he first sets forth, with all the authority of his great name, his innovation, in the work entitled, "De Correptione et Gratia," and then, to defend it against objectors, elaborates it through his last two works, "De Prædestinatione Sanctorum," and "De Dono Perseverantiæ." These three books, thus written, were the first writings in the doctrinal or literary history of the Church, which ever broached, for the purpose of advocating, the idea of a Divine choice [*electio*] unconditioned by anything whatsoever.

* Neander's Ch. Hist., Torrey's Version, vol. ii, p. 564.

Doubtless, the false views which the Pelagians held respecting human nature and ability, caused them to join great accretions of error to the orthodox doctrine of Conditional Predestination, especially in making *human merit* a condition of election; but so far as sustaining the fundamental principle of all antecedent thinkers of the Church, namely, that no exercise of Divine agency is grounded on the bare will and sovereign pleasure of God, they were clearly right, and their opponents evidently destitute of a shadow of authority from the fathers in either the Greek or the Latin Church. Augustine, in trying to refute what was erroneous, attacked also that which was true, what had never been questioned, what the Church had believed for hundreds of years, even from the days of apostolic tuition, and tried, by all the influence of his authoritative character and position, to foist over into the Church a newly hatched theory of his own, which would, it is true, forever preclude the error of building on human merit, but at the same time pave the way, and open the door, for as grievous a heresy, the Antinomian. In his true sphere and office, as the providential expounder, we had almost said revelator, of the evangelical doctrine of human nature, none can esteem and honor the great name of Augustine more highly than we; none can accord a more hearty, sincere, and enthusiastic admiration. But, when he brings out his realistic hypotheses, and attempts to explain the manner in which human nature became what it is, or when, in his senility, he attempts to cause a private fancy, unheard of before in the whole history of the Church, to be enacted into an authoritative synodical decision, we allow the purity of his motives, but we repudiate the claims of his dogmas.

Thus was the first step taken by Augustine, by making the Divine election absolutely unconditioned. God chose from the "massa perditionis" such and such to be saved, and *he chose such and such just because he pleased to choose them, and for no other reason whatsoever. The rest were passed by, reprobated and damned, not because he chose to damn them, but because they were sinners.* Four hundred years more rolled by, before a man could be found bold enough to apply the same principle to the two cases, and show that if the rule worked one way, it must both. True, the phrase prædestinatio duplex had crept into the writings of Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Isadore of Seville, but only until Gottschalk appeared could one be found to perfect the crude fancy of Augustine, by maintaining, that, as the Almighty predestinates whom he will to salvation, just because he pleases, without any reference to their own character, so he predestinates, in the same way, whom he will to damnation, for no other reason than because

he pleases. True, Gottschalk did not propound his views in so naked a form; but this alone was the point wherein he differed from his forerunner.

The difficulties in which he involved himself by assuming this position, are well known to every reader of Church history. He was accused of being a teacher of error; his doctrine condemned as heretical, in an assembly held at Mentz, in the year 848, under Archbishop Rabanus Maurus; summoned by his own Archbishop Hinkmar, the next year, to appear before him at Cheirsy; was there again pronounced a heretic, and in the presence of the king, sentenced to be whipped and then imprisoned. We have all read the story of the inhuman scourging, which forced him to retract for a moment, and cast the document which he had written in defense of his views into the fire; of his untiring efforts to vindicate himself; of the cruel denial of Hinkmar to grant him, at the hour of death, the sacrament, and the boon of a burial according to the rites of the Church, except on condition of recantation; of his manful refusal, and peaceful death.

Although, after his decease, different modifications of the Gottschalkian doctrine found advocates and defenders, it seems to have made no great progress in the Church for several centuries. The Dominicans, probably, came nearest of any, during the Scholastic Age, to its adoption, but still their sentiment was much nearer the imperfect, but less obnoxious theory of Augustine. Gottschalk does not seem to have left behind him systematic theological works, on which the perpetuity of original views so much depends. Before any special progress could be looked for, it was requisite that some man of logical ability should adopt the hypothesis, and construct a body of divinity, ostensibly based upon Scripture, but squaring everything to this fundamental principle. The Reformation, that sublime vindication of the sacredness of individuality in thought and faith, opened an era in which the believer in Gottschalk's doctrine might openly proclaim it by tongue or pen, without fear of encountering Gottschalk's unhappy fate. Free territory was given for speculation, and sufficient latitude to satisfy all sincere and honest lovers of truth. If ever the idea could be expected to find a defender, who would develop it into a theological system, this was the time to look for him. Such a man appeared.

The overshadowing authority of Augustine and an inability to discriminate between the true and the erroneous in his scheme of doctrine, combined to incline the earlier Reformers at first toward his view of Predestination. But soon perceiving that consistency would force them either to accept Gottschalk's theory, or else reject

Augustine's, they went back to the primitive, and still prevalent doctrine of the Church, and conditioned both the Decree of Election and the Decree of Reprobation, upon God's foreknowledge. Although Luther never made a formal retraction of very strong statements made in his controversy with Erasmus, yet there are many evident indications, that his views upon the point changed materially during his later years. And one of the prominent characteristics of the Church which bears his name, a peculiarity which, more than any other single thing, distinguishes her from the *soi-disant* "Reformed Church" of Continental Europe, is her strenuous advocacy of the universality of the atonement, and of the conditionality of the Divine decrees. The change in the sentiments of Melancthon is still more clear. He who held to so rigid a scheme of predestination, that, in 1521, he could write "Quando quidem omnia quæ eveniunt, necessario eveniunt juxta divinam prædestionem, *nulla est voluntatis nostræ libertas*,"* could, but a few years later in life, not only see that such a predestination was identical with fate, but could boldly say: "Scribit ad me Lælius, de Stoico fato usque adeo litem Genevœ moveri, ut, quidam in carcerem conjectus sit, propterea quod a *Zenone differrit.* O misera tempora! doctrina salutis peregrinis quibusdam disputationibus obscuratur!"† He even went so far as to expurgate his famous "Loci Communes," that wonderful work, which ran through *sixty-seven* editions, in only seventy-four years, striking out every passage which could favor the error of Absolute Predestination, either as respects the elect, or the reprobate.

Such was the relation of the Reformation to the doctrine, until, at length, John Calvin appeared upon the stage. Singularly adapted, both by temperament and experience, for the task, he disentombed the old Gottschalkian notion, brought it forth from the obscurity where it had reposed undisturbed for more than seven hundred years, and built thereon a theological system. Having chosen his premises, the impulsive young Frenchman was intimidated by no conclusions, however startling; and where reasoning failed, always had ready recourse to dogmatic and magisterial assertion. His intense personal activity and zeal, his influential position at Geneva, the instrumentalities and agencies furnished by a prosperous academic institution, all combined to diffuse his peculiar sentiments throughout the Protestant portion of the Continent.

* "Since all things which happen necessarily, happen according to Divine predestination, there is no liberty of our will."

† "Lælius writes to me that a contest is moved at Geneva, concerning stoical fate, so that an individual has been cast into prison because he differs from Zeno. O miserable times! in which the doctrine of salvation is obscured by irrelevant disputations."

Through the theologians and pastors whom he educated, he, in fact, succeeded in shaping the creed of almost the whole reformed body on this point, with the exception of the Lutheran and Anabaptist.

At this critical juncture, Providence raised up a champion of the truth, a defender of the standard faith of the Church during all the foregone fifteen centuries, who so valorously performed his mission, that, though the error still lingers in one or two localities, it lives rather by virtue of the truths which good men have blended with it, than from any inherent power of the hypothesis itself to win the adherence of thinking men and women. Arminius was that chosen champion. Arminius was the chosen defender of that standard faith which the Church had held for fifteen foregone centuries. He headed the movement which liberalized so many of the Continental communions, emancipated the Netherlandic Church from the errors of Geneva, and eventually transformed the whole theological theory of the Anglican establishment. Though educated in part at the very feet of Beza, and brought up a rigid Calvinist in every respect, no youthful inculcation, nor association of ripening manhood, could conceal from his keen, strong intellect the fallacies of the system. In fact, it was while searching for arguments with which to defend it, that he first learned its unreasonableness, contrariety to patristic authority, and incompatibility with the teachings of Divine Revelation. His rejection of it was not sudden, neither was it prompted by external circumstances. It was after ascertaining, to his entire satisfaction, that everything peculiar to Calvin was but an innovation upon the orthodox and long-established faith of the Church—a mere human interpolation—a galvanic revivification of a defunct monkish notion, which had many a year before disturbed the Church of France a few months, but which had found not a single unequivocal advocate for seven hundred years. Christian orthodoxy is under unspeakable obligations to him for so successfully meeting the error, just as it was apparently on the eve of triumph over the Protestant world. True, he did not utterly eradicate and annihilate the error, neither did an Athanasius preclude the possibility of a subsequent Socinus. And as the name of the Nicene father is none the less illustrious in the illuminated archives of Christ's kingdom on earth, because Socinus lived, so, in like manner, is it no disparagement to the fadeless honors of Arminius, that history records the life and the influence of Jonathan Edwards.

Truth often suffers more from friends than from foes. Scarcely had Arminius taken his departure, when the defense of the truth, to which he had given scientific form and statement, was taken up, and enthusiastically carried on, by a party of theologians whose

rationalizing tendencies would have found little countenance from him whose followers and pupils they professed to be. Impatient of the long-continued yoke of Genevan dictation, they rushed restively, so soon as that yoke was broken, to the opposite extreme; to an excess of speculative freedom, bordering hard upon licentiousness. It is saddening to trace the downward progress of the Netherlandic Church, from the evangelical orthodoxy of Arminius and Episcopius, through Curcellæus and Limborgius, to the flat, unequivocal rationalism of Le Clerk and Wetstein. And as in former times, the manifold errors which the Pelagians held prejudiced their opponents against the truth, which they held with those errors, so all the odium, which belonged to this later Hollandic Pelagianism, became forever associated, in many minds, with the name of Arminius himself.

So far was Arminius from Pelagian views respecting man's fall, moral ability, Divine grace, etc., that only the most reprehensible misrepresentation, or egregious ignorance, can presume to charge those views upon him. On the latter point, Divine grace, he says, in his "Declaration of Sentiments:" "I ascribe to grace *the commencement, the continuance, and the consummation of all good;* and to such an extent do I carry its influence, that a man, though already regenerate, can neither conceive, will, nor do any good at all, nor resist any evil temptation, *without this preventing and exciting, this following and co-operating grace.*" In his Eleventh Pub. Disputation, he says of Free Will: "The free will of man, toward the true Good, is not only *wounded, maimed, infirm, bent, and weakened, but it is also imprisoned, destroyed, and lost.* And its powers are not only debilitated and useless, unless they be assisted by grace, but *it has no powers whatever except such as are excited by Divine grace.*" He goes on to quote and adopt the very words of Augustine, where he comments on the passage, "Without me ye can do nothing." As to the Fall, and our relation to Adam, his language is so strong, so different from what many would expect from him, that I fear it will be necessary to present the original, lest it be thought the translator has taken unwarrantable liberties. By fair interpretation no meaning can be extorted from his language favoring in the least the Pelagian hypothesis, or even what was termed by some the Arminian. He evidently held, not only to the real "physical and metaphysical unity of all men with Adam," but even *to the imputation of the guilt of Adam's sin to all men.* This statement, so contrary to the "Remonstrantical" view, to use a term, for which I believe Dr. Walter Balcanqual is responsible, certainly needs substantiation, but nothing is easier than to furnish it. In his Diss.,

in cap. viii, ad Rom. Pars Tertia, he says: "Adamum peccando et se et posteros omnes corrupisse, et iræ Dei obnoxios fecisse."* "Omnes qui ex Adamo ordinaria via nascuntur, trahere ex ipso originale peccatum et reatum mortis æternæ."† "Omnes," he says in his answer to Junius's Reply to his fourteenth proposition, "Omnes in Adamo peccarunt et transgressionis rei sunt facti."‡ Again, ibid.: "Adversus nullam enim aliam legem Adam peccasse legitur, imo peccati adversus illam commissi rei omnes dicimur in Scriptura."§ So in his "Replica ad resp. Jun. Prop. xxiv," he speaks of God *imputing* "primi peccati reatum omnibus Adami posteris non minus quam ipsi Adamo et Evæ, propterea quod et ipsi in Adamo peccaverant."‖ In his Review of Perkins are some of his strongest statements, especially on children sinning in their parents, e. g.: "Pharasæi enim jam ante in Adamo imo peccatores erant,"¶ i. e., before they rejected the counsel of God. (Luke vii, 30.) Still stronger is the following, which few Calvinistic writers even have surpassed: "Probas autem gratiæ rejectionem prævisam non esse causam desertionis quia, 'infantes extra fœdus Evangelicale morientes gratiam non repudiaverint,' qui tamen reprobi sunt, et 'a Deo deserti.' At inquam ego in parentibus, avis, abavis, atavis, tritavis Evangelii gratiam repudiarunt, quo actu meruerunt ut a Deo desererentur. Velim enim mihi solidam adferri rationem, cur cum omnes in Adamo contra legem peccaverint posteri ipsius atque eo ipso pœnam meriti sint et desertionem etiam infantes in suis parentibus quibus gratia Evangelica est oblata et repudiata, non peccaverint contra gratiam Evangelii."** This is no *argumentum ad hominem*, for he gives the reason for his position in the very next

* "Adam, by sinning, corrupted himself and all his posterity, and so made them obnoxious to God's wrath."

† "All who from Adam are born in the ordinary way, draw from him original sin and liability to eternal death."

‡ "All have sinned in Adam, and are made answerable for transgression."

§ "Against no other law do we read that Adam sinned, and we all are said in Scripture to be guilty of the sin committed against it."

‖ "Liability for the first sin to all the posterity of Adam not less than to Adam and Eve, because they have themselves in Adam sinned."

¶ "The Pharisees were, before, sinners in Adam."

** "You maintain the rejection of grace foreseen not to be the cause of desertion, because, you say, 'infants dying without the gospel covenant have not rejected grace,' and yet are reprobate and deserted by God. But I say that they have rejected the grace of the gospel in their parents, and grandparents, and forefathers, by which act they have deserved to be deserted by God. For I would like to have proof adduced how all posterity could sin in Adam against the law, and yet infants, to whom the gospel is offered in their parents and rejected, have not sinned against the grace of the gospel."

sentence: "Perpetua enim est fœderi Dei ratio quod filii in parentibus comprehenantur et censeantur."* Even Professor Stuart may well affirm, "*I have met with no higher type of orthodoxy* [Calvinism] *than that of Arminius, on this much-contested point.*" Many more passages could be cited from a list of references which I once made out, embracing *forty-four* passages in his works, distinctly affirming the doctrine of Imputation. Calvinists would certainly consult their interests, to change their vituperations into encomia, and then use his name as an authority on this point, when authority is so very much needed. Justice to Arminius demands that his name be evermore set free from all Pelagian associations, ancient or modern.†

Such, then, is the relation which Arminius sustains to the ecclesiastical development of the doctrine of Predestination. As we have seen, the error respecting this point appeared late and advanced but slowly. A thousand errors and heresies had appeared on almost every other point; but so irrational and anti-scriptural was it, to cut loose the Divine will from the rest of the Divine nature, that not one could be found for four hundred years to do it. And although it was done so cautiously at that time, although only one single volition of the Divine mind was grounded in the bare caprice of God, and the most specious reasons given for thus grounding it, the monks of Adrumetum were not long in exhibiting in practice the logical consequences. But only until *eight hundred years* after the founding of the Church, did the doctrine of Absolute Predestination appear in Christian theology, in complete and logical form. In that form it was twice condemned, condemned promptly and indignantly at Mentz and at Cheirsy. It was then laid to rest seven hundred years, when finally, in the person of John Calvin, more than *fifteen hundred years* after the founding of the Church, it came forth again. Through him and his fellow-propagandists it was rapidly spreading. As advocated by him there was no ambiguity. He boldly attributed to God what would have been execrated in a human tyrant.‡ His hand had molded, or was molding, almost every creed in the Protestant Church. But God forsook not his truth. As of old

* "For there is a permanent principle in the Covenant of God, that children should be comprehended and adjudged in their parents."

† That *the race transgressed in Adam*, Wesleyan Arminianism does not accept as a physical and literal fact. It is only as a brief and conceptual mode of viewing and expressing the matter, that we identify our race as a unit, and say that it sinned and fell in him as its representative.—*Ed. Qu. Rev.*

‡ A writer, whose name I have lost, illustrates most aptly the Divine procedure according to the Calvinistic theory, by the example of Tiberius, who, inasmuch as it was contrary to law that virgins should be strangled, first violated and then strangled them. "Immaturæ puellæ, quia more tradito nefas esset

Pharaoh educated the very Moses, who afterward led off so many thousands of his subjects, so in Calvin's own school at Geneva was the man in part trained, whose mission it was to overthrow the monstrous dogma, which, through that school, was being so rapidly fastened upon the Church. Never had a man a nobler work to do, never was a man's work better done. The words which he spoke to the living generation, and bequeathed to the generations after him, were vital and germinant; they brought forth fruit. The movement which he set in progress was the real heart of the Reformation. Luther led the practical movement, Arminius the theoretical. The one restored the ancient *life* of the Church, the other her ancient *truth*. Luther, as the human instrumentality, reformed the Church incipiently, Arminius gave that Reformation a fullness and completion. The movement swept on from Holland until the Lutheran creed was settled in favor of the ancient doctrine of universal redemption and conditional predestination. England soon after laid aside the error. Persecution, it is true, has kept alive the notion in the fastnesses of Scotland, the wilds of Switzerland, and among the descendants of those who fled for refuge to the wildernesses of New-England, and there blended with it so many associations of liberty and virtue, as to make it almost beautiful. But the great main body of the Church to-day is right upon this point. Absolute unconditional predestination is rejected to-day, by all the tens of thousands of the Greek Church, by all the millions of the Roman Catholic, by the Church of England and Protestant Episcopal Church of America, by the Lutherans of Europe and the Western Continent, by the General Baptists of England, and Free-will Baptists of America, and by that largest of all evangelical bodies, operating upon the voluntary principle, the Methodist. All these, with joined heart and voice, unite in uncompromising rejection of such an innovation, at variance alike with reason and the word of God. They all teach, that, to say God wills because he wills to will conducts to the same difficulties and miserable involvements as to say, man wills because he wills to will. According to the theory, the

virgines strangulari, vitiatæ prius a carnifice, dein strangulatæ." Suetonius lxi. The writer says: "Ignosce, ô bone Christi, ecclesiæ tuæ doctoribus, qui de Deo ad exemplum Tiberii docere, loqui, scribere non verentur." Another writer of the same age goes still further, averring that the idea is even too bad for the devil himself: "Assurement se representer un Dieu, comme voulant des créatures afin de les tourmenter, pour glorifier et manifester quelque pretendu attribut, qui serroit dans luy, et décrêter pour cet effet leur chûte d'une manière qu'elle arrive infalliblement, est l'idée du grand Diable d'Enfer, qui n'est pas encore si mêchant ni si détestable que cela." Pierre Soiret, cited in Mosh., De Anc. Concil. Dorde.

whole eternity of God *a parte ante* would be exhausted in our search after the antecedents of the first realized volition, without even then attaining the first. But if the action of the Divine will is not thus grounded and conditioned on itself only, but regulated in accordance with the other natural and moral attributes of the Divine nature, they maintain that unconditioned predestination is not true, for among those attributes is the Divine Omniscence, embracing not only a *scientia*, and a *post-scientia*, but a *præ-scientia* also, under which temporal conceptions alone are we able to construe, to our finite minds, the idea of an *omni-scientia*. They believe that a motiveless volition would be as irrational and unbecoming in God, as a motiveless volition in man: that a conditionation of the Divine volitions upon the Divine reason, is as little derogatory to the free choices of the sovereign God, as the conditionation of human volitions upon human reason is derogatory to the freedom of man. With this doctrine must the name of Arminius evermore be associated.

But we must close. We have given, in the latter section of this essay, our estimate of Arminius, and our view of the position due to him among the great theological teachers and leaders of the Church. To some who have been reared in the midst of influences calculated to convey a vastly different impression of the man, it may seem almost extravagant, but it is our honest belief that, so soon as the history of the era shall be fairly written, the odium, which rationalistic admirers have brought upon his name, wiped out, the calumnies of his enemies forgotten, Arminius will be seen and recognized as we have represented him, the living embodiment of the third great movement in the doctrinal development of Christianity. The time is rapidly approaching. The dominance of sensational metaphysics, on which the last hope of absolute Predestinarians was anchored, is at an end. The baseless notion has for the most part assumed the imperfect shape which Augustine invented, even where it is inculcated most strenuously. The retrograde movement will be more rapid than was the first. Calvinism has passed away; the Augustinism which has succeeded it in certain places, will quickly follow. Then, when, in the future Church, not one dissentient voice shall be heard upon this point and its consectaries, the world will wonder at the past, and number this strange controversy among those curious aberrations of the human mind, which make the history of man at once so interesting and so painful. Three great names shall that future Church preserve, answering to the three great truths which she guards and disseminates, as the ages go by; those three great names, the mystic symbol of her whole historic development, will be the immortal ones, ATHANASIUS, AUGUSTINE, and ARMINIUS.

Art. II.—WORDSWORTH.

1. *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth.* Edited by Henry Reed. 1 vol. large octavo. Philadelphia: J. Kay & Brothers.
2. *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth.* Edited by Francis Child. 7 vols. 12mo. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.
3. *Memorials of William Wordsworth.* 2 vols. 12mo. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

We know of no one who embodies all the attributes of a perfect poet. The highest peaks of song, though often attempted, have never been scaled. High as are the throned summits of Homer, Dante, Shakspeare, Milton, there is a central mountain they have never ascended. To celebrate the work of God in redemption, in strains fitting even to our earthly ears, has never yet been done. Many have essayed this, but they do but prove the weakness of their wings and the height of the great argument in their futile endeavor. Milton approached it in Paradise Regained, but turned away from Sinai and Calvary, to which his theme pointed, to the far lower though divine victories in the wilderness of Judea. But though the great work of the poet is yet undone, much has been achieved. And among those who have sought the highest honors of this poetic palestra by the faithful exercise of vast powers, agreeably to his best understanding, of his abilities and his themes, is William Wordsworth.

Wordsworth was born in 1770, at Cockermouth, on the western coast of England; followed the profession of a poet near the Cumberland Lakes, and died April 23, 1850, the anniversary of Shakspeare's birth and death.

These fourscore years were all spent in the country, with but a few months' residence in London and on the Continent in his younger days. He held the office of stamp distributer for his district, which afforded him a small income, out of which he lived with great contentedness and honor, though in outward circumstances but little above the rustic society that surrounded him. From the death of Southey he was Poet Laureate, and in addition to this, received from Oxford University, a public recognition of his genius and labors in honors such as it has never given to another poet.

He lies in a little country church-yard, such as Gray wrote his Elegy in, and such as he himself describes with equal solemnity and richness of feeling and fancy, in the Excursion. The following description of his homes at Grasmere and Rydal, and his grave, from the unpublished letter of one of the clergymen of our Church,

who lately visited them, will appropriately introduce us to the works which have immortalized him, and he them:

"RYDAL, *July* 29, 1856.

"On our way south from Scotland, we turned aside to make the circuit of the English lakes. Early on Monday morning we were on the top of the coach, and to the merry music of an English horn, rattled out of the narrow streets of ancient Penrith. We had a ride of eighteen miles to Keswick, through a country abounding in pleasant and bold scenery. Old Skiddaw came in sight at length. We are on the banks of the Greta. We are in Keswick. Southey's house stands on an eminence overlooking the village and lake. After dinner we took the coach again, climbed hills and crossed valleys, rode for two or three miles at the foot of 'the mighty Helvellyn,' climbed now a longer and steeper hill, and from its summit looked down upon the vale and lake of Grasmere. It is so small and so encompassed with mountains, that it is all seen at one view, and when once in the valley, there comes over one a feeling of complete inclusion. The mountains are lofty, and on the horizon ridge broken into a thousand fantastic shapes. They stand far enough from the lake to allow room for a few sloping farms and a little village. The scenery was marked by the same traits as was the poet who lived amid it: majestic, beautiful, simple. The house where Wordsworth lived and many of his best poems were written, is an humble cottage, distinguished from the meaner houses which now are close around it, only by a whitewashed wall and a neat but very small yard. We found a pleasant view of the lake from a little height just back of the cottage. Picked a few wild blossoms from the rocks, and came away wondering that Wordsworth could have ever lived there; and yet, perhaps, it was like him, and chosen from the same feelings that led him to write about mountain daisies and Peter Bell. The church is in sight from the cottage, and stands at the head of the lake; an old, plain building with a low tower, and surrounded on three sides with graves. There was no difficulty in finding where he lay. A narrow but well-worn path led to the spot. It is in a corner of the yard, a large thorn near by, and other trees in the field adjoining. Two of his sisters, a married daughter, and two young children lie around him. The head-stone is a plain slab of dark slate, with no other inscription than this, 'William Wordsworth.' A thick sod grows over the grave, which is protected by a few twigs of willow woven simply together. How perfectly like the man. A little brook from the mountains flows past the church. Back in the fields, I noticed it was a babbling, merry stream, but when the church comes in sight it grows quiet and smooth, and where it touches the graveyard wall, spreads out broader and deeper, and yet so clear that you can count every pebble at the bottom. I need not tell you how happy I was lingering about that grave. At Abbottsford and Dryburgh Abbey, where Scott is buried, I was oppressed all the day. I went as one goes to a funeral, and while walking about that wonderful house, it seemed to me that there must be a dead man somewhere in its still chambers. But at Grasmere there was no room for lament. Nobody would think of saying, *poor* Wordsworth; I trust he was a Christian. On the tombstone of his wife's sister, there is an inscription written by himself, in which he expresses the devout hope that through Christ he may share with her in the resurrection of the blessed; and I am sure there is many a poem that has as much gospel in it as, to say the least, many a modern sermon. The sunset in that quiet valley was more than I can describe. Next morning we were on the coach again. The same hill that gave us our last sight of Grasmere gave us our first of Rydal Water. We stopped to see Rydal Mount. It is only a few steps from the main road, and yet quite hidden from sight. The grounds, though not extensive, were laid out by his own hands, and are of course both simple and elegant. At the end of one long

walk we found a rustic arbor, completely shut in, and yet looking out on pleasant views. We sat down where we knew he must have sat for many an hour. A little to the south of the house, on a grassy knoll which commands a lovely prospect, there were many mountain daisies growing."

There are several ways of contemplating the genius of Wordsworth as developed in his poems, but the most natural course is to follow the track which it pursued in its gradual growth. He assumed to be the poet of nature and of man—of nature, chiefly as she took a coloring from the intelligent soul that dwelt in her midst; of man, as he unfolded his varied elements in their native freedom, and simplicity, and power, from their earliest and lowest workings under the influences of this outer world, to their last and loftiest reaches under the illumination and sanctity of God, the Creator, and the Redeemer.

If we examine his claims as the poet of nature, we shall find he alone of his fellows, studiously observed its secret but all-powerful workings on the untrained, yet sensitive soul of man; that he detected and expressed its deeper teachings to that soul in its more cultivated states, and its highest office as one of the symbols of God. He felt that his most exalted duties centered in the spiritualizing of these phenomena. He strove to lift up the despised and trampled worlds within and without us, to seats of honor and influence; to carry them above the position of idols worshiped for their own sake, where their few devotees are apt to place them, to their true position as creatures and teachers of the love and holiness as well as the wisdom and power of God.

To do this he studied them through faculties given to every man, though feebly and often unconsciously used by the multitude. Hence the workings of his affections, which, guided, not controlled by the imagination, placed him in the heart of the forsaken Indian, the mad mother, the idiot boy, the rude peddler, those whose whole being is one all-consuming passion. Hence his subtle analogies between the movements of nature and the highest desires and duties of man. By these gifts and labors he stands at once the priest of nature and of man; the mediator of apparently hostile creations, the uniter of their harmonized whole to Heaven and immortality.

We can best trace the course of his ideas on the mission of nature by his sketch of the growth of his own mind. In the Prelude, an autobiographical poem which describes this growth, he portrays with great force and freshness, the influences of nature on the child, the youth, the full-grown man. Other poems in many places dwell on the latter themes; this alone presents with any fullness the peculiar power of material scenery on the dawning human spirit.

His childhood was passed among the woods, rivers, and mountains, and from them he drank half consciously such draughts of life as quickened every faculty of his being, and made them able to comprehend and utter the powers which had been thus insensibly exercised upon him. A glad, animal pleasure was prominent, yet never without some intimations of a nature that was greater than the mountains, that gamboled with these inferior playfellows, as a child of genius, among those of common mold, with full flow of social delight, but with gleams of thought and feeling with which they had no sympathy, though they had been the natural but unconscious suggestors of them to his superior soul. This pleasure, which it does not transcend the powers of nature herself to create, he thus describes:

"I remember when the changeful earth
And twice five summers, on my mind had stamped
The faces of the moving year. Even then
I held unconscious intercourse with beauty
Old as creation, *drinking in a pure*
Organic pleasure from the silver wreaths
Of curling mists, or from the level plain
Of waters colored by impending clouds,
The sands of Westmoreland, the creeks and bays
Of Cumbria's rocky limits, they can tell
How when the sea threw off his evening shades,
And to the shepherd's hut on distant hills
Sent welcome notice of the rising moon,
How I have stood, to deeper fancies yet
A stranger, linking with the spectacle
No conscious memory of a kindred sight,
And bringing with me no peculiar sense
Of quietness and peace, yet I have stood
Even while mine eye had moved o'er many a league
Of shining water, gathering as it seemed
Through every *hair-breadth* in that field of light
New pleasure, like a bee among the flowers."

While he showed these extraordinary susceptibilities, in a boy but ten years old, to the forms of nature, there was added to this delirious joy, even at that period, deeper movings from the same power:

"'Mid that giddy bliss
Which, like a tempest, works along the blood
And is forgotten, even then I felt
Gleams like the flashing of a shield; the earth
And common face of nature spake to me
Rememberable things."

Very finely does he describe the rise of the moral feelings from natural objects, both in the sports and sins of boyhood. If in his boyish huntings, he yielded to a temptation with which all country boys are familiar, and stole the game another's snare had trapped,

"I heard among the solitary hills
Low breathings coming after me, and sounds
Of undistinguishable motion, steps
Almost as silent as the turf they trod."

So, when robbing birds' nests, the same voice of condemnation spoke from all objects that surrounded him:

"When I have hung
Above the raven's nest, by knots of grass
And half inch fissures on the slippery rock,
But ill sustained, and almost, so it seemed,
Suspended by the blast that blew amain,
Shouldering the crag. O, at that time,
While on the perilous ridge I hung alone,
With what strange utterance did the loud, dry wind
Blow through my ear! the sky seemed not a sky
Of earth; and with what motion moved the clouds!"

While Divine righteousness thus impressed its laws through material forms on an erring boy, the same spirit used approved pastimes with equal skill for equally exalted ends. Fishing, kite flying, skating, bathing, rowing, all

"with strong
And unreproved enchantment led him on,"

whispering the moral of their bliss.

How vividly he unites the silent hills with the excitement of skating. Every boy is sensible of it, yet not to the extent it wrought in him:

"When we had given our bodies to the wind,
And all the shadowy banks on either side
Came sweeping through the darkness, spinning still
The rapid line of motion, then at once
Have I, reclining back upon my heels,
Stopped short, yet still the solitary cliffs
Wheeled by me, even as if the earth had rolled
With visible motion her diurnal round."

In a passage in the Excursion, he contrasts this instinctive passion of the boy with the workings of the same spirit in a maturer nature; motions that seem far above the insensible forces of mere matter in their tenderness and rapturousness:

"Such was the boy; but for the growing youth
What soul was his, when, from the naked top
Of some bold headland, he beheld the sun
Rise up and bathe the world in light. He looked—
Ocean and earth, the solid frame of earth
And ocean's liquid mass, beneath him lay
In gladness and deep joy. The clouds were touched,
And in their silent faces did he read
Unutterable love. Sound needed none,

> Nor any voice of joy; his spirit drank
> The spectacle. *Sensation, soul, and form,*
> *All melted into him.* They swallowed up
> His animal being. In them did he live,
> And by them did he live. They were his life."

Thus through scenes of nature, and the sensations of mind and conscience ingrafted upon them, and seeming to have their root and fatness in them, the child grows up to man. With fitting gratitude does he address these servants of God to the immortal man:

> "Ye presences of nature in the sky
> And on the earth, ye visions of the hills
> And *souls of lonely places*, can I think
> A vulgar hope was yours when ye employed
> Such ministry? When ye through many a year
> Haunting me thus among my boyish sports,
> On caves and trees, upon the woods and hills,
> Impressed upon all forms the character
> Of danger or desire, and thus did make
> The surface of the universal earth
> With triumph and delight, with hope and fear,
> Work like a sea."

And rising still in recognition of Him whose these are, and whom they serve while ministering to his creature, the human soul, he exclaims in majestic strains of adoration:

> "Wisdom and Spirit of the universe,
> Thou Soul that art the eternity of thought,
> That givest to forms and images *a breath*
> *And everlasting motion:* not in vain
> By day or starlight, thus from my first dawn
> Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
> The passions that build up the human soul."

Emerging from this state, where nature

> "Broods like the day—a master o'er a slave,
> A presence that is not to be put by,"

he for a season revolted from her allegiance. But he soon returned to his first love, and, enriched by study at Oxford, by travel, by communion with the mighty revolutionary spirit of the age, by conjugal and parental affection, he brought to nature gifts greater than those she had given him. He hung these jewels of human experience on her regal form. He passed, by the aid of the powers he had thus made his own, into her secret chambers, and read there the hand-writing of God's goodness and wisdom with more discerning eyes. He saw how close was the relation between matter and spirit. That, as bodily organs give original impulse and much subsequent nourishment to the indwelling soul, so does the material universe, as the clothing of Deity, greatly aid us in the knowledge and love

of Him. He felt that this yet bore the undistorted likeness of its Creator which was first given it. Though a higher order of his creation was in the midst of it, the deformities that had prevented that, rendered it, to one seeking after God, in some vital respects, less safe as a guide, less perfect as a mirror. So he became once more her pupil, but at the same time her teacher. He sat at her feet with reverent humility; he raised her by his own diviner nature to a loftier than her natural position.

We have no space for quotations to show the fullness and extent of this power over him, yet one or two among the multitude that present themselves, may show how it grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength. He describes himself, as he asserts in the hero of his Excursion:

> "Many an hour in caves forlorn,
> And 'mid the hollow depths of naked crags,
> He sat, and even in their fixed elements,
> Or from the power of a peculiar eye,
> Or by creative feeling overborne,
> Or by predominance of thought oppressed,
> Even in their fixed and steady lineaments,
> He traced an ebbing and a flowing mind,
> Expression ever varying."

He adds, in describing the effects of a sunrise upon him:

> "In such access of mind, in such an hour
> Of visitation from the living God,
> Thought was not: in enjoyment it expired.
> No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request.
> Rapt into still communion that transcends
> The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
> His mind was a thanksgiving to the power
> That made him; it was blessedness and love."

Such an experience makes him, perhaps, the only poet, if not the only man, whose dayly feeling finds expression in Milton's apostrophe:

> "Hail, *holy* light! First-born of heaven,
> Or of the eternal, co-eternal beam,
> May I express thee *unblamed!*"

It will be seen, from these passages, that his life must have been chiefly out of doors. He was no reader. But a very few books were on his shelves. Spencer and Milton were his only poetical favorites. His poems were mostly spoken to himself before they were ever written, talked out in his solitary walks, repeated in the hearing of his sister, and by her committed to paper. He could say of himself as he says of the mad mother,

"And she was known to every star
And every wind that blows."

Those most imaginative verses beginning,

"Three years she grew in sun and shower,"

are very typical of his own life.

His passion for nature finds the grandest expression of which he is capable, in his lines written on revisiting Pintern Abbey; which, though penned at the age of twenty-eight, yet, like the master-pieces of many men of genius, whether Othello or Lodi, Comus or Demosthenes against Philip, are at once sunrise and midnoon. They may afterward equal those efforts, they cannot surpass them. This remarkable poem blends the rapturous perception of the traits of nature with deeper insight into its meaning, while all this devotion is informed with a feeling which could only be given by intimacy with humanity, reverence for its higher manifestations, and sympathy with its sad experiences. We give a portion of it which expresses the various sentiments we have mentioned:

"Once like the roe
I bounded o'er the mountains, by the sides
Of the deep rivers and the lonely streams,
Wherever nature led. For nature then
To me was all in all. I cannot paint
What then I was. The sounding cataract
Haunted me like a passion. The tall rock,
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
Their colors and their forms, were then to me
An appetite, a feeling, and a love,
That had no needs of a remoter charm
By thought supplied, or any interest
Unborrowed from the eye. The time is past,
And all its aching joys are now no more,
And all its dizzy raptures. Not for this
Faint I, nor mourn, nor murmur. Other gifts
Have followed, for such loss, I would believe,
Abundant recompense. For I have learned
To look on nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
The still sad music of humanity,
Not harsh and grating, though of ample power
To chasten or subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things. Therefore am I still
A lover of the meadows and the woods

And mountains, of all that we behold
From this green earth, of all the mighty world
Of eye and ear, both what they half create
And half perceive, well pleased to recognize
In nature and the language of the sense,
The anchor of my purest thought, the nurse,
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
Of all my moral being."

It has been said by some critics, that one who praises nature in this fashion must be a Pantheist, and the attempt has been made to embrace him in the school of Emerson, Goethe, and Shelley, who substitute nature for God. But Wordsworth has left too many proofs of his freedom from this impiety. He was not, as these are,

"A pagan suckled on a creed outworn,"

though he admired the Greeks' regard for nature as it contrasted with the popular disregard and contempt of it in his day, a feeling in which all will sympathize. His Ecclesiastical Sonnets and the discourses of the pastor in the Excursion, attest the sincerity of his piety. His Ode to Duty, (one of the grandest poems in the world,) the closing stanza of the Ode to Sound, and portions of the Evening Voluntaries confirm this, when he says:

"By grace divine,
Not otherwise, O nature, we are thine."

And again:

"Vain is the pleasure, a false calm the peace,
If He through whom alone our conflicts cease
Come not to speed the soul's deliverance."

We have good evidence that their author is a believer in the Christian faith. The very ecstasies with which nature inspires him, if carefully studied, will be found to have no element in them contrary to true, saving faith in Jesus Christ. They are the workings of this mighty and all-surrounding universe on a most sensitive soul, and are in perfect sympathy with His religion, who drew His illustrations almost entirely from the forms of nature, who told us to *consider* the lilies of the field, and watch the clouds of heaven.

We have attempted to show the claims of this poet as a landscape painter of the highest order; as one who, with a power greater than a Claude or Turner, can detect the subtlest charms of nature, and give to their earthly lineaments those spiritual expressions that form a thinking, loving, holy soul. Truly does Whittier say of him:

"He found
In simple flower, and leaf, and stone,
The impulse of the sweetest lays
Our Saxon tongue has known.

> The violet by its mossy stone,
> The primrose by the river's brim,
> And chance some daffodils have found
> Immortal life through him."

Other poets of nature have stood without the scenes which they have eulogized; Shakspeare and Milton have much more striking comparisons of natural objects; Tennyson has a far more fastidious taste, and clothes the scenery of an English garden or park in most felicitous imagery. Cowper has a hearty love for nature, but this is far inferior to his love for society. He can discourse on its grandeur or beauty, but he wants to be lying on the sofa, or sipping Mrs. Unwin's tea, or playing in the summer house with his pet hares, and he always turns away from these themes to the sins and follies of society, with an evident satisfaction in the change. Thomson gives you imaginative botany and farming, Darwin botany without the imagination. Neither had a true, self-forgetful passion for nature. Thomson rarely saw the sun rise, and never had the least conception of the mighty power of that resurrection, as it flooded the soul of Wordsworth. He lived in nature; "it was his life," as he says, and his poems are like the inspired utterances of the prophets, who pour forth what flows into them with a conscious submission to an overruling Presence; a submission that does not prevent, but rather secures the most intimate communion.

We may have presented his most eminent and enduring trait, yet he has an additional claim on our notice, if not our regard. He sought not only to delineate the life around, but also that within us. No great poet in any language has so systematically attempted to illustrate in his works every trait of our nature. Shakspeare alone shows the power to execute such designs, and sweeps with wonderful strength and skill, all the chords of human thought and feeling. Yet he does not seem to proceed intentionally to the work of dissection, and of giving such language to every passion as may stand as their perpetual embodiments. Wordsworth, with no dramatic power, and never forgetting himself in his creations, by virtue of the largeness and simplicity of his nature, was enabled to represent all the primary traits of humanity. In his wide-flowing sympathies every creature of God was embraced, and their deepest waters flooded the highest peaks of this lower creation—the human soul. Homer sought for his deities in the visible creation, but as separate from it. The tree was not a god, though a god might be in it; and the god of trees had no marked distinction from, or identity with, the god of the waters. Apollo, Juno, Jupiter, all had superhuman powers, but most human frailties. All were alike in heart, though

differing in office and strength. Milton cast his mighty vision beyond nature, beyond man formed into the image of God, and with purged eyes of the spirit sought to see him as he is, unmodified, unsubdued by the atmosphere of creation. Wordsworth, like Moses before the burning bush, worshiped the Spirit that inflames all worlds and the minutest point with his presence:

> "That, as an essence of pervading light,
> Shines in the brightest of ten thousand stars,
> And the meek worm, that feeds her lonely lamp
> Couched in the dewy grass."

This made not only the earth to be holy ground; every path where creative power has trod was equally sanctified; and those were imbued the most with deity, inspired the most reverence, and created the most regard, that were symbols of his highest attributes. Hence humanity had the highest place in his affections; hence he studied carefully and lovingly its traits, and devoted his genius to their illustration.

Believing, however, that the popular sentiments of society were not representative of the real characteristics of the race, he took for subjects of his verse, those whose condition of life would seem to preclude such malformations. He selected the wild flowers of humanity, thinking that they alone had its essential elements fittingly developed. This idea he carried so far that he thought not only their feelings, but their thoughts and language, the only true forms of human life, and thus commenced re-enacting as a poet the Rousseauism of the previous French generation; the savage is the perfect man, barbarism the perfect society. His earlier writings having this character, must have met, as a matter of course, with the overwhelming ridicule of a formal and fastidious age.

His first book, the Lyrical Ballads, was a poetical protest against every popular idea of the society into which it was sent. His subjects were the most common and countrified that could be chosen. The treatment of them was equally simple and unfashionable, and every air of the new candidate for the laureate crown was like one

> "Not shaped for sportive tricks,
> Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass."

The town might have gazed with such curiosity on this poetical savage, as is customary when acknowledged barbarities pass before its novel-seeking eyes; but when they saw him claim to be their superior, and even their guide to states of human feeling that proved the falsity of their ruling sentiments, their indignation knew no bounds. And their rage was not lessened because the faint movings

of real feeling and judgment, that the false art of existing society had not destroyed, told them he was in the main right. They saw that those homespun robes of words clad limbs of symmetry and strength. Phrases, in these earliest ballads, of the highest imagination, a simplicity that was evidently the child of profoundest culture, a heartiness that made the verses thrill with sensibility, showed them that genius was in that brain. He was a true prophet, they felt, though wearing a raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle, and feeding, without silver forks or French preparatives, on the native wild food of the soul. They strove to drown these convictions with roars of inextinguishable laughter. Had it been told these wits and critics, that he would be crowned with poetic honors at Oxford, and bear the royal laureate's harp, they would have said that Jefferson, the Democrat, would be the ruler of England, and Jack Cade his prime minister, in that degenerate era. Yet, despite the almost universal ridicule of the literary, and complete indifference of the masses, some heard a voice the world did not hear, some saw a hand it did not see; and hearing and seeing, they bowed in reverence and love. Coleridge had united with him in this publication, and gave then an opinion which he never altered, that Wordsworth was the greatest man of the age, and that Milton and Shakspeare were his only peers in the English language. Southey reverently recognized his eminent genius. Lamb was one of his heartiest worshipers. Wilson, afterward the famous Kit North of Blackwood, was his loving pupil and eloquent defender. Thus, an audience, "fit though few," gathered with listening love around this oracle of nature and of man. Book followed book slowly, and with but slight alteration in the general sentiment. Jeffrey aimed his keenest darts at them; they glanced from the mark, and pierced and slew the reputation of the critic; for the loss of his fame was chiefly attributable to his failure to perceive any excellence in Wordsworth. Byron hurled at him his poisoned arrows, and then stole from him the finest pictures of natural scenery which adorn his works. Amid all this storm of denunciation, he moved forward in serenity of soul, solitary, humble, self-sufficient, the most self-relying man in an age memorable for daring and self-confident genius. In portraying Milton, he not unaptly, perhaps not unconsciously, drew himself:

> "Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart.
> Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea:
> Pure as the native heavens, majestic, free.
> So didst thou travel on life's common way
> In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
> The lowliest duties on herself did lay."

Many of those little ballads the world now has by heart. Others it will learn as it grows humbler and holier. The little child in "We are Seven," has led many a strong man into the sentiments of his earlier, better day. The Pet Lamb is the pet of many a heart. Poor Goody Blake has made many shiver in sympathy with her sufferings, and join in her prayer on her persecutor. The perfect life-likeness of the scene; the clear, cold moon, the creeping, covetous watcher, the stumbling dame picking up the ragged splinters, the fierce grasp and coarse, hard cry of joy, are they not wrought into the texture of every sensitive heart that has read them? And the scene that followed in that icy air, under that icy moon, how full of pathos, truth, and religion:

"Then Goody, who had nothing said,
Her bundle from her lap let fall,
And kneeling on her sticks, she prayed
To God, who is the judge of all.
She prayed, her withered hand uprearing,
(While Harry held her by the arm,)
'God, who art never out of hearing,
O may he never more be warm!'"

What else could happen than did happen?

"The cold, cold moon above her head,
Thus on her knees did Goody pray,
Young Harry heard what she had said,
And icy cold he turned away."

Does not the blood curdle as the freezing air of these lines runs through us? The two principles on which this poem is built are found in all his ballads. First, the strict adherence to veritable fact; not one of them is a fancy sketch. Second, a sketching of natural scenes and human sentiments, which are as universal as the earth and man. He does not go into the house and paint it, but into the house of nature, into the house where every heart dwells, and draws their creatures. How different Tennyson's Mary Anne in the Moated Grange, from Wordsworth's Thorn. The former catches the refrain of the latter, but builds up around it a dreamy, haunted, desolate English house, with scenery outside and in, which is only familiar to English readers. Wordsworth, as much in England as he, and the scene of his story laid there, makes a woeful ballad that every age and clime can and will understand and feel. All his portrayals of human feeling have these traits, fidelity to the simple facts of the story, fidelity to the natural feelings and language of the personages. They are usually couched in an easy moving measure, that preserves at once the flow of pleasure and of tears. They are sketched with the colorless crayon, not with gaudy paints; or rather

with the fine pencil line of Flaxman, who gives marvelous life by one stroke of the pencil, as a master of words by one immortal expression. Even the repetitions which he and Coleridge revived in our literature amid the immense scorn of their cotemporaries, and which Tennyson and Longfellow have since so largely employed, these repetitions greatly simplify and intensify their power.

How the cry of the poor maniac, rocking and moaning on the bleak hill, beside the lovely grave, pierces our ears!

> "O misery! O misery!
> O woe is me! O misery!"

Others equally impressive abound in his writings.

If he had stopped here he would have shown himself a great artist and great hearted. Two additional steps, one of art, one of feeling, show the height of his genius. These stories are covered with imagination as with a garment; a robe pure and thin as that which covered the earth on that cold, still night, or warm and living as that on which the little boat in Peter Bell floated through the heavens, clothes all these ballads. And through it all, as the light through the air, moves and shines the moral of the tale. Hardly one but what is as clear and pointed as the most faithful sermon. By thus carrying the unblemished offering to the altar, it becomes divine. The ways of God are taught and justified, the heart is softened, the life purified.

Many single stanzas embody all these traits: faithfulness to natural events and feelings, sweep of the imagination, and strength of the moral sentiments. How perfect the following picture. No relique of Percy surpasses it in simplicity, or equals it in variety and intensity of feeling:

> "She dwelt among the untrodden ways
> Beside the springs of Dove,
> A maid, whom there were none to praise,
> And very few to love.
>
> "A violet by a mossy stone,
> Half hidden from the eye,
> Fair as a star, when only one
> Is shining in the sky.
>
> "She lived unknown, and few could know
> When Lucy ceased to be,
> But she is in her grave—*and O*
> *The difference to me!*"

So the feelings that cling around the dead body of a friend that seem to grow from it, in rank but offensive weeds, have seldom found elsewhere a more ghastly expression than in these lines:

"No motion has she now, no force,
She neither hears nor sees;
Roll'd round in earth's diurnal course
With rocks, and stones, and trees."

While he can lay no claim to a certain kind of dramatic genius, which Scott, in his novels, and Shakspeare, and Homer, and few others of that class possess, he can assert an equality even with them in his power to make the common wants, and woes, and joys of man his own, and to reproduce them in such narratives as will give them life as long as our affections and afflictions endure. We are crying after the naturalness of the ancient ballad. Fancy critics are evermore asserting the degeneracy of the age, because these simple stories are less simply told. The generations after us will point to the Lyrical Ballads of Wordsworth, and to other narratives scattered through his works, as far surpassing those ancient songs in all the qualities of a perfect tale. Simple, solemn, sad, with a strength of imagination that lifts them up into the regions of highest mental action, the rarest air of loftiest vision, and makes them like Bunyan's Pilgrim, the beloved of the cottage and palace, the child and the sage. The story of Margaret, at the beginning of the Excursion, bleeds at every vein with sorrow and despair. The terror of the idiot's mother, and his half-brutish glee, the story of Michael, the Brothers, Peter Bell's Life, Conviction and Conversion, Laodamia, a Greek statue of love and duty, full of a controlled yet mighty life, as Pygmalion's statue before the inward motions had yet turned the outward marble to flesh, the Cumberland Beggar, in his helplessness and his strength; these and many others will preserve their creator to the remotest generations, as the most faithful and capable of all narrators of

"The short and simple annals of the poor."

An annalist that so presents the subjects of his tale that you entertain them with a power of kindred sympathy, such as he felt in listening to the entreaties of Barbara Lewthwait, as she bent over her struggling lamb:

"She looked with such a look, and she spoke with such a tone,
That I almost received her heart into mine own."

The great defect in his poetry is, that he gives us all the connecting links of his great thoughts, so that we travel over much common ground amid tame and familiar scenery, to get glimpses of the marvels of beauty and sublimity that occasionally line the way. This is not an unusual defect even of the first order of minds. "*Quando Homerus dormitat,*" and when awake he says much that

the tamest rhythmist could have said as well. Shakspeare has long stretches of commonest thought and language. Milton delights to lead us off into metaphysical thickets and along the dusty highways of dayly speech. Foster says many things as novelties which had been said before him, and in much more impressive style. Webster has pages that give no token of his powers. Men of that strong and solid type are far from any nervousness when they seize the pen. If the subject and occasion draw on their reservoirs, an ocean rolls forth; if not, their stream of speech flows slow, and calm, and cool. Many writers of this spasmodic school, even those of eminent talents and fame, like the French authors of celebrity, must always speak in *bon mots*; or, like some of the early enthusiasts of the West, have no faith in any higher mental life, as the religious, which does not express itself in jerks. Those who expect the first verse of a poem to act like the first draught of high wines on a novitiate, and every succeeding verse to increase the intoxication, will turn away from Wordsworth with disgust. Even his strength is to them weakness; for it is as the strength of natural forces, air, water, earth, so quiet and self-poised that the superficial observer might deny its existence. This native tendency, which he shares with many other eminences in literature, to speak his whole mind in its more common as well as stranger thoughts, was increased perhaps in him because of his seclusion from society, making all his thoughts agreeable companions in his solitude, because he was accustomed to compose his poems in his walks, and the *ad unguem* finish was not consistent with the improvising manner of their creation, but chiefly because he loved common sights, and hence common words, common ideas. All these were to him "appareled in celestial light," and he had no desire to exclude them from his published utterances. The common way was always beautiful. Familiar objects never lost to him "that sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused." These portions of the route he asks you to follow were not, as in the others, through weariness or sleepiness of his brain, but with a feeling of their value and beauty to those who, having eyes, see. It will be found, indeed, that this criticism is based on far narrower grounds than the vehemence with which it is urged would suggest. There are many of his poems, and those among the longest, that have a sustained energy and beauty that only the highest action of his mind could have produced; and though these level ways are at times trodden, where not a poetical image may occur for many lines, the good sense, which Coleridge says is "the body of poetic genius," and the good feeling which animates that sense and gives mellifluous ease to the verse, make these portions far less tedious.

than the strained gait of those who imitate continually the rarer course of a more judicious minister, who broke the easy pace of his sermon with, "Brethren, shall I startle you? I will for one moment." If we read him as we do other favorites, with a sympathy which makes us watch lovingly his every motion, we shall find most of these barren downs are spring prairies, glowing and waving with unspeakable life.

Another fault charged against him is the lowness of his language. There seemed some ground for this charge in a few of his earlier poems. Yet these exceptional cases, if they were erroneous, which is far from certain, were soon abandoned by him. He never again shocked the Rosa Matildas of the reviews with such words as closed the first line of the original "We are Seven:"

"A little child, dear brother *Jim*."

Albeit these same fastidious readers larded their dayly talk, and even much of their public writings, with far coarser phrases. This and the measurement of the Mountain Pond he expurgated from latter editions; his only submission to the demands of these heresiarchs, and which did not secure their alliance nor stay their loud-mouthed baying. It will be found that so far from being rustic in his style, no writer of his day, courtly Scott, careful Southey, profuse Byron, nor any since, have wrought the English language into stronger and more nervous sentences. More new combinations can be found in Wordsworth than in Carlyle. But in the former they are the neat and natural clothing of original ideas; in the latter the Meg Merrilies grotesqueness with which common rags are strikingly arranged. He was uncommonly particular as to his language; and though it lacked the fanciful finish of a mere wordmonger, the Solomons of pompous diction, in all their glory, were not arrayed in the beauty and strength of his native verse. We are confident a deeper study of this author will show us that, with Addison, Chaucer, Burke, and a very few besides of his countrymen, he stands, the molder and fashioner of his national speech, in a style she will more and more appreciate, and, so far as possible, imitate.

We find him to be the philosophical poet of the English language. No man in all its history can take this crown from him. He, chiefest, almost alone, has discoursed on the highest unrevealed themes that appear before our minds. He has searched with "humble-lidded eyes" through the creation without and within, despising neither its outer forms that weary every eye, nor the smallest atoms, to which they may ultimately be reduced. As an apple, a bone, the

small dust of the balance, the least particle of resolved matter, awakens the great students of nature at once to the boldest analogies and the deepest reverence, so the least of the phenomena of matter and spirit wrought in him.

With Hartley Coleridge, we can truly affirm of him,

> "Many are the smooth, elaborate tribe
> Who, emulous of thee, the shape describe,
> And fain would every shifting hue portray
> Of restless nature. But, thou mighty seer!
> 'Tis thine to celebrate the thoughts that make
> The life of souls, the truths for whose sweet sake
> We to ourselves, and to our God are dear.
> Of nature's inner shrine thou art the priest,
> Where most she works when we perceive her least."

None but Wordsworth could constantly say,

> "To me the meanest flower that grows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

None but he has so identified himself with the simplest exercises of affectionate nature as to suffer the ignominy with which vain-glorious minds regard them. None but he seems to grasp the law that underlies the whole plan and work of God before our eyes of sense and soul, and to work out that law in its varied forms with its unchanging essence. And though thus alive even to its lowest expressions, he never lost sight of the vast superiority of man over them all. To such a degree does he carry this recognition, that in his Ode on the Intimations of Immortality, the most remarkable of all his writings, he gives the soul a pre-existence, not, like Beecher's, of sin, but of holiness and bliss. And he conceives the body and earth that surrounds it, but as a "muddy vesture of decay," glorified like the earthly robes of the Transfigured Christ by the spirit within.

> "Our life is but a sleep and a forgetting;
> The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar.
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home."

And this same soul, thus endowed at its rising, he carries in the Fourth Book of the Excursion through all the teachings of this life natural, human, historical, and eternal; ever the equal of their highest *created* suggestions, ever the master of all less than man, till he closes his array of the forces it subdues to its own development, by the following sublime passage:

"So build we up the being that we are.
Thus deeply drinking in the soul of things
We shall be wise per force; and while inspired
By choice, and conscious that the will is free,
Unswerving shall we move, as if impelled
By strict necessity along the path
Of order and of good. Whate'er we see,
Whate'er we feel, by agency direct
Or indirect, shall tend to feed and nurse
Our faculties, shall fix in calmer seats
Of moral strength, and raise to loftier heights
Of love divine, our intellectual soul."

We have presented before our readers one whose name has not yet become the household word it deserves to be, whose spirit has not assumed that control over the educated, and especially the ministerial mind, that it should and yet will have. The clouds of contempt that his earlier cotemporaries cast around him, are gradually disappearing. He looms up before our apprehensive eyes in his true majesty, not perched on the stilts of self-conceit, not raised on the head of deluded and ignorant worshipers, not blown thither by the breath of transitory applause, but grown to that exaltation by the natural workings of his soul, grown by the assimilation into his nature of the God-given aliment prepared for it; not medicinal herbs, nor food corrupted to a gourmand's taste, but the true bread which cometh down from heaven, though gathered, like the sacred manna, from the earth's surface in earthly vessels for earthly use. The extracts we have given, more numerous than they would have been from a more popular writer, far less than they should have been to give any estimate of the variety and fullness, the tenderness and strength, the minuteness and breadth of his powers, and yet sufficient, we trust, to lead those who have read them to cultivate a further intimacy. The frequency with which lines of his adorn the writings of the day, (for he is already more quoted than any other poet except Shakspeare,) show that his hope and assurance of immortality was not a phantom of a vain-glorious brain, but a sentiment based on the endurance of the essential elements of our nature, on which he built his lofty rhyme, and to which it was constantly addressed, notwithstanding the momentary sway of false theories and passions.

Well may we say in the growing brightness of his fame, as Coleridge with prophetic vision sung, when its first glimmering smote the hostile and turbulent darkness:

"O great bard,
E'er yet that last strain dying awed the air,
With steadfast eye I viewed thee in the choir
Of ever-enduring men.

> Not less a sacred roll than those of old,
> And to be placed as they with gradual fame
> Among the archives of mankind, thy works
> Make audible a linked lay of truth,
> Of truth profound, a sweet, continuous lay,
> Not learn'd, but native, her own natural robes."

To arrive at the stature of a perfect man, among our *uninspired*, but not unprofitable guides, we must take not only the great minds of Greece, who, in the darkness of heathenism, wrought mental structures of marvelous beauty and truth, not only Shakspeare, the myriad-minded, and Milton, the rapt archangel, that with vailed eyes sings before the burning throne, but him who, with an equally searching eye, pierces all the folds of human and inferior nature, with a comprehension equally vast, harmonizes their contraries, beautifies their harmony, and with reverence, meekness, and piety, equally divine, sees and shows over all these works of God, that holiness which as an atmosphere fills not alone his throne, the heaven of heavens, but this earth his footstool.

Art. III.—CHILDHOOD LITERATURE.

In the world of letters there is the same relation between demand and supply as in art and commerce. All imperative wants in literature have hitherto been met. Has the world demanded a great poem? A genius has speedily appeared whose great conceptions, assuming the form of numbers, have become the cherished possessions of the race. Have the present and the future seemed to assemble in any age to hear an oration upon a question affecting the interests of men? They have not stood waiting long, until some man of extraordinary gifts of mind has come forth to bestow undying eloquence upon the world. It is by calculating the wants of the world, rather than by estimating the powers of men, that we may foreknow something of the great literary labors which will be performed in each age. The human mind is great in its compass; its utmost limits have not been traced. Its power has never yet been fully tested. The direction which it shall take, and the deeds it shall perform, are determined by the demands of the time. What is the great literary want of the world now? What does the public mind need at this stage of its develop-

ment? What are vacant corners in the world's libraries, which wait to be filled with unwritten books? Of what kind is the ungathered fruit which will reward the toil of harvesters who enter the field at this eleventh hour?

The age does not demand *History.* The annals of the world have all been written. Men are now needed to *do* actions worthy of record, and not to become historians. None of the present men are prepared to write a history of existing times; and the golden harvests of the past have all been gathered by those whose names have thus become immortal.

This century does not require a *Poem.* Men do not expect any greater epics than the great productions of Homer and Milton. Glorious notes from these old masters roll sublimely on the world's ear, from distant ages; and she desires that all present voices should be hushed, that she may better hear the olden harmonies.

Though the world has continual need of being instructed in the truth, she has no lack now of works on *Theology.* The wonderful chain of Divine revelation was put together, link by link, many centuries ago. The world's greatest and most imperative demand was met when the Bible was given to man. Perhaps human tongue will never more be permitted to speak by inspiration from Heaven. Hence all the thoughts which men hereafter have must be the result of human reason alone. Nothing essentially new can be developed. People of Christian lands have light enough to show them their relations and their destiny. They have motives enough to impel them to walk in the path of duty, and lead lives of faith. They need nothing more to make them ultimately happy.

The world does not ask imperatively for works on *Science.* Truth, indeed, has not been all discovered and brought to light. Perhaps this may never be fully accomplished at any period in the future; but, doubtless, all the facts which men of science know have been published. The world cannot demand works to elucidate truths of which she has no conception. All truth which is entirely unknown, is as far from being tangible by our desires and aspirations, as the new ideas which would be revealed by a sixth sense. This world is not an old Egyptian despot, to require bricks when no material is at hand to make them. Besides, science is something more than a mere abstraction. She makes her own great publications. When she has a new truth to reveal, she makes it known through the medium of her favored sons, regardless of what the world is doing or demanding.

Hence a work on science is not required. In the libraries is now stored all the truth that is known. If the author desires to take

up this truth, to adorn it with the graces of style, and make it more convenient for circulation, he may do so, and win great fame thereby; but his labors are all at his own risk.

Perhaps we may not be able to select any one of the great departments of intellectual labor which now needs to be especially promoted. It may be that a combination of all, forming some new development peculiar to modern times, is what the world is now waiting for. When we desire to determine of what kind, and in what degree, must be the ingredients of this combination, an important question arises: For what class should literary labor now be performed?

Modern literature is eminently practical. "*Pro bono publico*" is a phrase by which is described the great aim of literary labor. Whether this results from the genuine philanthropy of authors, or from the supposition that this is the surest way to earn fame and money, is a query which it requires deep insight into human motives to determine. In either case, thought, in all its departments, is taking a human tendency. Romances and poems are written ostensibly for the same end as sermons. Modern literature, like the ancient Atlas, endeavors to bear the world on its shoulders. Memory now makes it her work to keep a faithful record of all the wrongs and sorrows which the human race endures. Imagination unites them in every variety of color and form. Reason, upon great social premises, deduces conclusions which bear upon the coming destinies of the race.

What part of the world's various populations now calls upon authors for the labor of their minds? Let the true answer to this question be known, and the overmastering humanity in literature will at once direct it into the appropriate channel.

Literature has for ages devoted its energies to promoting the interests of the wealthy and aristocratic classes. Wealth has often laid its treasures at the feet of genius; and the latter, in return, has bestowed gifts more precious than gold. One of the greatest epics which the world possesses was made to gratify the pride of imperial Augustus. The poet's lyre and the historian's pen have magnified the virtues of kings and the exploits of heroes. The wandering minstrels of old, and the poets-laureate of modern times, have not failed to keep the world aware of the prerogatives of royal races. No arguments which the greatest intellects could discover to prove the divine right of kings has been undeveloped. No words have remained unspoken, by orator or poet, which would make kings appear more sacred in the eyes of the people, and render subjects content with their lowly lot.

In recent years, perhaps, the poorer classes have had their share of literary attention. Many men of genius have arisen from the humble walks of life; and, in their greatness, have not forgotten to use their powers to benefit their brethren by blood and sympathy. "The Short and Simple Annals of the Poor" have lengthened and multiplied into libraries. The most popular productions of modern times are those which describe the sorrows of the children of penury and want. There is now a distinct department of literature devoted especially to the interests of those who were long "to fortune and to fame unknown."

In every period known to history, men have held their brethren in bondage. Slaves in too many lands and climes have toiled for interests other than their own. One of the greatest means of breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free, will be the wide diffusion of truth through the medium of the press. Genius seems convinced of the great part which it must act in the liberation of humanity; hence many earnest books have recently been written to call attention to the afflictions of the slave. The bondsman has not been neglected. He is now the client of many eloquent and powerful pleaders.

Neither rich, nor poor, nor enslaved, have any especial claims on the labors of literary men to promote their interests.

There is a larger class than any of these, which has more claims than they all, upon the literary labors of the nineteenth century. This class is confined to no land, no clime, no age. It peoples every village and city, every island and continent. It speaks with a silvery voice, and is learning all the languages of earth. Its step is light, but as a conquering army it moves on, invading all the high places of the earth. Soon it will occupy all the thrones, wear all the crowns, sway all the scepters. It will stand in every foothold and situation from the cottage to the palace. In this class are minds of the first brilliancy, destined to possess incalculable power. They are the achitects of the world's future greatness. They are a company of laborers, who, with fresh and vigorous powers, will soon enter upon their arduous toil.

Children compose this wonderful class. Their "many infant feet, so small and sylph-like," are not experienced in the ways of life. Their minds are not laden with the wisdom of the world. They have been much neglected in all past ages; and now seem of right to demand, with emphasis, the attention of the literary world.

Literature has had small effect, compared with what it might have had; and one reason is, that its teachings have been directed too

much toward mature minds and hard hearts. Its words have not been spoken until Mammon's altar has been set up in the heart; and the babblings of the world's commerce have driven all other voices from the audience-chamber of the soul. Then the time is all made into business hours; and worldly thought, like a strong man armed, has entered the brain, and spoiled its goods. Then the truths of religion or of science may desire to hold converse with the soul, but it has other engagements. High and noble conceptions may ask to occupy the soul; but the rooms are all held by tenants who pay rent promptly in golden dollars. But let literature, assuming a garb of especial adaptedness, actuated by a heart of sympathy, meet the soul in the morning of life, take the trustful hand of childhood, and speak words of simplicity and truth. The child will walk slowly at first; but it may one day become an Æneas, who shall bear his foster-father high on his manly shoulders.

A child is the only genuine learner. Let a man enter upon subjects which are ever so new, and he will flatter himself that every idea he obtains was possessed by him in some form before. But to the child all things are new, all things original. The world is a new creation, and all the senses are avenues by which its wonders gain access to the soul. It has been said that during the first five years of life the mind gains more knowledge of external things than in all the after life. Then the faculties are quick and active. The mind is eager to obtain truth, and ready to reward with gratitude any who may add to its intellectual wealth.

Centuries ago a wise man said, "There is nothing new under the sun." This thought has doubtless hedged with discouragement the paths of many who have sought to gather laurels in the fields of literature and science. But to a child, thoughts which have occupied the minds of men since the world began are new and strange. He who tells old ideas to a new mind, impressively and well, occupies a place but a little below him who first discovers important truth, and publishes it to the world.

In all former ages too small a share of attention was bestowed upon children. Each mature generation was too intently occupied in its own wars and conquests, to be much concerned for those who should fight the battles and gain the victories of the succeeding age. But the warlike spirit has in some measure passed away, and the present is pre-eminently a commercial age. Lust for wealth is the all-absorbing passion; and while in this excessive development its tendency is in the main unfavorable, it produces some good results. The disciple of Mammon cares more for his children than did the son of Mars. He spends his time in gathering wealth; and in this

pursuit he employs the faculties of mind and body. Yet in his meditative moments he knows that life must soon end. He is naturally anxious to know whose hands shall hold his gold when he is dead. He looks upon his children as the future possessors of his property. This circumstance invests them with a new interest, and throws a peculiar charm around their lives. Through his children he expects in some manner to live on, and enjoy his hard-won riches when his grasping hand is nerveless in the grave, and his unsatisfied heart has ceased its worldly longings. Hence the very spirit of the age excites new interest in behalf of the young. Many men and women labor from day-dawn till evening twilight, during the best years of life, that they may bestow wealth upon their children. This interest should in no degree be diminished, but somewhat changed in its direction. Let it become wider and deeper. It will require only some change of heart, and a better insight into human destiny on the part of parents, to induce them to give a portion of the attention, which they now bestow upon temporary interests, to the culture of mind and soul.

Eighteen hundred years ago our Lord said, "Suffer little children to come unto me." His hand was an index directing the world's attention to the young. To this, however, little heed has been given. In all subsequent centuries, the world has practically forbidden children to enter the golden gate, which the Redeemer opened for them. Men, with harsh and incredulous tone, have loudly asserted that they were too young to be admitted to the enjoyment of such extraordinary privileges. In modern times, by some extraordinary manifestations, Heaven has done much to rid the world of such erroneous conceits. In many instances, the youthful mind has shown a wonderful precocity. More than one child in this century has astonished professors of mathematics by its wonderful deeds with numbers. Youthful feet have run with amazing swiftness along the flowery paths of poesy, and have threaded very far the labyrinths of science.

It is proverbial that precocious children die early; but they never pass away until they have performed a mission of no small importance. They show our worldly and unbelieving souls what fragrant, early flowers might bloom in the gardens of humanity, with judicious culture. They are practical rebukes to mankind for long and sinful neglect. They are like the few grains of golden sand washed up on a river-shore of the far West, which showed that vast mines of wealth could be found by seeking. Many minds, heeding this indication, should abandon their old and unproductive employments, to labor in the new fields of intellect and heart which

are now open before them. Such laborers have great reason to expect that a harvest will be gathered of far greater value than all their expended toil.

There are many peculiarities in the child's mind, which make labor upon it very productive. The *Memory* is retentive. Events then absorb the soul so fully, that they seem almost a part of its existence. Time may utterly efface from the recollection of many, things which were as familiar as household words, in after years; but upon the events of childhood it has little influence. The old man, as he looks backward, cannot see clearly through the mists which rest over his middle life; but far away the evening sun shines brightly on the fields where he walked in youth. Impressions may be made upon the mind in childhood which nothing can efface. The years may work many changes upon the affections of the heart and the aspirations of the soul. The heart may seem very cold and worldly; but it will sometimes steal away from the turmoil of the present to hear the words which, spoken in childhood, have echoed ever since in the chambers of the soul. Faithful lessons, taught in youth, sometimes produce their richest fruits when parents and teachers are no more on earth. George Washington's father taught him the great doctrine of Divine Providence, by the sowing of seeds in his garden. No technical language was used, no obscure symbols were employed. The child's mind grasped the doctrine which learned infidels have rejected as too incredible for their belief, and too mysterious for their comprehension. That one truth thoroughly impressed upon the boy's mind, was worth more to him than a landed estate or a kingly crown. It was not forgotten by him in those years of battle, when he was called to lead the fragmentary army of a people weak in wealth, experience, and arms. It did more for him than ambition did for Alexander, or destiny did for Napoleon. That trust in the Almighty, which he learned from his early lesson and later experience, doubtless made him victorious in war, and rendered his name immortal.

Imagination in childhood is quite different from that of a trained and disciplined mind in after years. The thoughts and fancies then manifested remind us of the childhood of the world, when imagination was the predominant faculty of nations. Birds seemed messengers of good or evil omen. Spiritual beings were supposed to throng every fountain, stream, and wood. Imagination sometimes usurps the place of memory, and performs some of the duties of its office. In later years it throws a light and beauty over childhood, which it did not seem to possess when its

slow hours were passing by. The sorrows are nearly all forgotten, and every pleasure is clad with new beauty when seen in the combined light of imagination and memory. But imagination goes even beyond this. Taking up the narratives and tales which were often heard in the nursery, it makes them a part of the experience; and the mind seems to have beheld scenes of which it has only heard the description. The writer has known a man, who could not persuade himself that he did not remember many events in the history of his family which occurred before he was born. He had heard these scenes described so frequently by parents and friends, that they presented themselves whenever he looked back upon his early life, and seemed to form a part of his own history.

Words spoken in the ear of childhood are more than images of thought; they possess many of the attributes of real things. They are replete with warm and earnest meaning. The unsuspicious soul has no conception of falsehood or deceit. All things are true. Deception has found no hiding-place in any portion of the trustful heart. Words are not then "cunning devices to conceal thought." Giants, witches, and fairies, all have a true existence. They pass and repass through the years of childhood, and cast their long, dark shadows just as living beings. Even after the manly mind has assumed the scepter, and driven away many of the childish fancies, some of the wonders remain, as the mists sometimes lie in the valley long after the sunrise. This shows how well the youthful mind might be pervaded by the good, the beautiful, and true; how the firmament of childhood might be set with radiant and eternal stars. We cannot doubt that beautiful and excellent realities might throng the soul in such multitudes, that idle fancies and unprofitable whims would find no resting-place.

Childhood is the time to supply the mind with many ideas which the imagination especially aids to grasp and comprehend. There are truths in the Bible and religion which the young mind can receive with more implicit trust and better faith than after the faculties have become blunted by contact with the world. There are subjects which, if seen in the light of childhood's morning, and made the subjects of study in youth, will stand forth more distinct and beautiful in all after years, than if suddenly beheld for the first time amid the hurry and bustle of active life. Perhaps the reason why many persons complain over-much of the mysteries of the Bible, is that they did not commence their investigation until the period when the mind is unable to regard wonders

with the right spirit. Great truths have suddenly shone forth with all their splendor, and dazzled with their brilliancy; whereas, if they had dawned gradually and appropriately in the morning, and had only grown brighter as the day of life advanced, the soul would see clearly, where it is now oppressed with doubt; and perhaps would walk straightforward, where it must now stop and labor long to overcome obstacles and remove obstructions. Many truths of the Bible might early be ingrafted, and by careful culture be made a part of the mind itself. They would be accompanied by all the pleasing associations of early days. Religion thus interwoven with the recollections of early life would never entirely lose its influence over the heart, though it should afterward wander very far in sin.

While we would have truth bestowed upon the young mind, we would not follow the advice of the extreme utilitarian. While remaining within the bounds of truth and reason in the authorship of children's books, it is not necessary that we place in their small hands ponderous volumes on science. They need not read works on medicine or law. We would not attempt to direct their inexperienced feet into the dimly-lighted valley of abstract speculation; nor would we commit them to the guardianship of any "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." Successful as such corporations may be in collecting facts, they are not skillful in molding the human mind.

Education is not the possession of any number of facts or truths. A mind may be educated without having an inexhaustible fund of knowledge. What the mind needs is harmonious and systematic development; and the system which will promote this, although it may not leave in the memory one practical truth, will nevertheless accomplish a great result.

Fiction is sometimes true, and facts are false. Facts may be so marvelous as to overtax our powers of belief, and so bad as to be false to our sense of propriety and right. There are whole classes of facts which would have an unfavorable influence on the mind, should they be known. Fiction may be true to our experience, and true in portraying the aspirations and tendencies of the human heart. It is often just in its delineation of characters, though no human being may have said the words or done the deeds ascribed to them. Right fiction is true in the moral which it imperceptibly and irresistibly instills. The Progress of Bunyan's Pilgrim from the City of Destruction to the Celestial Country, is at the same time the most wildly false and solemnly true of any human composition. We would not shut out children from the flowery fields of fancy.

Let them be led by kind and skillful hands through its delightful groves, and by the side of its silver streams, taking in new beauties at every step, and insensibly growing into the mental and moral stature appropriate to the future activities of life. Literature for children must undoubtedly be in part composed of fiction. Let it not be the wild romance, which has too often entered the brain and driven away more sober thoughts. Let it be genial and thoughtful, taking cheerful and consistent views of humanity.

The youthful mind delights in scenes and events. It has so recently entered the world, that the faculties are all eager to learn the doings, thoughts, and feelings of men. In order to satisfy this demand it will be necessary to enter the domain of fancy. Truth is inexhaustible, and were it known in all its forms and varieties, there would be no need of looking elsewhere to satisfy the soul's longing after wonder. Events are dayly transpiring among men which bear witness to the fact that "truth is stranger than fiction." But the masses have not learned to describe, and the literary man sees but little of the active world. It would be fruitless for him to go wandering over the earth in search of facts. By sitting in his study, and forming some of those infinite combinations which actions and ideas admit, he can still be true to nature, and benefit his readers with many ennobling and useful views of life.

Authorship for the young requires good talent. Moderate abilities are more available in any other department of literature than in this. If the author who writes for mature minds commits errors, his experienced reader may see them, and avoid the evil influence. There may be inaccuracies in arrangement, style, and argument; but when the mind is strong, and its habits of thought are formed, the unfavorable results are comparatively few. There may be errors in doctrine and precept; but the mind skilled to reason can avoid the unfavorable effects. But upon the child the influence of the inaccurate author is only evil. All his false assertions and evil words have their influence upon the youthful mind. Every instance of inaccurate style tends to deform the growing powers. Hence the writer for the young should be one who falls into few errors, and sins seldom or never against the laws of literary propriety.

None but a man of deep learning and profound thought knows the nature and laws of mind. In childhood these laws operate with greatest force, undisturbed by education and habit. Mental philosophy frequently refers to the sayings and doings of children, as inductive proof of its propositions. He who has the best understanding of the laws of mind, combined with tact, skill,

and experience, will be most successful in making a lasting impression upon the young. This author should have a critical knowledge of the capacities and powers of language, such as is not obtained by the study of our vernacular alone. This is acquired by going to those ancient fountains whence streams of intellectual life have flowed through all subsequent ages. Words should be studied as used by the renowned writers of antiquity. Much of the learning of childhood is merely verbal. Words are often impressed upon the memory long before the mind learns the full extent of their meaning. They are taken up, investigated, and fully understood in after years. Then they have the more importance, because of the associations which are connected with them.

The mind which becomes the source of literary treasures for the young, should be under the influence of Christianity. No one can successfully place motives before any being until he knows something of its destination. None but the Christian truly understands the destiny of the soul. No one who has become aroused to the solemn weight and importance of the future can regard a child as the mere insect of an hour. He regards it as a being who shall be present at the inauguration and exit of all the cycles of eternity. He looks upon it as possessing a life which shall grow deeper and wider as it flows through all the hereafter. He sees it endowed with an identity which no contingence can destroy.

In the family of Christ the purest members are little children. Hence the Christian author is bound by very peculiar relationship to them. He writes with a zeal and interest which he can only have for those in whose hopes and destinies he has some share.

Sympathy is the great means of power with him who wields an influence over his fellow-men. It is the great instrumentality of the popular writer. He forms a strong alliance with his readers. There is no cold and formal distance. A life-giving current flows from his mind to theirs, bearing health and beauty to the spirit of his remotest and most transient reader. He has a warm affection for every member of the great republic, confederated by the bonds of his thought. Such an author is much greater than a monarch, since he enters more deeply into the hearts and minds of his readers than a king with his subjects. Influenced by the deep sympathies of his nature, he seems at times to lay aside those great peculiarities which mark him as a ruler in the world of mind, and enters with gladness into the humblest cottage where his readers dwell. He must do this, or he cannot enlist their sympathies in behalf of the principles and precepts which he teaches.

Recent great advancements which have been made in the arts are favorable to the perfection of children's literature. The toilsome scribe was long since superseded by the printer. William Caxton, publisher of the first book printed in English, said in his preface: "I have practised and learned, at my great charge and despence, to ordain this said book in print, after the manner and form as ye may here see, and is not written with pen and ink as other books ben, to the end that all men may have them at once; for all the books of this story thus imprinted, as ye may here see, were begun in one day, and also finished in one day." This great art has been so much improved since Caxton's day, that one unfamiliar with the toils of the printing-house—the type-setting, the proof-reading, the press-work—might suppose that books were multiplied by magic.

The art of engraving is doing much to benefit literature. All persons delight to be instructed by the eye. To the young especially, pictures are a source of continual delight. They instruct in a way that words cannot; and, in connection with them, they teach a lesson far more impressively than either could do without the other. Pictures in children's books should be in the best style of art. The painter's pencil and the engraver's burin should co-operate to make the objects delineated stand forth in life and beauty. Great improvement has been made in this department of children's books within recent years. The child may now study art and improve in taste while occupying the lowest form in the school-room.

What has been done for children is enough to cheer the heart of the philanthropist. Some of the best writers are directing their attention toward authorship for children. Dickens, besides his Christmas Stories, has given the youthful world something valuable in "A Child's History of England," upon which his genial fancy and transparent style have thrown a charm for "children of larger growth." This example has been imitated with some success in Histories of the United States and Rome, lately published in this country. Abbott has made his name familiar and beloved by his "Histories" of remarkable men and women in ancient and modern times. Yet he has written books in memory of some who are not worthy of the honor; from whose lives sufficient good cannot be gathered to repay the pains of writing and reading them. A boy will gain about as little benefit from the "History of Nero," as from the "career, crime, and confession" of some celebrated criminals, who have ended their lives on a modern gallows. Of less literary pretensions, unacknowledged by any distinguished name, and yet of

undoubted beneficial tendency, are "Stories from History," in several neat volumes, lately published by the Methodist Book Concern. Much has been laid before youth in the form of tales and sketches. Almost all our story writers, after having written for older people, have presented something for their "little friends." Such productions, being many, vary much in character. Parents should place no books of this class into the hands of their children until they have read them, and marked their fitness. Moreover, the simple style of many of our best authors renders books, not written especially for children, intelligent and interesting to those quite young in years. A child of ten years, with ordinary understanding, will read with interest many of the best productions of Addison and Irving. The benevolent projection and judicious selection of youth's libraries have given an important addition to the advantages of the rising generation. The State of New-York possesses the largest public library in the world. It is more efficient than the cloistered collections of the Old World, scattered as it is throughout the state, in every school district, and accessible to every child. Other states have their "Common-School Libraries," established with the same benevolent intent, and promoting in the same manner the interests of society.

The Sunday-School Union is the most efficient agent in modern times, for the creation and diffusion of literature for the young. It casts its richly-laden pages all over the land. They find their way to the mansions of the wealthy, and to the humble home of the settler in the distant West. Written by different authors, and having great variety in matter, style, and subject, they meet the wants of all, and convey instruction of infinite value to the rising generation.

With such favorable circumstances around the future men and women, we may expect the age just before us to be one of unusual intellectual brightness. The reign of Augustus was glorious in being cotemporary with the lives of many great authors. Addison, Johnson, and Goldsmith formed part of a constellation which shone first upon the British Islands, and then upon all other civilized lands. The eighteenth century was made brilliant by their presence.

But the golden age of literature is yet to come. In no period yet have the masses been able to appreciate literature. In more than one age the authors have been more numerous than their patrons. In the time of Augustus there were many poets, and but one Mæcenas. In the golden age of literature the authors will be

many, and their admirers and patrons vastly more. No number of authors alone can make a literary age. There must be an appreciating public. An author without readers is practically an idler among his fellow-men; for his efforts are of no avail in doing the labors of his age. Nor does it suffice that he shall have readers in after centuries. His lack of immediate success results from some deficiency, either in himself or the people of his time.

The age of great authors and appreciating people is not far in the future. When a generation occupies the world, which has learned to love literature from childhood, many powerful writers will arise, and their coming will be welcomed by the people.

Art. IV.—DE TOCQUEVILLE ON THE OLD REGIME.

The Old Régime and the Revolution, by Alexis de Tocqueville, of the Académie Française, author of Democracy in America. Translated by John Bonner. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1856. 12mo., pp. 344.

Among civil commotions, the convulsions of France in 1789 stand pre-eminent in violence and horror, and form an attractive subject for the pencil of the painter and the pen of the historian. Ordinary bookmakers, however, are generally content to chronicle the outer facts of the great drama, taking it for granted that the readers who delight to pry into the hidden springs of events are so few in number, that the writer, as he takes up his pen, and in fancy summons his audience before him, may safely leave them wholly out of the account. M. de Tocqueville is no mere bookmaker. He does not choose his subjects, and his style of treating them, with sole reference to the trade sales; but studies governments and nations with the zeal of an enthusiast, and the painstaking accuracy of a philosopher.

In the volume before us, he sets himself the laborious task of explaining "why the Revolution, which was impending over every European country, burst forth in France rather than elsewhere; why it issued spontaneously from the society which it was to destroy; and how the old monarchy contrived to fall so completely and so suddenly."—Preface. Preparing for this work, he spent years in studying the writings of the last century, not only reading the publications of those days, but examining the government records of Paris, and even delving long and laboriously among the accumulated

documents of the provincial prefectures. He declares that he can point out in this little volume, "more than one short chapter that cost more than a year's work." The book, therefore, is not a portraiture of the mobs and the decapitations of the great national agony. It is a philosophical discussion, for the benefit of statesmen and thinkers, of the hidden powers that hurried on the vast movement.

It is not proposed in this paper to sit in judgment on the conclusions reached by our author, but rather to lay the conclusions themselves before those who lack opportunity to read the volume itself.

Though the Revolution burst forth as suddenly as an eruption from Etna, the inner fires were long kindling, and the molten sea within had been long accumulating. It startled the nations, and its voice rolled around the world like the sound of some great explosion; but nowhere does it seem to have been less expected than in France itself. In the eighteenth century, France abounded in great writers, and great statesmen were not lacking; yet no one saw the new power which was growing up into colossal strength in their midst. They often laid their hand upon it in the dark, but knew not what they touched. When the final movement began, no one seemed to have a clear idea of what it portended, or whether it would end in reforming or aggravating old abuses.

Almost the first object upon which the Revolution poured its fury was the Church, and yet the attack was not really prompted by hostility to religion. The Romish Church, established by law, had become one of the chief oppressors of the people, and was hated, not so much for its Christian doctrine, as for its lack of Christian practice. The multitude, indeed, in their phrensy, repudiated the idea of God, and declared death an eternal sleep; but who would not be an atheist when all that he knew of God was comprised in the single fact that in his name, the community was absolutely impoverished to support in splendor a horde of useless, lazy priests? Nor did hatred of all government give life to the Revolutionary monster. The convulsive struggles of an oppressed people resulted in temporary anarchy, because the existing government had become such a mass of abuses, that the people did not believe its reformation possible. When they held the weapons of destruction over its head, they saw nothing in it to respect or love, nothing that it was important to preserve. It was so evident that the revolt was not against even the monarchical form of government, but against abuses that had fastened themselves upon it, that Mirabeau, a year after the Revolution began, wrote secretly to the king, encouraging him to hope that the process of forced reform would spend its strength in

the overthrow of the privileged classes, and even end in strengthening the royal power. It was a revolt against oppression, not government. Like a religious reformation, the Revolution was not based upon local truths, or upon anything calculated to give it a local habitation. It taught abstract principles, it put forth claims in the name of the whole race, and uttered against oppression an outcry that found an echo wherever oppression was felt. Like the Gospel, it went forth with peculiar doctrines; it united its disciples in a bond of fellowship unknown before, but strong and free from all limitations of kindred and tongue. Thus it mastered hearts and led nations captive. Thus it grew into power, and everywhere wielded that power to assault every form of political wrong.

In France, the elements of social convulsion had long been gathering. Revolutions never come without cause. Nearly all Europe was ruled by monarchs; but in every nation there was a network of minor institutions, feudal rights and regulations, and class privileges, far more oppressive and irritating than the central tyranny. Against these old abuses, the Revolution leveled its blows. Whether destroyed by rebellion, or by other means, they were already doomed, and throughout Europe the final struggle was approaching. But why should the contest begin in France? When the elements of the eruption underlie the whole Continent, why should France become the crater of the volcano? This problem is worth solution. The first fact that greets our inquiries is apparently unaccountable. The people were everywhere ripe for war upon the institutions of the Middle Ages, and yet the war began among a people where the worst features of the old system had disappeared. Serfdom existed in Germany at this time in a far worse form than in France. Up to the very year that the French Revolution burst out, laws drawn up by Frederic the Great, forbade the German peasant to leave his master's domain, and provided for bringing back fugitives by force. Without his master's consent, he could not marry or change his calling. He might purchase lands, but his right to his own farm was never full and complete. He could not sell or mortgage his property without permission, or even sell the produce as his inclinations or interests prompted. Services of various kinds due his master, took a large portion, sometimes one half of his time; and when the peasant died, the master claimed a share of the property with the children. But in France, serfdom had long since ceased to exist. The peasantry went and came, bought and sold, acquired real estate, and managed it in their own way; and according to the estimate of the English traveler, Arthur Young, often quoted by De Tocqueville, owned half the landed property in the kingdom. Still,

while the seigniors had lost their legal right to the person of the peasant and his property, they claimed a portion of his labor. These old dues were now more odious than ever before. The time had been when the seignior was the king of his little realm, protecting his subjects and administering justice among them. He could therefore demand taxes and service on the ground that government is necessary, and that the people are bound to pay their rulers.

But feudal rule had died out. From a powerful aristocracy, the nobles had fallen to the level of a mere caste, distinguished from the common people by empty titles and class privileges only. The seigniors owned the mills and the wine presses, to which the farmers were obliged to bring their grain and grapes; and on every sale of lands a per centage of the price was paid them. They had the right to tax all fairs and markets, and they alone could keep pigeons or hunt. There were also seigniories belonging to the Church, and the serfs on the Church lands had been the last in all France to obtain their freedom. In addition to the regular tithes, the bishops, canons, and abbés, levied tolls and taxes, and owned the only mills, wine presses, and even ovens, in their respective seigniories. All these taxes and tolls, fees and exactions, fell upon the peasantry, and were borne the less graciously from the fact that the rule of the seignior was over, and the dues were exacted without any decent pretense.

The many reins of civil power which had fallen from the hands of the seigniors had been carefully gathered into the grasp of the central government. All power was centered in the king and his council, the members of which were appointed by him, and held office at his pleasure. France was divided into thirty departments, each of which was ruled by an officer called an Intendant, a sort of proconsul, who was appointed by the king and council, and was responsible to them alone. In each canton of his department, the intendant appointed a *subdélégué*, who was in his canton the representative of the intendant, and responsible to him. Everywhere, in town and country, there were hosts of consuls and judges, mayors, syndics, and bailiffs; every other man, in fact, seems to have had the name of a legal something, and the right to tax somebody else. The chief occupation of these authorities appears to have been the assessment and collection of taxes, numerous and diversified beyond description. The council and the intendants determined the amount to be raised in each department, and the intendant and his *subdélégués* collected it. In military conscriptions, the council determined the number of men to be furnished by each department, the intendant apportioned the number among the cantons, and the sub-

délégué presided over the lots, exempted whom he would, and handed over the rest to the officers of the army. Those who felt aggrieved had an appeal to the intendant and the council, but had no other mode of seeking redress. There were various courts for the administration of justice; but the king claimed the right of *evocation*, and wherever his interests or his fancy led him to feel an interest in any particular case, he evoked, or transferred it from the court to his council, and disposed of it in his own way.

Thus the sovereign absorbed all governmental power. He controlled the royal council; the "orders in council" were the laws of the lands, to be executed by intendants appointed by him. The court did everything and was everything. Its professions corresponded with its assumed omnipotence. Charging itself with the universal guardianship of the realm, it affected to be a paternal government, and, save in the important matter of the taxes, performed its office in a way ordinarily gentle enough, but meddlesome, fussy, and more grandmotherly than paternal. It not only took charge of the roads and bridges everywhere, built almshouses and work-houses, but gave the peasantry good advice in regard to crops, and the modes of cultivation, and even vouchsafed to instruct them in the proper mode of marking their sheep. Orders in council decided what kind of soil was good for this or that purpose, and commanded the vines planted amiss to be rooted up. Orders in council directed mechanics to use the machinery specified in the government reports, and told the weavers how long and how wide to make the stuffs. Moreover, this paternal advice was enforced by unpaternal fines, exacted of those who refused to be enlightened by royal wisdom.

While the peasantry were thus affectionately cared for, the inhabitants of the towns were not neglected. About 1692, the election of municipal officers by the citizens was abolished, and the king claimed the right to appoint them, and finally adopted the plan of selling the offices. Many of the cities and towns coveted the privilege of choosing their own mayor and aldermen, and by payment of large sums of money, bought the offices in the mass, and then held elections to fill them. This, however, was not a very safe investment, as the king was sometimes in sore need of cash; and when in such a strait, he generally issued an order in council, revoking the elective privileges, and then sold them again to the same purchasers. Seven times in eighty years were the towns stripped of their purchased rights, and compelled to purchase over again. Their majesties hardly attempted to conceal the cheat. In the preamble to the Edict of 1722, the king declares, with the most captivating candor,

"the necessities of our finances compel us to resort to the most effective remedy." But why did rich citizens buy municipal offices which, after all, gave them no real power? Simply because civil functionaries were not taxed. Taxes, enormous in amount, and more vexatious from the mode of levying and collecting them, were the curse of town and country, and a life-long exemption from them was worth purchase. An office without either duties or salary was the fiction under which the bargain was made. If a town purchased electoral privileges, nothing of any moment could be done by the corporation without a permit from the royal council. An order in council must be obtained before the inhabitants of a petty village could hold what we would call a "town meeting," and when legally summoned together, they could not spend even twenty francs in repairing the village church, till the wise heads of Paris had been laid together over the project. Taken all in all, never were a people so taxed, so pestered with law and law officers, so helpless in the hands of tyrants, great and small, primary and secondary. It is interesting to see how such a style of governing shaped the ideas of the people. Instead of repelling with indignation and scorn its fussy officiousness, they made government their providence, and looked up to it with awe and unbounded expectation. As the government insisted on knowing everything and controlling everything, the people very naturally thought that it should do everything. Everybody expected the government to feel a paternal interest in his grape vines, sheep fold, or barley patch, and to be ready to give him good advice or pecuniary aid, as circumstances might demand. In a word, France in 1770 was rather more dependent on government than France in 1856. The poorer classes still expect the government to be "paternal," and an act of the most outrageous tyranny is less dangerous to the rule of Louis Napoleon, than the rise of a cent in the price of a loaf of bread. The cry of the masses is always more for food than freedom. Paris supperless is always Paris insurgent.

Another thing helped to prepare the way for a sanguinary revolution. All natural life was centered in Paris. Thither the nobles, the wealthy, and the men of intellect wended their way from the provinces, and thus the payers and the recipients of the endless fees, dues, rents, and graces were separated by distance as well as social position. In 1740, Montesquieu wrote to a friend: "France is nothing but Paris, and a few distant provinces which Paris has not yet had time to swallow up." For many years, the French monarchs had been fearful lest Paris should become dangerous to the throne, and had striven to repress its growth. One edict commanded all new buildings to be erected in the most costly style; another pro-

hibited all building of new houses; but Paris still increased in size and population. As wealth left the provinces for the capital, many branches of manufacture followed it, and thus Paris became a great manufacturing city. During the latter years of the old régime, the working classes increased more rapidly than any other, and large sections of the city were inhabited exclusively by them. Thus Paris became France, and thus the destined victims of approaching revolution gathered there for the sacrifice; and from the alienated provinces followed the fierce bands that were to shed their blood.

The pride of birth among the nobles, the care with which they drew the line which separated them from the untitled, increased their unpopularity. In moral worth, and in intelligence, the nobles had little to boast of over the better class of commoners. The nobility had for a long time been growing poor, and the wealth which they lost fell into the hands of others fully equal to them in all things, save the hated class privileges. The whole people, in fact, were cut up into parties and factions, having few or no interests or feelings in common, and more or less hostile to each other. Endless division and subdivision were everywhere apparent. The population of an ordinary town was sometimes divided into thirty or forty classes, with their various privileges and distinctions. These were all jealous of each other, and their petty contentions were numberless. A portion of the officers of a city resign in disgust, because the rest of them are mere mechanics; the barbers are bowed down with grief to find that the bakers take precedence of them in the assembly of notables, and different branches of the corporation quarrel at church over the order in which they shall present themselves before the priest, to be sprinkled with holy water.

Thus social disintegration and discord prepared the way for revolution and bloody conflict. Thus the old régime became sick unto death from excessive and unequal taxation, and endless and irritating social distinctions. For centuries these evils had been accumulating. During the Middle Ages, the kings, in ordinary times, lived upon the produce of the lands set apart for their maintenance, and when extraordinary circumstances demanded extraordinary revenues for state purposes, the taxes were laid equally upon all. In the fourteenth century, the people were not taxed without their own consent; but this principle was at length violated by the kings, the nobles consenting to the measure on condition that they should be exempt; and thus the train was laid for all subsequent abuses and final disasters. As royalty became splendid, and the court and the capital increased in luxury and prodigality, more, and still more money was needed by the king. New imposts

were laid, and new offices in town and country were devised and virtually put up at auction. The crown lands were sold, and claimed again on the plea of their being inalienable. Titles of nobility were sold to wealthy and ambitious commoners, revoked, and again restored on the payment of a second sum of money. Cities, towns, and individual citizens paid money for "perpetual" privileges, were stripped of them without reason, and had the same privileges offered them again for money. Town and country were taxed, directly and indirectly, without law, without reason, without mercy, without remorse, without an explanation however false, or an apology however empty. If, indeed, the kings had deliberately resolved to goad the nation to phrensy, they could not have employed better or more effective means. Those who bore the burdens were not silent under them; they remonstrated, but could do nothing more. Even the better sovereigns of France were blind to the wrongs which they inflicted, and the perils they were incurring. Louis XII. reduced the sale of offices to a system, and Henry IV. sold hereditary authority. The sovereigns seem to have fancied that castes and class divisions protect the throne, by preventing concert of action among citizens. There was, indeed, one king who tried to abolish class privileges and harmonize French society, but he was Louis XVI., whom the Revolution sent to the guillotine.

While the public burdens were increasing continually, the most hated feature of them, their inequality, increased rather than diminished. The nobles and the rich burghers were deemed the most powerful portion of society, and therefore the most dangerous, and as new wants in the palace called for new taxes and imposts, they were so contrived as to fall upon the classes supposed to be least capable of resistance. The general condition of the peasantry was dayly becoming more desperate. Wealth and rank had deserted the provinces for Paris; and there the revenues of great landed estates were spent in luxury and folly. After the peasant had paid up his dues to the king, the seignior, the priest, and all the rest who claimed a share of his scanty earnings, he had little left for himself. The office of tax collector, especially in the country, was becoming universally odious, and to be appointed as such, was deemed a great calamity, always involving the recipient in manifold perplexities, and often in pecuniary ruin. The only alternative presented to the collector was to ruin others, or be ruined himself.

While a false and oppressive system of government was driving the working classes to desperation, the literary men of France began to discourse, more than ever before, of the abstract principles of public authority, and to captivate and inflame the popular mind with their

splendid theories. They discussed the origin of society, the primitive forms of government, the obligations of rulers, and the rights of the citizen. Beginning among writers and men of leisure, these reasonings and inquiries spread among all classes, and assumed all outward shapes, from the ponderous folio down to a twopenny song, and the vintner treading his grapes, as well as the savant among his books, grew eloquent over the original idea of government, and the universal equality of citizens. The right to dream was about the only right left the people, and they improved it well. The most singular feature of these discussions is the fact, that the very classes destined to be the first victims of insurrection, joined in them, and lauded extravagantly the theories that were soon to clamor for heads. The American Revolution has been represented as the cause of the Revolution in France; but if it had effect there, it was only by showing the French that the things of which they loved to dream, might have a real existence.

From a combination of circumstances, the movement assumed the appearance of irreligion. The Church stood in the way of political improvement. The Church dealt in traditions, demanded implicit faith in its teachings, and claimed rights divinely given. The popular philosophy scouted tradition, made reason the umpire of all disputes, and rebelled at the idea of a privileged class, social or religious. The Church, too, was a recipient of the hated taxes; it had become a state power, and was so leagued with the other oppressors of the people, that it seemed impossible to attack oppression without assaulting the Church. To repudiate the secular claims of the priesthood, and that part of their teachings upon which those claims were based, and yet retain reverence for the rest, was too abstract a mental process for excited insurgents, and they therefere rushed into open infidelity and atheism.

Though the most ultra theories of liberty were in every mouth, yet, at first, nothing was sought beyond reform. They were still aiming at a government that would do everything, but do it well. The working classes wanted a government that would feed, clothe, and educate the people, and be a good master. Modern socialism is no sudden creation of our own times. A century ago, French philosophers were dreaming over its beatitudes; and at the time of the Revolution, any government, however absolute, that would destroy castes and class privileges, and care equally and well for all the citizens, would have been accepted by the French.

The condition of the people at the close of the eighteenth century was not as bad, in some respects, as it had been. During the first half of the century, there was no enterprise, no progress, either in

the political or commercial world. The government gathered the taxes and spent the money, and the people submitted to exaction in quiet, unresisting hopelessness. But thirty or forty years before the Revolution, the scene changed, and France began to prosecute with energy and success all description of industrial pursuits. A general outcry against social abuses followed, and the whole nation was in an industrial and political ferment. The government became intent on public improvements, and canals and roads, commerce and manufactures were the objects of its solicitude. All in authority were talking about the poorer classes and devising means to help them; and while caste distinctions were legally untouched, the administration of the laws gradually became more favorable to the oppressed. These ameliorations, however, had no power to stop the tread of approaching revolution; and strange as it may seem, the districts where reform had gone the furthest, were fiercest for revolution. Governments sometimes grow wise too late, and the reforms which they attempt only serve as confessions of wrong, and justify vengeance.

In this case, the very effort to reform was of such a nature as to stir up rebellion. For a long time, the lower classes had possessed no voice in the affairs of government, and in the discussions which now abounded, it seems to have been assumed that the people were literally deaf, as well as politically dumb. Thirteen years before he lost his head, Louis XVI. endeavored to abolish forced labor on the public roads, (*corvées,*) one of the most oppressive of the burdens of the peasants; and his majesty very candidly set forth in a state paper, some reasons for abolition: "The whole burden has fallen upon those who have no property but their labor, and whose interest in the roads is very slender. The land owners, who are really interested, are privileged exempts." Another address of the king declares that "the right to labor is the most sacred of all properties; any law which infringes it is essentially null and void." It was dangerous for government to speak thus of laws and regulations, which, nevertheless, were left in full force. It became the fashion to admit that the working classes were grievously wronged, and the government and the privileged classes mutually accused each other of being the authors of the wrong; but no one proposed an effectual remedy. These discussions and recriminations were not confined to the royal cabinet, nor to the halls where the nobles and the clergy met and talked. They were printed and published; they went all abroad among the people whose wrongs they portrayed. And these very documents spoke of the classes whose burdens they deplore as "low peasants, ignorant and gross, turbulent and rude," and then

graciously invited them to state their grievances. Thus the privileged classes, unwilling, after all, to relinquish their privileges, confessed themselves to be guilty of injustice, and yet persisted in the outrage. Every movement was made in a manner directly calculated to rouse the working classes to fury.

The authorities taught the people revolution by example as well as precept. No law was sacred in the eyes of the kings; why, then, should law be sacred in the eyes of the people? Louis XVI. during his whole reign talked continually of innovations and reforms; and, in truth, assaulted most of the abuses which the revolution overthrew. Louis XIV. had taught the doctrine that all lands belonged of right to the state. Louis XVI., in constructing bridges and roads, ordered lands to be taken, and houses to be pulled down, alleging that all private rights must give way before the good of the public. On the same plea of the public good, charitable funds were alienated from their original purposes, and in times of scarcity, sales of produce, at fixed prices, were compelled by law. In the criminal courts, the king sometimes violated all the forms of law, in order to carry out his private views. Thus the people were taught to regard lightly all existing institutions.

The king's attempts at innovation, whether he succeeded or failed, aided in precipitating the catastrophe of 1789. The trade companies had been deprived of their charters, and then the charters were restored, and thus the employers and the employed were alienated further than ever, and both felt unsettled and uncertain. In 1787, the provincial intendants and their *subdélégués* were stripped of the greater portion of their powers, and provincial assemblies were established, which levied the taxes and managed all public works. In 1788, a royal edict turned out the myriad of district judges, and created new courts and jurisdictions. The most vital machinery of government was broken up, the different classes were driven into fiercer collision, and the whole framework of society was unhinged. Old forms were dissolving, ancient institutions were crumbling. Objects of former reverence were treated with contempt by the conservative classes; and thus the more timid felt themselves adrift upon an ocean whose tides they could neither comprehend nor resist, and the bolder spirits who advocated change, were taught to attack without fear and destroy without remorse. It was not so in the English Revolution of 1646. Overthrowing royalty and sweeping the land with war, it left undisturbed the common law of the land, and through it all, the twelve judges traveled their circuits, and held their courts as usual. The nation, like the sea in a storm, tossed violently upon the surface, while the depths below were unmoved.

And thus the terrible day of social reckoning was ushered in, and castes and class privileges, with their intolerable weight of wrong, fell with a mighty crash. Thus the weak but well-meaning Louis XVI. set in motion an avalanche of wrath that buried him and his throne. Thus the nobles first despised, and then pitied their victims, but repented too late; and the clergy, by joining the ranks of the oppressors and sharing the spoil, incited a whole people to practical atheism. Thus a dark and vengeful spirit moved upon the face of the troubled waters, and society returned to a gory chaos. The wonder is, not that a bloody revolution came so soon, but that it was delayed so long.

Our author promises another book on the Revolution itself, and its permanent results. We hope that he will carry out his plans.

Art. V.—THE DEMONIACS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

[AFTER THE GERMAN OF DR. EBRARD, BY PROFESSOR REUBELT.]

The most remarkable kind of miracles wrought by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the cure of demoniacs; both because their state, as being possessed with evil spirits, is in itself most enigmatical, and because similar phenomena, both before and after the times of Christ, are either wanting altogether or extremely rare; for the state of King Saul, as recorded 1 Sam. xviii, 10; xix, 9, furnishes no parallel, and the statements of afflicted individuals in our own times, who say that they are under Satanic influences, require the closest examination, before judgment can be passed on the nature and cause of their diseases.

In order to throw light on this dark subject, and to arrive, if possible, at a correct conclusion with regard to it, it may be necessary to learn what the New Testament teaches with regard to it; then to compare the different views that have been held by individuals, and greater or smaller portions of the Church, on the state of demoniacs; and, in the last place, to inquire whether or not an intelligent belief in the presence of malignant spirits in such individuals is tenable before the light of modern science sanctified by faith in Jesus Christ; and under these three heads it is proposed to treat the subject in this article.

I. The individuals under consideration are called in the New

Testament, "*possessed with devils,*" Matt. iv, 24; Mark i, 32, (*οἱ δαιμονιζόμενοι*;) *vexed with unclean spirits,* Luke vi, 18, (*ἐνοχλούμενοι ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων*;) the evil spirits, who cause the affliction, are called *δαιμόνια,* (devils,) Matt. x, 18; Mark i, 34; sometimes spirits, (*πνεύματα,*) Luke x, 20, or unclean spirits, (*πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα,*) Matt. x, 1. The cure itself is designated, with regard to the devils, by *casting out,* (*ἐκβάλλειν,*) Matt. viii, 16; Mark i, 34; but with regard to the cured individual by *healing,* making *whole,* (*θεραπεύεσθαι,*) Luke vi, 18; Matt. xv, 28; and of the apostles it is said, "the devils are subject to us," (*τὰ δαιμόνια ἡμῖν ὑποτάσσεται,*) Luke x, 17.

It is apparent at once, that the sacred penmen do not intend to designate physical diseases by such terms as *δαιμονιζόμενοι, ἐκβάλλειν,* etc. *Δαιμόνια* are those wicked spirits that are in the service of Satan, and with him constitute the kingdom of darkness, of which Satan is prince. Compare Matt. xii, 24–29, and Luke xiii, 16, where the expressions *ἐκβάλλειν τὸν σατανᾶν* and *ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια* are used together, because the demons are the *σκεύη τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ* (v. 29) by which he exercises his dominion. In 1 Cor. x, 20, 21, the spirits of darkness are called *δαιμόνια,* with regard to their pernicious influence on the moral life of the soul; and in Eph. vi, 12, *πνευμάτικα τῆς πονηρίας, spirits of wickedness,* (not, as the English translation gives it, *spiritual wickedness.*) From these passages it is evident that *spirits of hell, subjects of the kingdom of Satan,* are intended by the sacred writers.

There is room, then, in this connection, only for the question, who these subjects of Satan's kingdom are, whether *fallen spirits,* or the disembodied spirits of wicked men. The latter was the view of Josephus, who writes, (Bell. Jud., B. VII, c. vi, § 3:) "*τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα δαιμόνια πονηρῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα, τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰς δυόμενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντας*—for the beings that are called *δαιμόνια* are the spirits of wicked men, who enter into the living, and kill those that receive no help," while the pseudo-Clementines (viii, 18) understand by them the souls of the giants, conceived by devils and born of the daughters of men, (Gen. vi,) and say of them, (ix, 9:) "*οἱ δαίμονες . . . . . ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες, ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετερῶν χειρῶν εἰς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἰςκρίνονται σώματα· ἐνδομυχήσαντες γὰρ πολλῷ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνακίρνανται*—the demons having power enter under your hands into your bodies; for having been hid (there) a long time, they insinuate themselves into the soul too." Justin Martyr, Apol. II, 5, advances a similar view. It is true, these are mere opinions, and constitute no test whatever, but must be tested by the word of God them-

selves; but they go to show what opinions have been held at different times on the subject in question.

By *πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα*, spirits *that have not been purified, but that might have been purified*, can, indeed, be understood, and the writers of the New Testament might be supposed to have used the expression in a meaning similar to that in which Josephus uses it; but although the words *might* bear that interpretation, it does not follow that they actually do, and it is more congenial to the context to understand by them "*unclean spirits*," while in some places, as Mark iii, 30, by *πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα* only *devils*, and not *disembodied spirits*, can be understood; so also Apoc. xvi, 13; xviii, 2, the *πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα* mean evidently not souls of men, but fallen angels. It is, therefore, safest to understand by *δαιμόνια*, fallen angels or devils. Of infinitely greater importance, however, than the question, who these *δαιμόνια* are, is another, namely, in what manner they affected living individuals. The relation of the demon to his victim is expressed by *δαιμονίζεσθαι, to be demonized; ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, to be vexed; δεῖσθαι, to be bound; ἔχειν πνεῦμα, to have a spirit;* by Josephus, through *εἰςδύεσθαι, to creep into, to enter; ἐγκάθεσθαι, to settle;* and the dissolution of this relation by *ἐξελθεῖν, to come out.* But it will be well to examine the individual cases mentioned in the New Testament more closely.

In every instance the somatic-psychical life of the demoniac appears to be bound, altered by a strange influence coming from without; the soul is no longer in possession of her body; a foreign *something* has forced itself between soul and body, which exerts a disturbing and restraining influence on the bodily organs of the psychical life. But it appears in no case that the soul herself, and much less the *I*, is supplanted by the demons; nowhere has the demon taken the place of the *I;* he has not settled in the soul, does not exert a direct influence upon the mind, but upon the nerves, upon the somatic organs of the psychical functions, and thus brings about phenomena, that are caused likewise by disturbing natural causes.

The influence of the demon is not of a spiritually moral, but of a physical-psychical character. Judas (John xiii, 29) did not become a *δαιμονιζόμενος*, but a hardened sinner.

The phenomena thus brought about by demons are of various kinds:

1. A kind of clairvoyance: such demoniacs knew Jesus to be the Son of God, before he had imparted this mystery of his person to any one, (Luke iv, 34;) viii, 28; Matt. viii, 29; the female slave at Philippi (Acts xvi, 16) was a clairvoyante, in consequence of being possessed with an unclean spirit.

2. Mania: the demoniac mentioned Mark v, 1, etc., had his dwelling among the tombs; no one could bind him, no, not with chains; whenever he had been bound, the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken to pieces; according to Luke viii, 27, he wore no clothes; the boy, (Luke ix, 39,) *κράζει*, cried out and foamed.

3. Epilepsy: Luke ix, 39, *σπαράσσει αὐτὸν μετὰ ἀφροῦ*, he teareth him with foam; Mark ix, 18, *ἀφρίζει καὶ τρίζει τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ*, he foameth and gnasheth with his teeth; Matt. xvii, 15, *πολλάκις πίπτει εἰς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ πολλάκις εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*, he often falls into the fire and into the water.

4. Deafness, Matt. ix, 32; xii, 22; Luke xi, 14. This deafness must have clearly appeared as the effect of the working of a demon, and must, therefore, have differed from common deafness, which is nowhere ascribed to influences of demons. Mark ix, 17, may throw some light on the subject; the boy in question had neither his organs of speech impaired; nor was he deaf, and his faculty of speech in consequence thereof undeveloped; but his psychical life was disturbed, so that he could not set his organs of speech in motion; he was, consequently, deaf from mania; the demoniac described Matt. ix, 32, was probably of the same character.

5. Lameness, (Luke xiii, 11,) blindness, (Matt. xii, 22,) in connection with deafness. The boy's (Matt. xvii) lunacy and emaciated state (*ξηραίνεσθαι*) are also attributed to Satanic influences. The most complicated phenomena are united in this boy; epilepsy preceded by crying out, and the propensity to fall into fire or water, whenever he was seized with paroxysms; deafness, (probably from idiocy, as remarked already,) with emaciation, in consequence of his sufferings. At the same time both the boy and his father knew that these complicated sufferings were the effects of Satanic influences.

As to the Gadarene, even his faculty of speech was in the power of another, as it is not the demoniac that speaks, but the devil or devils out of him. Mark v, 7; Luke viii, 30. Even the prayer, "*μή μεβασανίσῃς*, *torment me not*," proceeded from the demon, as being connected with the clairvoyant address, in which he calls Jesus by name.

It may, in the next place, be noticed as worthy of note, that many demons may exert their influence on one individual at the same time; see Mark v, 9; Luke viii, 30; Mark xvi, 9; Matt. xii, 45.

What is related Mark v, 9, might, indeed, be looked upon as a delusion of the demoniac himself, that "*many*" unclean spirits were the cause of his disturbed state; yet the end of the story proves

the contrary: "and the unclean spirits went out and went into the swine; and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, (they were about two thousand,) and were choked in the sea."

Of Mary Magdalene (Mark xvi, 9) it is said quite objectively, that seven devils were cast out of her.

The next point to be considered is, whether this horrible calamity was incurred as a punishment for committed crimes, whether it was caused by the moral guilt of the miserable victims. Some commentators have favored this opinion, and have seen, in sins of lewdness especially, a close relation between the moral guilt and the entrance of a demon into the guilty individuals, while others pass this subject by without any special notice.

Now, we are ready to admit, that many sins are as closely followed by their punishment, as a body is by its shadow, as well as that in individual cases the calamity in question *may have been* a punishment for sins committed by the individuals; but, on the whole, this view is not favored by the word of God. "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind," asked the disciples, (John ix, 2;) but what was the answer of Christ? "Neither has this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." And why should not the same or a similar answer be returned to the question with regard to the demoniacs? Here may be the place to introduce another question, namely: why cases of demoniacy were of so frequent occurrence in the times of Christ, while they were entirely unknown both among Jews and Gentiles before him, and, to say the least, of much rarer occurrence after him and his apostles. Different answers have been given to this query. Dr. Clarke (Commentary on Matt. viii, 16) quotes from Dr. Lightfoot two solid reasons: first, because the Jews were then advanced to the very height of impiety; secondly, they were then strictly addicted to magic, and thus invited the devil to be familiar with them. To these we might add a third reason, namely: that as Christ had come to destroy the moral power of the devil and his kingdom, it was necessary that he should, even outwardly, show his superiority over the archfiend.

After this digresssion, we return to our main question. The boy mentioned Mark ix, 21, was so afflicted "*of a child*," παιδιοθεν; there is, then, in his case no room for moral guilt, and what was the case with him, *may have been* the case with all the rest. We are, as a matter of course, not disposed to deny even here the connection between sin and suffering, we only wish to have it not restricted to individual cases, but to have it applied to humanity as an organic whole under the dominion of sin, and, therefore, subject to suffering:

Matt. xii, 43, etc., "When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walks through dry places, seeking rest, and finding none; then he says, I will return unto my house, from whence I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished; then he takes with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there; and the last state of that man is worse than the first," is not against the view we have advanced here. Waving the fact, that we have here a parable, for although a parable or simile, it must describe a state that really exists, we admit, that an individual may bring about by want of watching, or by sins, a relapse into his former terrible state. But this does not prove that the first state was also brought on by particular sins. But we are perfectly ready to recognize a certain natural predisposition for Satanic influences, as is the case with many natural diseases. A man may, for example, have become deranged without any special guilt, in consequence of an honorable wound in his head, or by an affection of his spine; he is cured, but he must scrupulously guard against any outbreak of passion, because a predisposition for a relapse has been formed by his previous sufferings. The same may have been the case with the demoniacs, only with this difference, that their case became, by wanton sins, infinitely worse than it formerly was, because, in addition to the acquired predisposition, the Spirit of God with his guarding and protecting influences left them. And such a predisposition may also be brought about by certain sins, but this is not necessarily the case. Natural diseases furnish a perfect parallel; a man may, for example, by certain sins weaken his nerves to such a degree, that certain outward causes, which would not affect another, may cause in his case mania or epilepsy. Again, this predisposition may be natural, in such a manner, that certain sins may bring on one man a dangerous disease, which are committed by others with perfect impunity. But if it would be unjust and unchristian to suppose, that mania or epilepsy is brought on by certain sins, it would be still more so to infer from a state of demoniacy, that it had been brought about by the moral guilt of the individual.

The last point to be considered is the manner of their cures as recorded in the New Testament. The Lord cures them by the power of his word, by the command addressed to the spirit: "Come out," Matt. viii, 16, ἐξέβαλε τὰ πνεύματα λόγῳ; he gave the same power to his disciples, (Matt. x, 1,) and even one, who was a stranger to his disciples, cast out devils in the name of Jesus. Yea, from Matt. xii, 27, "If I cast out devils by Beelzebub, by whom do your children cast them out?" it seems to follow incontrovertibly, that

even Jews, who did not yet believe in the Lord, succeeded sometimes in casting out demons.

Josephus writes, that by certain formulas and medicine, professedly handed down from King Solomon, demons were cast out; but that also the root of a certain plant was used for the same purpose. Ant., VIII, 25, he says: "Solomon had also received from God the gift to know the art against demons for the benefit of mankind. He composed exorcisms and left formulas, by which demons are cast out without ever returning." And again, Bell. Jud., VII, 6, 3: "The Valley of Baara brings forth a root of the same name. It is of a reddish color, and emits sparks in the evening; it is difficult to pull it out. . . . . To touch it is certain death, except it be carried off entire. It is safest to have it pulled out by a dog. Demons, that is, the souls of wicked persons, who enter into the living and kill them, if no help is extended to them, are cast out by means of this plant, as soon as it is brought near the sick person." Justin (Diab.c.Tryph., Ep. 85) says: "Ἤδη μέντοι οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐξορκισταὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, χρώμενοι ἐξορκίζουσι καὶ θυμιάμασι καὶ καταδέσμοις χρῶνται"—your exorcists cast out devils by having recourse to art, as the heathens do, and make use of perfumes and bandages. On these practices Justin (Ep. 85) passes the following judgment: "ἐαν δὲ κατὰ παντὸς ὀνόματος τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν γεγονημένων ἢ βασιλεών ἢ δικαίων ἢ προφητῶν ἢ πάτριαρχῶν ἐξορκίζητε ὑμεῖς, οὐχ ὑποταγήσεται οὐδὲν τῶν δαιμονίων· ἀλλ' εἰ ἄρα ἐξορκίζοι τις ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεοῦ Ισαὰκ καὶ θεοῦ Ιακὼβ, ἴσως ὑπο ταγήσεται;" that is, if you exorcise in the name of any of your just men, whether kings, patriarchs, or prophets, no demon will be made to yield; but if any one of you should exorcise in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he will likewise yield.

It is worthy of note, that before the demons leave, they once more vent their rage upon their victims, (Mark ix, 20; Luke ix, 42,) for which reasons the demoniacs themselves dread the cure, (Mark v, 7; Luke viii, 28,) and the disciples of Jesus are discouraged, (Mark x, 18.) The demons dread to be compelled to leave the man and to go down into the deep, (Luke viii, 31,) and prefer being permitted to exert their power upon animals, not knowing, that by this foreign influence the animals themselves will be driven to madness and thus be killed.

These are the teachings of the New Testament on demoniacs. Let us now consider the different views that have been held on this subject. As late as the eighteenth century, both Catholics and Protestants believed firmly in the plain declarations of the word of God,

namely, that either devils or disembodied spirits of wicked men could enter into living persons, to torment them and make them wretched. Scholasticism developed not so much the doctrine concerning demoniacs, as concerning exorcism, very fully; it was taken for granted, that such possessions with devils were still and always possible, as a matter of course. Cases of real or imaginary possessions are recorded by Thuanus, lib. 133, Sleidanus, lib. 9, and others. A collection of Roman Catholic formulas of exorcism is found in Gisb. Voel's, III, p. 1157.

The Protestants of the Reformation considered exorcism, or the power to cast out devils, as a charisma, "sine infallibili cum eterna salute connectione," and thus distinguished it from that of the Pagans, Jews, or Romanists. The Lutherans retained exorcism even in baptism, for the following reason: When the Saxons were converted, each grown person had, before he was baptized, to renounce the devil and all his works, and this was quite sensible. But in the course of time, the origin and intent of this vow were lost sight of, and it was perverted into a kind of exorcism, and as such applied to children at their baptism; as if all children were demoniacs, or as if original sin and a state of demoniacy were one and the same thing! And yet, there are in our days those who think that baptism is incomplete without exorcism!

If it is borne in mind, that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the belief in witches ruled supreme, and that criminal proceedings against them were the order of the day, the powerful reaction that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will appear as a matter of course. As it had been taken for granted that there might always be demoniacs, and as every strange phenomenon was, accordingly, attributed to diabolical influences, there was great danger, after this error had been discovered, and the supposed Satanic influences been accounted for on natural principles, lest people should pass from one extreme to the other, and put the cases recorded in the New Testament on an equal footing with natural phenomena, and so it came actually to pass. Grotius in his Commentary on Matt. iv, 24, still says: "Δαιμονιζομένους esse apparet non quovis modo insanientes, sed impurorim spirituum vi majore correptos atque agitatos," etc.—"it appears, that not all maniacs are demoniacs, but only those who are seized and driven about by a greater force of unclean spirits." Hobbes, (in his Leviathan,) Bekker, and Wetstein expressed doubts on the subject; but Semler was the first (in Germany) who, in his Comm. de Demoniacis, quorum in Novo Testamento fit mentio, (1760,) maintained that the demoniacs of the New Testament had been afflicted with ordinary

diseases, and this view became soon universal in the school of Rationalism.

Since the influence of the demons upon the demoniacs produced nothing but a disturbance of the nerves and of the bodily organs of the psychical life, it requires but one grain of common sense to say, "these cases of demoniacy are nothing but diseases," which affirmation no one denies, but the question is, what is the cause of these diseases?

When, by working upon the brain, a demon drives an individual raving mad, the effect is a disease, as much so as mania brought about by hurting the meninges. When, by working upon the spinal nerves, a demon causes epileptical fits, the effect is as much a disease as when the spinal marrow is dried up by some mechanical cause, and, in consequence thereof, epilepsy brought about. A child can comprehend that this similarity proves nothing. The question, then, returns with double force, How were these phenomena brought about? by natural causes or by diabolical influences? If Rationalism is pressed for the proof, that the phenomena in question were not the effects of demoniac influences, we receive about the following answer: "We do not believe in the existence of fallen spirits, in no kingdom of darkness, in no possibility of spirits influencing man, and, for this reason, we hold that the diseases of the demoniacs of the New Testament cannot have been caused by demons, but were brought about by natural causes." This whole argument is, of course, conclusive, and no petitio principii!

In the next place, it has been said, that the heathens at and before the time of Christ believed in demoniac influences, and that this belief was consequently nothing but one of the superstitious notions of those times. The antecedent is scarcely half true, and the consequent is false. The bacchanal and corybantic mania, (Herod., iv, 79,) (Dion. Hal., de Demosth., 22,) like the madness of the fakirs of Egypt, was voluntary, and had, therefore, nothing in common with the state of a demoniac, no more than the *δαιμόνιον* of Socrates, or that of the poets; the mania of Cambyses, which Herodotus (iii, 33) ascribes to the influence of a god, furnishes no parallel either; for Cambyses conducted himself only like a maniac by killing his brother, and disgracing and then marrying his sister. Even if such a state of madness was ascribed to supernatural agencies by the ancients, they attributed it to the influence of an envious god—*στυγερὸς θεός*—not to the influence of a demon. Conclusive evidence, that a disturbance of the physical life was ascribed by classical antiquity to demoniac influences, there is none.

But it appears from Josephus and Justin, as quoted above, that

in the time of Christ the heathens knew of real demoniacs, and Plutarch (Sympos. vii, 5) and Lucian (Philops. 16) relate that they endeavored to cast out demons by exorcism; that they also took them for disembodied spirits, cannot be proved. Horace (Epod., v, 91, et seq.) does not prove this, as Winer erroneously asserts; the passage is as follows: "Ubi jussus perire expiravero, nocturnus occurram furor, petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus (quæ vis deorum est manium) et inquietis adsidens præevidiis, pavore somnos auferam—where I shall expire at thy command to die, I shall haunt you by night as a tormentor; I shall attack your faces with crooked claws, (such power possess the Manes,) and fixing myself to your restless hearts, shall keep off sleep by terrifying you." That Horace speaks here not of demons, but of hobgoblins, appears at first sight. Philostratus is the only one that entertained the view in question. But does it follow, that all belief in demons and their workings upon men was superstitious, because it is met with among the heathens? Does the belief in the existence of the moon also rest on superstition, because it is met with among the heathen? If it could be proved, that the notions about these influences of demons had their origin in the belief in corybantism, and that these views passed over to the Jews from the heathens, there would be some show of reason for the assertion under consideration. But we have seen, that classical antiquity knows nothing about real demoniacs, as well as that the Bacchanalians and Corybantics and the rage of Cambyses had not the least in common with the state of the demoniacs of the New Testament. It is only *after* the times of Christ, that we meet with sufferers, who are under the impression that they are tormented by demons, and that the cause of their sufferings can be removed by exorcisms. But whether the heathens learned from the Jews to look upon devils as the causes of such sufferings, or whether they were led by their own instinct to this notion, whether they were right in every case or not, it follows by no means that their belief in such influences was founded upon superstition. The light of revelation and the twilight of heathenism, divine prophecy and human foreboding, darkened, indeed, by error, but still embodying some truth, are going hand in hand through all antiquity. And even admitting, for argument's sake, that the heathens, before the times of Christ, understood by their στυγεροῖς δαίμοσι, not envious *gods*, but souls coming from out of Tartarus, it follows by no means, that, for this reason, the teachings of the New Testament on that subject must be false.

Of no greater weight is the assertion, that there are no more demoniacs in our day. We shall not meet this assertion by another,

namely, that such cases still occur; for how could we prove it? That there are now and then patients in our lunatic asylums, who look upon themselves as possessed with evil spirits, is a notorious fact; but whether this their notion is only the consequence of their derangement, or whether there is some truth at the bottom of their declarations, only a thorough examination of every individual case would show. There are physicians, believing firmly in the Bible, and having a practice of many years in lunatic asylums, who say, that they have never met with a case of real demoniacy, and it is certainly safer for physicians in this case to err by being too skeptical, than by being too credulous, and infallible criteria in such cases are certainly very rare. The only infallible proof, that a demon or devil is the cause of a disorder, is, perhaps, *to cast him out, and thus to remove the disorder by a command addressed to the demon in the name of Jesus Christ;* for this is the cure recorded in the New Testament, as made use of by Christ and his apostles. By a mere word spoken in faith, even by a Jew, persons were cured, and Josephus relates (Ant., VIII, c. ii, § 5) a case as an eyewitness, that a certain Jew, Eleazar by name, cast out, in the presence of Vespasian, his son, and courtiers, a demon, who, in order to prove the reality of the transaction, upset a glass of water standing by, as he had been ordered to do. Matt. xii, 27, Christ declares expressly, that by magic such cures cannot be performed; compare Justin, (Dial. c. Tryph., Ep. 85,) and if roots were superstitiously used, it appears from Josephus (Ant., VIII, c. ii, § 5) that the application of the root and its effect were not of a medical character, as the root was only hung on the patient's nose or brought near him. That no medical treatment took place, appears conclusively from the statements of Josephus; that now and then, however, real cures were effected, Josephus, Justin, and Matt. xii, 27, leave no room to doubt; and as Christ says that they were not effected by magic, we must conclude with Justin, that the cure was effected by a command addressed to the demon in the name of Jehovah. But if so, they must have been real demoniacs; for other diseases cannot so easily be ordered away.

It is true, Rationalism has taken all these things into consideration, and has attempted to avoid their force by saying, that these disorders had their origin in a "*fixed idea*," and that people can be cured of them by a single word. But however many cases of such "fixed ideas" and their cures by a mere word may be related, the assertion itself involves an absurdity; a momentary cure may, indeed, be effected by a mere word, but no permanent one, as all such pretended cures sufficiently prove. Such "*fixed ideas*" rest upon

a bodily cause, generally a mechanical pressure, caused by one diseased limb pressing upon another, and as long as this cause is not removed, the "fixed idea" will invariably return, although momentarily removed by deception and legerdemain. Had the disorders of the demoniacs been based upon a "fixed idea," no mere word would have removed them.

But this is not yet the end of the many hypotheses that have been started in order to reason these Satanic influences away. It has been admitted, then, that these demoniacs were really sick, that Jesus cured them by his word, but that he accommodated himself to the foolish notions and prejudices of his cotemporaries.

Now it is true, that there is a kind of accommodation that Jesus may have made use of without impairing his veracity or omniscience. Theologians call this formal accommodation; this never implied a falsehood, but conveyed to the Jews a moral truth under a picture or form well known to them. But had there been no truth at the bottom of the Jews' notions concerning demoniacs, Christ would certainly have been guilty of a falsehood by accommodating himself to these notions. This theory, then, is altogether inconsistent with a belief in Christ as the Son of God, who knows all things, and is himself the truth; it must, therefore, be abandoned. The infidel alone has a right to charge error or deception on Jesus, or to convert the Biblical records into myths, dreams, or inventions, as Strauss in his "Leben Jesu" has done.

But he that believes in the New Testament as the word of God, must also believe that Christ knew the real causes of all those disorders, and being the mouth of truth, his declarations must be implicitly relied on; it must be taken for granted, that Satanic influences were at the bottom of those disorders, which Christ and his apostles characterized as such. The question, whether such cases occur still in our times, is entirely irrelevant; for it does not follow, that if such cases occurred in the days of Jesus, they must still occur in our days; and much less, that if one or another case of demoniacy is shown to have originated in natural causes, that the same must have been the case with the cures related in the New Testament.

Science, sanctified by the influence of God's Holy Spirit, can, therefore, have no other task than to adopt this thesis as given in the word of God, and to attempt to exhibit it in its connection with the known laws of psychology, physiology, and nosology, to a harmonious view. In solving this task, it takes but one point for granted, namely: that there is such a thing as the kingdom of darkness, consisting of Satan and his rebel angels. Christ, the mouth of truth,

has taught us, that there is such a kingdom of darkness, and since the notion of an "*evil principle*" is absurd and untenable, moral evil being no principle, but the very reverse of it, little or nothing can be advanced against what Christ says of the existence, origin, and design of the devil and his associates. What Christ and his apostles teach concerning the influence of fallen angels on the liberty and moral nature of man, is but too true, as dayly observation confirms; and just as little can be said against the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, that these fallen angels exert also, at times at least, an influence on the physical-psychical life of man.

Here, then, begins the province of physiology. Who the fallen angels are and what they can do, we cannot inquire into here, but must believe what Christ and his apostles teach on this subject. But human nature, the connection between soul and body, are subjects of a physiological inquiry, and however dark they may be, still there are some certain and infallible data that will lead to the truth.

We commence, then, with those diseases that are in appearance and symptoms analogous to the sufferings of the demoniacs.

I. Epilepsy. This is not a disease, but only a symptom, that may be owing to various causes, which, however, have their *main seat* in the brain or in the *spinal marrow*.

II. Lunacy. This is no disease either, but a high degree of excitability of the nerves, subject to the changes of the moon, which disorder occurs now and then in Northern regions; but is of far greater occurrence in hotter countries, where the rays of the moon are known to exert a dangerous influence.*

III. Blindness, deafness, curvature of the spine, may likewise be owing to various causes; deafness, for example, may have its origin in a disturbed state of the soul, while nervous persons in hot countries have become blind by looking into the full moon.

IV. Mental derangement, mania, and all "*diseases of the soul*," as they are falsely called, have been proved not to be diseases of the soul, but of the finer bodily organs of the soul. The cured lunatic is the same man again that he was before his disease; he knows again what he knew before, but had forgotten while he was sick. The substance of the soul lies deeper than consciousness. Its substance as to knowledge, will, and character, remains un-

* Those philosophers who brand all belief in the moon's exerting an influence upon man as superstitious and nonsensical, may profit by reading the following works: Kranzenstein vom Einflusse des Mond's auf den menschlichen Körper, Halle, 1747; Reil (Archiv fuer Physiol, 1;) Kretchmar (de astrorum in corpus humanum imperio, Jena, 1820;) with regard to the West Indies, the Journey of Count Goerz, Medicus, History of Periodic Diseases, Book I, ch. i, § 3.

touched, while self-consciousness is broken off by a derangement of the finer bodily organs, that are necessary to it. For body and soul act reciprocally on each other. It is a well-known fact, that the soul, with her will, passions, and notions, affects the organs of the body; for example, the shape of the skull, the expression of physiognomy; (for every vice is but an habitual sin, that, by being continually repeated, affects one organ or another so much, that it becomes entirely independent of the will.) These influences of the soul are slow and gradual. But the body influences the soul also. Such influences are, on the one hand, tempting, stimulating reactions on the powers of volition by the overdone organ; on the other hand, they are such as do not reach the soul herself, but only impede and confound self-consciousness. A brave officer, for instance, receives a wound in his head; a splinter of the skull affects the meninges, and delirium and raving madness are the consequence. Or, a pious, quiet man is taken with a severe fever, in consequence of his blood being poisoned; the activity of his brain is disturbed; he begins to wander and to utter the strangest ideas. Madmen and the like are bodily affected; the bodily disease must be removed, and as soon as this is accomplished, self-consciousness returns. That such bodily diseases and sufferings may be contracted by sins and vices, we do not feel disposed to deny; but sin is in no case the next and immediate cause of mental derangement, but only a mediate one, since an individual may be visited with this calamity without having ever been guilty of predisposing sins, while another, guilty of the very offenses, continues to enjoy good health. The conduct of such persons is no safe criterion either; when self-consciousness is disturbed, the innate wicked desires, freed from all restraint, issue forth from the obscured soul; sins that had been indulged in, especially those of a sexual character, become more violent; but it also happens, that sinful propensities, that had never been developed, appear now on the surface, and are thus very apt to mislead the superficial observer.

All these diseases, from epilepsy to lunacy, are caused, when the nerves or the whole spinal and ganglion systems are affected, by a diseased organ of the body. But it is known, that similar effects upon the nervous system can be brought about in other ways than by deranged organs of the body. We *know* there is in human nature such a thing as animal magnetism, by which the life of one soul affects that of another, independently of the known laws of matter; we know, for example, that an impure desire in the soul of the magnetizer produces the most violent pain in the magnetized individual; we also know, that by being magnetized, a person can be

made a clairvoyant, his self-consciousness being thus interrupted. More facts than these are not needed to explain the state of demoniacs. If the nervous life of one individual can work upon that of another, in a manner differing from the known laws of matter, there is no reason to doubt, that the same influence can be exerted on it by other beings than human, such as fallen angels or devils are. These influences may be of a different kind, more powerful and formidable than those exerted by human agencies; but their difference can only be gradual, never specific.

There is, then, *no contradiction* between what Christ has taught concerning demoniacs and the result of physiological inquiries; but both fully *harmonize.*

It is not inexplicable either, that many demons should work upon the same individual at the same time; no more so, than that the nervous life of animals can be affected the same way. For there are animals, the horse, for instance, whose nervous life is infinitely more excitable than that of man, and the effect spoken of is exerted not on the spirit, the world of ideas, but on the nerves as the bodily organs of the soul, which the animal has in common with man. And if so, the swine near Gadara offer no insurmountable difficulties; their rushing forward is accounted for by what has been said; and that they found a watery grave in the lake close by, was merely accidental, merely owing to the nature of the place, which was very steep.

Art. VI.—DRAPER'S PHYSIOLOGY.

Human Physiology, Statical and Dynamical; or, the Conditions and Course of the Life of Man, by John William Draper, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New-York. Illustrated with nearly three hundred wood engravings. Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, New-York. 1856. 8vo.

Why does opium make us sleep? Because it has a sleepy virtue. Why does the stomach digest food? Because there resides in it a digesting power.

Such were the superficial explanations of natural phenomena which were given in the schools five hundred years ago. A name or a phrase was supposed to contain the philosophical resolution of a problem. Every branch of knowledge was cultivated in that way,

if cultivation it could be called, and the natural result was a crop of chaff, or rather no crop at all. For century after century during which this system had been pursued, no positive scientific advance had ever occurred, the schoolmen, as they are termed, treading round and round in the same unvarying track, solving, resolving, and dissolving the same questions without end.

But now if we ask, Why does opium make a man sleep? the reply is altogether different. Your family doctor will tell you, Well! it contains a certain alkaline body, morphia by name, which is readily obtainable from it, in a crystalline form, by chemical processes, and which is one of an extensive class of substances having a powerful action on the nervous system, some of them acting in one and some in another way. Morphia disposes the brain to rapid destruction by the agency of the arterial blood, a disturbance which gives rise to the hallucinations occurring when only small doses of the drug have been taken; but if larger quantities have been used, violent symptoms of narcotic poisoning ensue, and if still larger, even death; the destruction of the organ occurring so rapidly as altogether to overbalance the natural and leisurely processes of repair.

Or, if you ask, Why does the stomach digest? modern science answers, that it is due to the exudation of a sour juice which is prepared in myriads of little cavities on its interior surface, gastric juice it is called. The chemists have analyzed this substance, and found out what its composition is. Now if you take the ingredients they have thus discovered, and mix them together, you make an artificial gastric juice, of which if a portion be placed in a glass bottle along with any common articles of food, and kept for a few hours at a gentle warmth, the food in the bottle undergoes digestion, producing the same products as would have arisen in the stomach, if the operation had been conducted in a natural way.

From these two examples we may perceive the intrinsic difference between the philosophy of the Middle Ages and the science of modern times. The former offers you explanations, which, properly considered, are no explanations at all; the latter deals with the tangible and positive, not only giving a clear and precise answer, but what is of infinite value, a fertile one. The barrenness of the old system, and the numberless advantages which are dayly accruing from the new, must be altogether attributed to the essential difference between them here pointed out.

Nor is it alone in such small and isolated questions as those just considered, that a resort has been had to these different methods of philosophizing. Great branches of science might be adduced as offering examples of the result of these methods of treatment. The

most perfect of all the sciences, astronomy, offers an illustration. In its earlier period, while it was yet in its astrological phase, every star was supposed to be inhabited by some spirit, who could exercise an influence on terrestrial affairs, and even regulate the life of man. Hence it became of the utmost importance to ascertain the position of the planets at the time of the birth of each man, or to cast his nativity, as it was termed; for it was supposed that from the indications which might be so gathered, predictions could be offered respecting his future career, whether fortunate or unfortunate, good or wicked. It need hardly be added, that such a system as this led to a most miserable fatalism, and contained within it an absolute denial of the free will of man. Yet we must not suppose that such an absurd doctrine was embraced only by fortune tellers, quacks, and impostors; on the contrary, some of the brightest names that have adorned science might be mentioned as its supporters. Kepler, who prepared the way for the immortal discoveries of Newton, could offer no better explanation of the motions of the planets than to attribute them to the will of the spirit that thus inhabited them. His explanations have totally passed away, or only serve to excite the curiosity and surprise of the student of astronomical antiquities; but the numerical facts that Kepler ascertained by persevering inquiry, still endure, and the great doctrine of universal gravitation, which has given celebrity to Newton over all other scientific discoverers, was their necessary consequence.

Just as it was in astronomy, so it has been, and, indeed, we should almost be justified in saying, so it still is in physiology. This science, which undertakes to explain the manner of action of each portion of the system of man, and of all portions conjointly, or in the aggregate, lies necessarily at the foundation of all medical knowledge. How can a physician undertake to restore the action of parts that are working amiss, unless he knows precisely what the proper action ought to be? How could a mechanic be expected to repair a machine, unless he was familiar with the construction of its different parts, and the manner in which they were intended to work on one another? Indeed, it is physiology which constitutes medicine a science, and relieves it from the imputation of being a mere art.

As in other branches of human knowledge, the fanciful application of a word or phrase, by giving an imaginary explanation of facts, has acted as an obstacle to scientific advance, the same has occurred in physiology. Here and there, little by little, it is true, the right direction has been taken, but it has only been in isolated cases, and the science has hitherto never been submitted to the proper method of treatment in the aggregate or mass. What we here mean may

be readily enough understood. Suppose that the question is the nature of vision, or in what manner the eye acts. The speculative philosophy answers you in its customary plausible, but barren way; the eye sees because it is *alive*, and therefore cannot see after it is *dead*. But very different is the manner in which exact science treats the inquiry. It starts by explaining to you the properties of the rays of light as they have been ascertained by actual experiment; it shows how the transparent portions of the eye act upon such rays in the self-same manner as ordinary lenses of glass would do, and since among such artificial glass lenses there are some which, by reason of their shape, act far more perfectly than others, it takes delight in incidentally pointing out as a signal instance of the wisdom of the Creator, that of all possible forms of curvature which might have been given to the eye, the one actually used may be mathematically shown to be by far the best. It shows how the iris, that circular membrane which gives to the eye the color that we see on looking at it, hazel, or blue, or black, is a curiously devised contrivance, in principle the same as the perforated plate in spy-glasses and telescopes, a diaphragm it is called, the object of which is to regulate the quantity of light introduced into the instrument. But the natural iris-diaphragm is infinitely more perfect in construction than our artificial invention in this, that it is automatic or self-acting, opening more widely when the light is feeble, to let more rays in, and closing to a just degree when the light is bright. Hereupon exact science makes another note of admiration, drawing attention to the superiority of the works of God and the inferiority of the works of man. Then it goes on to show that there are formed upon the back of the eye, inverted images of such objects as we may be looking at, in their proper or natural colors, and in the right gradation of light and shade. With a pride which we shall readily forgive, it boasts that it has accomplished almost, though not quite, as good a result in the invention of the camera obscura, the instrument that you may examine in the rooms of any daguerreotyper or photographer. Then it draws attention to the circumstance that all the interior of the globe of the eye is covered over with a black pigment, for the same reason that we cover with black paint the interior of optical instruments, and also for the purpose of enabling the optic nerve to be duly affected by luminous impressions, so that they may be transmitted thereby to the brain. Nor is it only to the special action of the eye as an optical instrument that its explanations are limited; it also dwells on the connected and collateral contrivances incidentally resorted to for maintaining it in good order. Just as a man who has occasion to use his spectacles, breathes lightly

on the glasses, and then wipes them with his handkerchief, to free them from all dimness and dust, so the front part of the eye, exposed to the impurities of the air, requires to be wetted and wiped; and this is accomplished by the aid of an apparatus which curiously distributes upon the surface little streams of water so long as the eye is open and exposed to the air; tears we call this water when it comes too abundantly, and drops over the cheek. The wiping is done by the eyelids, which exercise their winking motion without ever growing tired. Even in the manner of that motion, exact science finds a source of delightful contemplation, as manifesting in a minute particular, purpose and design, the use of a means for the accomplishment of an end, for the eyelids do not close, as one might say, square on each other, but with a movement from their outer to their inner corner, like the movement of a pair of scissors from the pivot to the end; and this guides the little accumulation of water to a small orifice that may be seen in the inner corner of the eye, through which passage it finds its way to the upper part of the nose. Hence it is removed by evaporation into the air which is drawn into the lungs by inspiration and cast out by expiration. So the act of breathing is incidentally, but very effectually applied for the getting rid of the dirty water that has been used in cleansing the front of the eye. Hereupon, again, exact science makes another note, directing us with intelligent delight to observe how those principles which chemists say are the most effectual in promoting the evaporation of water are in this case introduced, a warm surface and a draft of air. At this point we will pause for a moment, to say a word respecting the barrenness of the old and the fruitfulness of the new philosophy. Is there anything that can give a more profound gratification to an intelligent mind, than thus to discover in such minute particulars the evidences of design, wisdom, reason? Judged upon this principle, how utterly without significance and without worth it is to say, The eye sees because it is alive. Does that advance one at all in an appreciation of its qualities and manner of action?

But also in the other and perhaps more important regard, what a contrast there is as respects fruitfulness or utility between the two systems! On this point we the more willingly dwell, because we have written above a pretty sweeping denunciation of the philosophy of the Middle Ages. Now it so happens, that the very example we have here under consideration, was the first instance in which the philosophy of the schoolmen was broken through, and a resort to more exact methods attempted. We often say that modern science takes its rise from the works of Lord Bacon; but the truth is, as may be ascertained by any one who will give himself the trouble to

look into the matter, that our real obligation is to a far greater man, who preceded him by some centuries—Roger Bacon—greater in this essential circumstance, that he not only thoroughly knew the fundamental principles of modern exact science, but personally carried them into application, a thing which Lord Bacon never did. To Roger Bacon is due the first explanation of the optical action of the eye, and to him also we owe that noble invention, which has made the whole human race his debtor, spectacles. Spectacles, of which it may be truly said, that they have worked the miracle of giving sight to those who would be otherwise blind; no inconsiderable portion of the population in civilized communities. In our day we cannot realize the difficulties which were thrown in the way of the introduction of this invention, and the opprobrium with which its great author was visited. For, said the Schoolmen, since all the works of God are perfect, and the eye is one of his works, it is not only presumption, but even impiety to attempt to improve thereupon. How dares insolent man attempt to transform an eye which has been made long-sighted or short-sighted, into one of another kind? It is well for us in these later times that the reign of visionary speculation is over, and that we live under the dominion of Common Sense.

One after another the greater sciences have escaped from this pseudo-metaphysical bondage. Astronomy cast off her fetters at the time of Newton, chemistry at that of Priestly. The progress of the latter science, and the improvement of anatomy, were indispensably necessary before physiology could enter on the same career. Here and there we notice isolated instances of improvement in the explanation of the action of portions of the system of man; but no general attempt has been made to revolutionize and model physiology in accordance with these principles, until the publication of the book the title of which is at the head of this article. Dr. Draper has for many years been known as Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New-York, and, therefore, brings to the enterprise to which he has thus devoted himself, the experience which arises from the habit of instruction. Indeed, the remodeling of physiology necessarily demands the possession of a knowledge of the two sciences which he represents, for the doctrines of the one are indissolubly interwoven with those of the other. In other respects, the times are favorable for the successful accomplishment of such an undertaking; and on all hands intelligent men as well as physicians are disposed to look upon it with favor.

In a volume of about six hundred and fifty pages, accordingly, our author makes his attempt. He treats his subject in two divisions,

Statical and Dynamical, as he terms them, in accordance with the customary arrangement which obtains among writers on physical science. Under the first of these heads, he considers man in a state of equilibrium, particularly in the condition of adult life, and in their succession examines the various operations needful to maintain him in that state. Among these are the functions of digestion of the food, the manner of its absorption when duly elaborated or prepared, and of its conveyance into the circulatory system, by which it is carried to every part. The causes of the circulation of the blood; the manner in which air is introduced by breathing; the reaction of the food and the blood upon one another, and how the warmth of the body necessarily arises therefrom, are next considered. The structure and mode of action of the brain and nervous system, so far as they are understood, are next shown; and the connection of that system with the muscular, the object of which is the production of locomotion, is explained.

In this portion of his work he likewise gives the structure and functions of the various organs of sense, seeing, hearing, smelling, touching, and tasting.

He then turns to the consideration of the career of man through all his various states, from the first moment of perceptible commencement of life to its close, dwelling upon those portions which commend themselves to attention from their importance more in detail, and dealing with the others in a briefer way. We shall presently give some extracts from his book, as examples of his methods of discussing such questions, and shall here take the opportunity of remarking, that we cannot help thinking that he has done himself injustice in that part of the preface in which he speaks of the amount of contribution of original matter which he has himself made to the subject. Though he has seen fit to speak of it in terms of almost insignificance, those who are familiar with the state of the case can have no hesitation in asserting, that no scientific book ever yet issued from the American press, has contained anything like the same amount of original material, derived from laborious and costly experiment. Indeed, how is it possible that it should be otherwise, in an attempt which affects an entire science? The labor and experiment required for the dovetailing and patching together of parts heretofore isolated, is by no means insignificant; but our author's claim to consideration is in reality far higher than that, since some of the most important topics in the science are experimentally discussed from their fundamental principles; among such, we may mention the functions of respiration and of circulation of the blood.

As for the rest, every means has been taken to insure to the book success in its mission. It is profusely illustrated with wood engravings, some of which are of great beauty, and said to be among the finest specimens of that art hitherto produced in our country. To a very great degree, this excellence is to be attributed to the introduction of a method of photography invented by the author, and capable of being applied not only for the copying of anatomical dissections, but also for the display of objects which have been magnified superficially many thousands of times by the microscope. The publishers have also done their part of the duty, the work being printed on very fine paper, and in a style reminding one of an English book.

As examples of the style of the work, we make the following extracts:

"Of the Voice. For the production of the sounds necessary for intercommunication among the higher animals, and particularly for the speech of man, it might be supposed that some complicated and elaborate contrivance must needs be resorted to. This object is, however, accomplished by merely employing on its escape from the system, the wasted product of respiration, the breath, which, as it issues outward through the respiratory passages, sets in motion a simple mechanism, and thereby originates all the exquisite modulations of song, and all the expressive utterances of speech. Is it not to be admired, that thus out of dead and dismissed matter, results of so high an order, materially and mentally, are obtained?"

"What might be termed the comparative physiology of the voice, is very simple. It appears first in invertebrate animals, as a monotonous noise or cry, which, gradually in the higher tribes, becomes more varied in loudness and note. It is worthy of remark, that in the different stages of his existence, man himself furnishes an illustration of this course. Voiceless before birth, with a piteous or monotonous cry in early infancy, articulate speech and song are the result of education, and through these the power is eventually gained of expressing the most refined emotions and the most elevated ideas. The solitary bell-like sound that the nudibranchiate gasteropods emit, thus produces by its successive improvements, a wonderful result at last."

"Among insects, the modes of producing sounds are very various, some effecting it by percussion, some by friction of horny organs. In others the extremity of the trachea through which the air escapes is accommodated with vibrating membranes. According to Burmeister, the contractions of the muscles of the wings, which are brought vigorously into action during flying, occasion an alternate pressure and relaxation upon the tracheal tubes. The air thus passing in and out, throws into vibration the valves of the spiracle, in the same manner as the vibrating spring of the accordeon. These vibrating plates of insects are the rudiments of what will become the perfect vocal apparatus in man. Again, in others the swiftly recurring beating of the wings produces a sound, as, for example, in the mosquito. Among vertebrated animals, those which breathe the air are vocal, nearly all fishes being mute. From fishes, as we pass upward, the sound and the instrument which makes it, increase together in complexity. From a single chink, the air expelled from the respiratory tracts of snakes, by the contraction of their abdominal muscles, issues forth as a mere hiss; the sound being increased in the frog by the development of resonant cavities. From these simple noises, we are conducted to the musical notes of birds, some of which are of exquisite purity and sweetness.

In these the vocal glottis is situated at the bifurcation of the trachea, another glottis being above for the final escape of the air. These vertebrated animals first introduce us to the mechanism for articulate speech, the raven and parrot being able to pronounce words with distinctness. The articulation is effected as in man, by the motions of the tongue and other portions of the mouth."

"For the further consideration of this subject, it is necessary to understand that there is a distinction between song and speech. Song is produced by the glottis, speech by the mouth; or, perhaps, a more correct statement would be, that the larynx is the organ of song, the mouth of that form of speech that we call whispering, and for which nothing is required but a stream of air issuing from the fauces; the tongue and other organs giving it articulation; but for audible speech a noise is created in the larynx, and modified by articulation in the mouth."—Page 351.

In the following passages he is speaking of the nature of dreaming:

"Dreams never strike us with surprise, no matter what may be the extraordinary scenery they present, no matter how great the violations of truth and reality. The dead may appear with the most astonishing clearness; their voices, perhaps long forgotten, may be heard; we may be transported to places where we have spent past years of our lives, combinations of the most grotesque and impossible kinds may be spread before us; we accept all as a reality, perhaps not even suspecting that we are dreaming. The germs from which have originated all these strange combinations, are impressions stored up in the registering ganglia of the brain, more particularly in its optic thalami. These, as outward impressions have for the time ceased, are enabled to attract the attention of the mind, and emerge from their latent state. That dreams originate in such impressions is illustrated by the history of the blind, who still dream of things that they formerly saw. Thus it is stated that Huber, after he had been blind for fifty years, still dreamed of things he had seen when a boy. But little explanation can be given of the manner in which these vestiges may be grouped, a grouping which is so frequently in violation of all correctness, that a dream that presents us with a logical sequence of effects, and which we recognize on awakening to be naturally true, is sure to be an impressive one; and yet we cannot doubt that the causes which suggest dreams are often purely physical, as when, in dropsy of the chest, the dreamer fancies he is drowning, or even suffers under the same delusion when his hand is dipped in water; or when a candle is carried into the room, and he awakens stricken with terror that the house is on fire; or on the occurrence of noise he believes that he is in a thunder-storm, or perhaps on a field of battle."

"One of the most extraordinary phenomena presented in the dreaming state, is the instantaneous manner in which a long series of events may be offered to the mind, the exciting cause being truly of only a momentary duration. Some sudden noise arouses us, and in the act of waking, a long drama connected with that noise appears before us; or in like manner we are disturbed perhaps by a flash of lightning, and with that flash occurs a dream which seems to us to occupy a space of hours or even days, so many are the incidents with which it is filled. It has long been known, that a like peculiarity has offered itself to those who have suffered by drowning, and have been subsequently restored. They have related that in their moment of supreme agony, the whole series of events of their past life has, as it were, flowed in in an instant upon them, with the most appalling vividness; their good and evil works, and even the most trifling incidents, presenting themselves with distinctness, a tide of memory. And, doubtless, it is owing to like causes, that under the influence of opium or other narcotic drugs, the relations of space and time are so totally destroyed, that we seem to live through a century in a single night, or to take in our view scenery, the distances and magnitudes of

which are utterly beyond the reach of mortal vision. It has been truly said that the province of dreams is one of intense exaggeration. It is so in a double sense, for with equal facility we spread out a single and perhaps insignificant circumstance, so that it occupies the entire night, or we crowd a thousand strange, though perhaps connected representations into the twinkling of an eye."—Page 555.

We had marked several other passages for quotation, but as our limits are already reached, these must suffice. There can be no doubt that Dr. Draper's work has made a profound impression upon his own profession, as is shown by its immediate adoption as a text-book in many of our medical colleges. The general non-professional reader, who feels an interest in the delightful science of physiology, will find in it a clear statement of the existing condition of that subject, set forth from the point of view which we have indicated above. He will find in the perusal of it an additional pleasure from the excellent manner in which it has been printed, and the difficulties of the subject cleared up by the numerous and beautiful engravings that are given.

Art. VII.—DR. SCHAFF AND METHODISM.

Dr. Schaff's repeated assaults upon German Methodism, rendered doubly aggravating by the fact, that at the very time he published the most odious charges against us, he began his contributions to the *Methodist Quarterly*, were answered from time to time in the *Christian Apologist*, the organ of German Methodism. It would have been well, perhaps, had we Germans, in addition, at the time, exposed Dr. Schaff to our Anglo-American brethren. Yet, as the attacks were more virulent than dangerous, and consisted more in abuse than in reasonable and logical criticism, it was thought best to pass them over in silence, or to leave their refutation to some of our leading Anglo-American brethren, who have been foremost in the prosecution of the great Methodist mission work among the Germans.

I speak here of Dr. Schaff's attacks upon us in his "Kirchenfreund," a theological monthly published at Mercersburgh. This publication being in German, came to the eyes of comparatively few Americans. Being, however, the only German theological review in the United States, it was read with interest by American theolo-

gians, who understood German and felt an interest in German views. To some one of these in our own connection, we indeed looked for some answer to Dr. Schaff; and when, in the spring of 1855, Dr. Schaff's book on "The Political, Social, and Ecclesiastical Condition of the United States" appeared, in which he reiterated some of his contemptuous sneers against Methodism, we Germans were gratified at an article by Professor NADAL in the *Quarterly*, in which the intent of Dr. Schaff in his book to injure and traduce Methodism, was ably shown. Professor Nadal's critique rendered it unnecessary, on the part of the German Methodists, to translate into English, a very able and thorough exposé of Dr. Schaff, which Rev. L. NIPPERT, one of our missionaries in Germany, had written for the Apologist. And this remaining unanswered, the matter was with us allowed to rest.

In the January number of our Quarterly, however, appeared over Dr. M'Clintock's name, a remonstrance against the critique of Professor Nadal, and an assertion, that the imputation to Dr. Schaff of an evil animus against the Methodist Episcopal Church was wrong. This appearing in the Quarterly, coming from Dr. M'Clintock, having the weight of his name, imposes upon me the necessity of placing, through the same medium, before Dr. M'Clintock and the Church, some extracts from Dr. Schaff's previous writings, (in the Kirchenfreund,) which have, in all probability, hitherto escaped attention, and which seem to me to place beyond doubt, the long-continued *evil animus* of Dr. Schaff against our denomination in general, as a Christian body, and against German Methodism in particular.

The first number of "*The Kirchenfreund*" appeared in January, 1848, and the second number contained a letter from the Rev. Mr. Rauschenbusch to a missionary society in Germany, which did great injustice to us. Without giving the name of his informer, or of the Methodist preacher, or of the place where the scene he represents should have taken place, the writer said among other things:

"The prevailing impression of the Germans here with regard to the Methodists is this: their only aim is to strengthen their party, to convert us by any means whatever, not so much to God as to Methodism; and those who are thus converted, think a great deal more of their forms and ceremonies, than of charity, truth, and honesty. A certain man assured me, he had attended a sacramental service among the Methodists, and had from the beginning declared he would not partake of the sacrament. Nevertheless, the Methodist preacher urged upon him and some others, Why will you not also come and partake of the sacrament with us? Do not think you are not worthy, you were not prepared: no one goes worthily to the sacramental table; therefore come, come on! Such an invitation had deeply offended this man, as he saw in it nothing else than the intention to bring him nearer to Methodism, by partaking with them of the sacrament."

In animadverting in the Apologist upon this report, I expressed the hope, that the "Kirchenfreund" would in future have recourse to more reliable sources concerning the German missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, than he found in Rev. Mr. Rauschenbusch's letter, published in Germany, reminding Dr. Schaff that this gentleman had a few weeks before made a public retraction of and apology for his strictures on Methodism, and requesting him, as a matter of justice, to publish also in the Kirchenfreund this retraction, which I sent him by mail, and which would not have occupied a full column in his periodical. Professor Schaff, however, paid no attention to my request, although I had accompanied it with the following respectful announcement of his theological monthly, giving its prospectus, terms, etc.:

"The want of a learned theological periodical in the German language has been felt for some time in this country, by those who are familiar, and desire to remain familiar, with the German theological literature. Professor Schaff is at present, perhaps, the only German scholar in the United States who possesses the learning, talents, and connections with the old country, requisite to satisfy this want properly. We therefore bid his "Kirchenfreund" welcome, although we have to expect in him a decided opponent, which he has already proved himself in the numbers that have appeared.

"Professor Schaff seems to consider it his peculiar calling to redeem this country from 'the plague of sects.' Whatever lies outside of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and United Protestant Churches, is to him sectarian, has no Church character; whatever is not enveloped in the 'Folie historischer Prærogative,' to apply one of his own terms, must not dare to arrogate to itself the venerable name of the *Church*. Even the total separation of Church from State, which is, thanks be to God, enjoyed in America, appears to Professor Schaff, at least *for the present*, a great evil. Methodism, and everything cognate to it, as protracted meetings, revivals, the mourner's bench, in short, the so-called New Measures, in the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, form the direct opposite pole to the High Church stand-point, from which the Kirchenfreund will view the theological questions of the day. This will, however, rather increase than diminish our interest in this periodical. We are not afraid of learned criticism, but expect it from so able an opponent."

Dr. Schaff took no notice of these remarks, and with the beginning of the year 1849, the Kirchenfreund was no more sent to us as exchange, although we continued to send the Apologist. Accidentally, however, the April number of that year came into my hands, which contained the following review of Methodism:

"In the second period of the history of the German Church in America, several *new sects*, almost entirely of a *Methodistical* character, seceded from the two principal Protestant Churches, and have grown up to be numerous communities. *Wesley* and *Whitefield* are no doubt to be ranked among the most distinguished and venerable men in the history of Christian life. Their labors had something truly *reformatory*, and especially the lower classes and the heathens owe them everlasting gratitude. Constrained by the love of Christ, and full of pure, burning zeal for the salvation of immortal souls, they have, as true Evangelists, by their powerful calls to repentance, shaken thousands

from the sleep of sin. They breathed into the dry bones of the English Episcopal Church (from which they, however, never intended themselves to separate) a new spirit and new life. They became the founders of an imposing community, which, next to Puritanism, is the prevailing religious power in the United States; and they have undeniably done much toward the spread of personal practical Christianity in this country. But as the most glorious human work has its foibles and imperfections, that no flesh may glory, and gradually degenerate, so it was also with Methodism in many respects, at least in America, and to a greater extent than with Pietism in Germany. This is especially applicable to the German Methodists. We will not deny to them their zeal and their merits in the salvation of many souls, which, without them, might perhaps have died in their sins; we consider them a salutary chastening rod for dead or sleepy preachers; but with all this they have taken the very worst excrescences from their English patterns. To judge from all the descriptions, the proceedings in their worship, especially in the camp-meetings, when an awakening breaks loose, (los ist,) must be exceedingly fanatical and chaotic. There is a stamping and bouncing, jumping and falling, crying and howling, groaning and sighing, all praying in confusion, a rude singing of the most vulgar street songs, so that it must be loathing to an educated man, and fill the serious Christian with painful emotions. Of '*a reasonable service*' we can of course see here nothing; the God of order is perverted into a protector of disorder and fanaticism. This is a barbarous Christianity. Luther and the Reformers would no doubt have condemned this people at once, as fanatics and heretical sectaries, and even John Wesley, if we mistake not, has somewhere said, with reference to this fanaticism, that the emptiest barrels make the greatest noise. To these extravagances in public worship come other very dangerous errors, an opposition to culture of mind and learning, an opposition, which springs not from humility, but mostly from an overbearing contempt of others, and from intellectual imbecility, and which results too often in the ruin of a practical religious life, and trains up a wild, unrestrained youth; then the uncharitable anathematizing of other denominations, as if there was no piety at all to be found in them, because they have not adopted the new measures; again, the perversion of justification by faith into a justification by feeling; in short, the one-sided conception of Christianity, as an indistinct matter of feeling, while true Christianity aims to pervade equally and harmoniously the *whole* man and *all* the faculties of the soul; the extravagant importance put upon self-invented means of conversion, and a conscious or unconscious depreciation of the regular, divinely ordained means of grace, especially of the sacraments, which in their system become empty signs and ceremonies; finally, the doctrine of the attainability in this life of a moral perfection, which rests upon a Pelagian basis, ignoring the deep abyss of sin and nourishing the most dangerous kind of pride, spiritual vanity, pharisaism. We shall have to say more of this unsound piety in the third period of the German Church in America, when it penetrated even the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. We will now give a brief description of the Methodistical sects in chronological order, the first three of which are independent ecclesiastical bodies; the fourth is an integral part of the English Methodist Episcopal Church."

Passing over his remarks on the origin and present number of preachers and members of the United Brethren, Albrights and Winebrennerians, I will only notice what he says respecting the German organ of the United Brethren and that of the Albrights. His judgment on these two religious German papers is singularly mild, compared with his remarks on the Christian Apologist. Of the paper of the United Brethren he says:

"It is no great honor to our literature; but it is so modest and anxious to learn, that it would be cruel to reproach it on account of its sins against German grammar and logic. Where active faith and honest zeal are shown, we ought to bear with patience such weaknesses."

Of the Albright paper he says:

"It is edited by a European, Mr. Gehr,* and stands exalted above the prevailing spirit of the association; and if it is not interrupted in its quiet and modest sphere may exercise a very salutary, transforming influence upon its readers."

He proceeds to notice us as follows:

"*The German Methodists* stand in regular connection with the *English Methodist Episcopal Church.* Although of a later date, and laboring more among the immigrant Germans in the West than among the Germans born in this country, they owe their origin and growth to the same evils as their predecessors. Their founder is William Nast, originally a Lutheran from Wurtemberg, who sowed his wild oats (verwildert war) in the University of Tübingen, but was awakened in the bosom of an English Methodist family in America. For about ten years he edits, at Cincinnati, the Christian Apologist, a spiritless (insipid) paper, full of unsalted piety and vain praises of camp-meetings and awakenings, radical in politics, like the most vulgar daylies, from which he borrows the news about Germany; ignoble and Jesuitical in his polemics, robbing his colleagues frequently of articles without giving credit, but otherwise caring little for what takes place in Christendom, except where it suits his purpose. We would be disposed to esteem a man, who, according to Loeher, has at least shown zeal in the salvation of immortal souls and suffered much persecution, even if we cannot agree with his theological and ecclesiastical stand-point; but such self-laudation and dishonest lawyer's tricks as are the order of the day in the Apologist, and of which not only 'The Lutheran,' and the German Reformed Church paper, but disinterested parties have so often complained, are entirely unworthy of a Christian and of a gentleman. Liberally aided by the English Methodist Church, the missionary operations under the guidance of Nast have had considerable success among the recent German immigrants in the West; but they have also called forth the most violent opposition and often burning hatred in good and bad persons. There are now fifty or sixty traveling preachers, all of them without theological preparation. While the membership of the English Methodist Church has been lately considerably decreasing, she finds to some degree a reparation of her loss in this flourishing mission work, which the lower classes of Germans, who feel a religious want, will embrace in large numbers, so long as the Lutheran, Reformed, and United Churches do not make greater exertions to satisfy that want in a sound manner.

"These sects, whose rapid spread is only to be accounted for by the lethargy and neglect of the German Evangelical Church, are a serious reproach to her. The most successful and noble mode of warfare against Methodism would, no doubt, be to imitate, though in a different spirit, and surpass their missionary zeal. Inasmuch as a Methodistical Christianity, in spite of all its unsound excrescences in doctrine and life, is preferable to infidelity and death, we might rejoice at its progress among the thousands of neglected and straying German immigrants, according to the principle of St. Paul, 'if only Christ is

* Soon after this was written he became a minister in the German Reformed Church.

preached;' but there is, on the other side, too much ground to fear that these sects, apart from their doctrinal errors, repulse entirely from the Gospel, by their mode of operating, as many, that might yet be gained, as they convert to their side; that they therefore destroy as much as they may do good."

Thus wrote Dr. Schaff in 1849. His personalities against me were so unwarranted, so utterly void of the shadow of a proof, the mere echo of papers most bitterly and unscrupulously opposed to our cause, of so low and degrading a nature, that they bore their own refutation on their face to every reader of the Apologist. And I cannot bring myself to think, that a single word of defense against such charges is necessary, or would be in place before the English Christian public. In spite of all such calumnies, the Christian Apologist is loved and esteemed by thousands, and has attained a subscription of nearly eight thousand, while our membership amounts only to between fourteen and fifteen thousand.

With regard to the general accusations of the Kirchenfreund against Methodism, I remarked at the time:

"They have been so often and so thoroughly considered and refuted in the Apologist, that we might expect to be treated by our German Protestant sister Churches, as the English Methodist Church is treated by nearly all the Evangelical denominations of this country. But, alas! our defenses of Methodism against its opponents, as they appeared from time to time in the Christian Apologist, Professor Schaff considers an unpardonable want of modesty, of which the organs of the United and Albright Brethren are not guilty, on which account they are graciously treated by him. Be this as it may, we know the calling of Methodism.

"Professor Schaff says, 'Wesley's labors had something *reformatory*.' Yes, sir, and *just on that account* he was persecuted in the most bitter manner by those in whose Church the reformation should take place; among his persecutors there were as learned and orthodox men as Professor Schaff is. But inasmuch as the German Protestant Churches need a Reformation as well as the Church of England did in the time of Wesley, and inasmuch as that form of Christianity which the world calls now Methodism, is as well adapted for the Germans as for the English, it has pleased God to let German Methodism arise. This German Methodism, so long as it has to *reform*, must expect the same ignominious treatment which English Methodism had to suffer. And we ask of those who so bitterly persecute the German Methodists, as Professor Schaff does, this one favor, that *they* cease to extol Wesley and Whitefield to the skies. Does a fountain send forth at the same place, sweet water and bitter? Take care that the woe does not fall upon you, which the Lord had to pronounce upon the scribes and Pharisees, Matt. xxiii, 29. We fear Professor Schaff would have treated the first lay preachers of John Wesley, had he been his cotemporary, as he does Methodism now. Nor can we thank him for the tribute of praise he pays to us when he says: 'We will not deny their zeal and their merits in the salvation of many souls, which, without them, might perhaps have died in their sins; we consider them a salutary chastening rod for dead or sleepy preachers; but with all this they have taken the worst excrescences from their English patterns.' These are hollow, self-contradictory phrases, of which a man who has studied logic, a professor of theology, should not be guilty. *How* can those, with whom, as he adds immediately, 'there can be no reasonable service, who pervert the God of order into a protector of

disorder and fanaticism, whom Luther and the Reformers, without any doubt, would have at once condemned as fanatics and heretical sectaries,' *how can such men* have any 'merit in the salvation of many souls, which, without them, would perhaps have died in their sins?' Whoever knows anything of true conversion to God, knows that such senseless fanaticism, and such dangerous errors in doctrine, as Professor Schaff ascribes to German Methodism, are incompatible with a true enlightening and renewing by the Holy Ghost. However, according to Professor Schaff, the Methodists have not true conversion or genuine Christianity, but a particular kind of Christianity, which he calls '*barbarous*;' nevertheless, 'he prefers it, in spite of all its unsound excrescences in doctrine and life, to infidelity and death.' We are sorry we cannot accept even this compliment. No, Professor Schaff, if the Methodistical Christianity were what you represent it, it would be a monstrous deformity, whose transformation would appear to us far more difficult than the conversion of an infidel. However, the Bible knows nothing of such a deformed Christianity, and the Methodists know of no other Christianity than the Bible Christianity, which, as the professor says very justly, is 'not a mere indistinct matter of feeling, but pervades equally and harmoniously the *whole* man and *all* the faculties of the soul.' We deprecate, therefore, all such self-contradictory and hypocritical compliments, which only dishonor the name of our Saviour, and bring the work of conversion in bad repute with the world. We would rather be called heathens, publicans, heretics, or infidels, than monstrously deformed men and women in Christ Jesus. We are either children of God or children of the devil, converted or unconverted, regenerate or unregenerate. If we are the children of God, we cannot 'call forth,' as Professor Schaff says, '*a burning hatred* in *good* persons, as well as in wicked ones.' Every one that is born of God will love us, and only the worldling and carnally minded will hate us. And apart from this, we cannot comprehend how a *burning hatred, even against sinners*, can dwell in the breast of a *good* man; and still more incomprehensible is it to us, how we can awaken 'this burning hatred in good people *by our missionary labors*, without which, perhaps, many souls would have died in their sins.' This is a theological problem, the solution of which we must leave to the learning of Professor Schaff.

"We have said more than we intended on the *general* accusations of the Kirchenfreund against Methodism, and will only add one more remark. Professor Schaff acknowledges that he does not know German Methodism *from his own inspection*. He makes up his caricature from mere hearsay. 'To judge from all the descriptions,' are his own words. The only authority he quotes against us personally, is the frivolous book of Loeher, a scoffing infidel. What a melancholy lack, not only of the brotherly love which Christians should bear toward each other, but of that universal love, that sense of justice and equity, which even the old heathen Romans had, not to condemn any one without proof, is necessary, upon mere hearsay, to pronounce such an uncharitable judgment against his fellow-men and fellow-Christians, as Professor Schaff dared to pronounce upon the Methodists! How much more worthy of a theological professor and of the editor of a learned theological periodical would it have been, if Professor Schaff, instead of making groundless and ignominious charges against the Methodists, had thoroughly reviewed, examined, and refuted that Methodistical doctrine of Christian perfection, which appears to him so unsound and dangerous, and which was vindicated in the Apologist in a series of editorial articles; or, indeed, any of our doctrines and usages, as they are set forth in our books and tracts."

In the light of the above documents we now ask the reader, *had not Dr. Schaff an evil animus against the Methodist Episcopal Church? If he had no design to injure Methodism*, would he not have,

1. Readily complied in 1848 with my reasonable request, after having published certain strictures on Methodism, to publish also the author's retraction of these strictures? Would he not then have made at least some reply to my respectful notice of his Kirchenfreund, and to my readiness to answer any charges against Methodism, that were substantiated by a reference to our books and tracts?

2. Would he, could he have written in such a spirit against Methodism, as he did in the April number of the Kirchenfreund in 1849? Would he have poured all his wrath upon the German missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and treated with comparative mildness "the other Methodistic sects, the United Brethren and Albrights," with whom those objectionable accidental features or "excrescences" of Methodism, as Dr. Schaff calls them, namely, the excitement in public worship, etc., are found to a greater degree than with us? Would he have singled out, as the victim of personal abuse, the editor of the Christian Apologist, who had never given him any personal offense; but, on the contrary, when visiting Germany in 1844, had been very kindly treated by Dr. Schaff's friends, who expressed a warm desire that we might get acquainted with each other and form a mutual friendship?

3. Would he not have noticed my reply to his attack in 1849, either retracting what he had published only from hearsay, or trying to prove his assertions?

Finally, would he have reiterated his gross misrepresentations of Methodism in Germany in 1854?

Well said Rev. L. Nippert in the letter he addressed to Dr. Schaff, through the medium of the Christian Apologist:

"I could scarcely conceive how you, who, bewailing the divisions of the Protestants in America, comforted yourself only with the hope, that all these sects would yet form a union, and out of them would finally arise the Church of the Future, could find it in your heart, by such addresses and publications, to remove the object of your hope to still greater distance, to make the gulf of separation still deeper, and to excite animosities between those who should and could dwell peaceably together? How you, a messenger of peace, could not refrain from sowing the seed of prejudice and discord even in another hemisphere? How you, as a Christian, can attribute to others, doctrines, principles, and usages, of which you evidently neither had nor desired proper information? How you, a learned man, ten years a resident in America, could make such false assertions against a Church, the most numerous and the best known in the land?"

With regard to Dr. Schaff's favorite charge against the Methodist ministry, that "they are too often actuated by the impure motives of proselyting," Mr. Nippert puts the following question to him:

"It would be interesting to know, respected professor, by what process of investigation you have discovered those impure motives. That you should

have frequently attended Methodist preaching, is not to be assumed; for it is, as you say, 'too exciting for the nerves,' and 'suits,' properly speaking, only 'the lower classes' and 'the sanguine temperament of the negroes;' such preaching would have been too repugnant to your nerves, to your heart, and head. That you should have visited our class-meetings, which you consider the counterpart of the Roman Catholic confessional, I can still less believe. How could you, as a doctor of Protestant theology, sanction by your presence such a Romanizing institution? Nor is there any probability that you attended their annual conferences, and made there your discoveries 'by your own inspection.' That you made yourself more familiar with Methodism through its literature, is not to be imagined, for if you had, how could you have committed such glaring blunders respecting their doctrines, principles, usages, and institutions?"

It would give credit and honor to our self-taught German missionaries, to quote the points which Mr. Nippert makes against Dr. Schaff, to show how he convinces the learned professor, in the most polite and respectful manner, of his glaring blunders, tracing them, with logical acumen and refined irony, back to the blinding influence of his "*evil animus.*" No wonder that Professor Schaff did not feel disposed to make a reply; it was an unanswerable defense of German Methodism. As Professor Nadal has, however, already in the Quarterly given a better review of Dr. Schaff's book than a German could have written for the English Methodist public, it would not be proper to lengthen this article by further extracts from Mr. Nippert's letter to Professor Schaff.

In conclusion, I can assure the reader that I have not made this exposé from any vindictive feelings against Dr. Schaff. I did not suffer the treatment I had received from him to rankle in my breast, but was willing to erase it even from my memory, and spoke since on several occasions with great respect of his learning, as, indeed, I had always done. But as his abuse of German Methodism is again and again triumphantly quoted by our enemies, I feared I should not be true to the cause of truth and righteousness, and to the interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to which I owe a debt of everlasting gratitude, as well as "*the lower classes and the heathens,*" if I did not prove Dr. Schaff, as long as he does not *himself acknowledge the wrong* he has done us, unworthy of the apology which a kind and unsuspecting friend makes for him in a Methodist periodical of the first order.

CINCINNATI, *March*, 1857. WILLIAM NAST.

Art. VIII.—AMERICAN SLAVERY—ITS PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS.

We have shown, in a former article, the retrogression which the public mind of the country—of the South at least—has undergone respecting slavery—that the anti-slavery sentiments of the great founders of the Republic, Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, etc., have been abandoned; that its original policy against the *extension* of the evil has been not only abandoned, but reversed; that the institution has come to be recognized as a condition of the balance of power and of parties in the federal government; that the sentiments of "the fathers" respecting the dignity and advantage of "free labor," "free society," and liberty in general, have been impugned; that the reopening of the African slave trade has been advocated even by the highest state authorities—and that this degeneration has been crowned by a general demoralization of the popular mind on political subjects, by violence, border ruffianism, the substitution of the bludgeon for argument, and the loss, to a grievous extent, of the old loyalty of the country to the cause of general freedom.

What has occasioned this extraordinary revolution of opinion?

It should be distinctly noticed that its primary causes were not *moral*. No new light led to new sentiments on the subject; *material* interests alone, comparatively sordid ones therefore, produced the change; moral justifications of the institution were attempted only when its financial promises were ascertained.

1. New-England ingenuity gave the first impulse to the lamentable change. The son of a Massachusetts farmer, Eli Whitney, residing in Georgia toward the end of the last century, perceived that if machinery could be contrived for the separation of the green seed cotton from its seed, it could be made an article of vast commerce, and that otherwise it was vain to think of raising it for the market. Many gentlemen of Georgia entertained the same conviction, and encouraged him to study the necessary invention. Hitherto the "cleaning" of the product had been entirely manual, and involved infinite difficulty, especially in the hands of slaves. The genius of Whitney gave birth to the *Cotton Gin*, an instrument which has given impetus to the commerce of the world, and more, perhaps, than any other cause, riveted slavery upon the negro race. Near the close of the winter 1792–1793, the invention became known as an undoubted fact; it was ascertained that by a simple contrivance, the tedious process of separating the seed from the fiber by hand was

superseded forever; that in one day, one hand could do more of this work than had been done, by the old process, in many months; that, as the inventor said, in his memorial to Congress, "it would, as a labor-saving machine, enable one man to perform the work of a thousand men." The people becoming aware of the invention, perceived at a glance its value; they flocked from all quarters to see it; they were too impatient to wait till the inventor could secure a patent right; his building was broken open, the model carried away, and imitations put into operation. It raised, as he subsequently declared, the value of the Southern states from fifty to one hundred per cent. "If we should assert," said a Southern citizen, Judge Johnson, "that the benefits of this invention exceed $100,000,000, we can prove the assertion by correct calculations." Such calculations would swell the estimate, in our day, to indefinite millions. Whitney has taken rank with Arkwright, Watt, and Fulton, as one of the greatest promoters of the material improvement of the race. His ingenious hand opened the whole cotton culture of the South; created virtually the cotton manufactures and cotton commerce of Great Britain; originated our own cotton factories, and sent forth our ships to compete, in the ends of the earth, with those of England, in the sale of the fabric. The inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright have all undergone improvements from the new impulse; bleaching, calico printing, and all the secondary arts of the manufacturer have been revolutionized under it. The Power Loom, superseding the old tedious method of weaving, was introduced in 1816, enabling us to compete with English cheap labor. Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and Paisley, not to speak of our own Lowell, Pawtucket, Manchester, etc., have been built up by Whitney's invention. The whole amount of cotton imported into England from all parts of the world was, about ten years before this invention, only 5,000,000 pounds; in 1829 it amounted to 210,000,000; she now imports from us raw cotton alone to the amount of more than one hundred millions of money, and exports, in cotton fabrics, more than one hundred and twenty-five millions. Millions of her people, three millions at least, depend upon her American business. Our cotton crop for 1852 was valued at no less than $129,000,000. Our exports of raw cotton for 1854 amounted to nearly $110,000,000, and of manufactured cotton to more than $9,500,000; all this besides the vast domestic consumption of the article.

Thus did Yankee genius evoke the industry and enterprise of the South, and bind them in financial relations with nearly the whole commercial world; but the deed so beneficial to mankind in general, has become the especial curse of the negro. By making American

cotton a staple in all the world, it has made his sinews staples in the market of the South; and has turned back the tendencies to his emancipation which, as we have shown in our preceding article, were ripe at our Revolutionary epoch. Mammon has become the insatiable Moloch to whose altars his fettered race are driven for sacrifice, and with the smoke of the sacrifice mixes, as incense, the old, generous, and Christian sentiments, with which the fathers of the Republic deplored his wrongs and hoped for their extinction.

2. Only about ten years (1803) after this invention, the purchase of *Louisiana from France* opened an almost indefinite field for the extension of the slave interest. This fact may be considered the *second* great event in its history.

As we have seen in our former article, it was expected, immediately after the Revolution, that all the territories west of the old thirteen states, and pertaining to them respectively, would be ceded by them to the federal government and be consecrated to freedom—that the first "ordinance," framed by Mr. Jefferson, proposed to form them into seventeen states, eight south of the parallel of Louisville, and nine north of it, and that "after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states;"* that a majority of two thirds of the states, and fifteen delegates against six, voted for the proposition; that with this majority, it failed only because the specific vote required by the "Articles of Confederation" failed.

It was, then, the will of a large majority of our original statesmen, that slavery should not be extended beyond the original slave states of the confederacy; that it should be left to die out there. The acquisition, however, of Louisiana, already possessing slaves, opened a new field for the cupidity of the institution. That splendid domain was obtained for a trifle, (fifteen millions;) it possessed the great commercial dépôt of the Mississippi Valley—New-Orleans; it commanded the great Western rivers; its territorial range was immense, comprising, by the Anglo-French treaty of 1763, the region west of the Mississippi River, with an indefinite extension westward. A large portion of it was obviously adapted to slave labor, and the newly-awakened ambition of pro-slavery demagogues and capitalists contemplated the prize with eagerness. The policy proposed by the founders of the republic, and the only one compatible with its liberal pretensions, was abandoned; three states were formed in the new territory—Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri; with the

* Jefferson's Ordinance.

latter the new pro-slavery policy proclaimed itself without reserve, and was definitively settled, rather than restricted, by the "Missouri Compromise."

The western territories of the southern portion of the thirteen states—territories designed, as we have seen, to be included in Mr. Jefferson's Ordinance, but which were afterward not ceded to the federal government, as were those of the free states—now became the intermediate ground, the *entrepot* of slavery between the Atlantic states and the trans-Mississippi west. Much of the interjacent regions, as Western Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Northern Alabama, had but few attractions for slave capital; they might have been free, long since, had it not been for the disastrous influence of the Louisiana acquisition;* they might even have become free since, had it not been for the unfortunate change of the public sentiment of the South, which resulted from that influence. But now, not only did capital see advantages in the propagation of slavery, but political demagogism saw the possibility of a successful competition between southern and northern politics—a competition which could not otherwise be successful; the heinous fact, referred to in our last article—the recognition of slavery as a condition of the balance of power and parties in the federal government—ensued, and the world has since witnessed the anomalous spectacle of the greatest republican government on earth converted into the greatest system of slave policy and slave propagandism known in history. The old slave regions found at least a market for slaves in the new southwest—slavery might have died out from self-decay in Virginia, had it not been for this fact. Louisiana proper presented especial inducements for the wretched traffic. Nine years after the purchase, she was admitted into the Union as a state with nearly fifty thousand square miles, and eight years later she had nearly *seventy thousand slaves*, and to-day she has more than two hundred and sixty-three thousand. Her soil was found peculiarly favorable to the slave staples. It is a rich alluvial from Lake Borgne to the Sabine, and from the Mexican Gulf to Baton Rouge and the Red River. Her prairie lands and rice swamps constitute a fifth of her territory. Sugar and rice are her staples south of the line of 30°, and cotton and tobacco north of it, and, indeed, throughout the state.

Such, then, were the primary causes of the deplorable retrogression of public opinion respecting slavery, which we have traced in our preceding article. That change did not, we repeat, originate in

* That acquisition was one of the most important advantages in our history. We condemn only the abuses of it by the slave policy.

moral reasons—in any new convictions respecting the rights of man or the moral claims of the negro. Any such new opinions were its effects, not its causes. The latter were financial and demagogical, sordid throughout. For a considerable time after the original policy of the country against "slavery extension" was practically abandoned, liberal-minded men of the South still abstractly approved that policy; the generous, patriotic, and Christian-like sentiments of the fathers of the Republic were still dear there to most Christian men at least. But slavery, formerly believed to be destined to a rapid internal decay, and tolerated only as a practical problem, difficult but temporary, became now more than ever complicated with the business of half the land. The hope of its extinction became therefore more than ever deferred, and soon passed out of the public mind; politicians saw the expediency of ignoring that hope; Christian consciences began to yield to the love of gain, and found desirable some new apologies by which to appease their instinctive scruples. New theories of slavery were discussed; the sentiments of "the fathers," the Declaration of Independence, God's own word, gave way before the mighty and selfish fallacy. Thus did moral causes supervene, and only thus.

3. We admit then, as a third fact in this melancholy outline, that indirectly there have been *moral causes* for the change we have been considering, and this brings us to what has been alleged by many good men—such men as we wish especially to influence—as its chief cause, namely, the *anti-slavery agitations of the North.*

We are not arguing for a local or partisan advantage, but for the truth, and for the purpose of doing what little we can to place the subject in its right and practicable attitude before considerate men of all parties; we would be frank, therefore, in approaching this delicate part of our subject.

Without really conceding much, (as will presently be seen,) we do candidly acknowledge that there have been many evils connected with our northern discussions of slavery. Thoughtful men, too, who have taken part in these discussions, have not estimated rightly those evils. History records no more admonitory lesson than it addresses to such men, under such circumstances; but it seems to be the weakness—the generous weakness may we not call it?—of human nature to suppose that errors in a good cause are not only pardonable, but seldom very disastrous. The attentive student of history will, however, believe that error is more mischievous in a good cause than in a bad one—in the latter it precipitates evil to its crisis and to its remedy, in the former it not only retards the good, but often overthrows it for centuries.

Not resistance to Christianity, but the perversions of its zeal, and especially of its hardest, its ascetic virtues, buried it in its own ruins for more than twelve hundred years, and its greatest devotees became the imbeciles and lunatics of the world. The extravagances of the Roman people and of their representatives justified, if it did not necessitate, in the general opinion of history, the overthrow of the Republic by Cæsar. Luther found it necessary to save the Reformation by turning his arms against the errors of the Anabaptists. The English Commonwealth fell from a strength never before known to the British throne or British arms, by the reaction of the Puritan extravagances, and its noble mission was put back for generations. Nearly all the political revolutions of modern Europe, from the first French one down to 1848, have been ruined by the excesses of their leaders, and have left only indirect benefits to the world. The Christian-like moderation and statesman-like wisdom of Wilberforce and Buxton alone saved the movement of British emancipation.*

The true reformer can never ignore these most urgent lessons of history. While they have not been forgotten by many in the North, and are more and more heeded in the later Northern anti-slavery movements, it cannot be denied that a great part of our anti-slavery history has been characterized by a practical disregard of them. Acknowledging that the control of slavery is chiefly in the hands of Southern men, we have not conformed our policy to that fact, but have too habitually addressed them in language which could only provoke their hostility against our arguments and their persistence in the evil. Churches have been rent asunder, not merely on the border, but in the North, not through any wide differences of opinion, but by the reckless manner in which we have discussed those differences. Men of genuine talents for discussion and leadership have been thrown, by their inconsiderate zeal, out of the ranks of the movement, to lead only Bedouin detachments in attacks as much on the general Northern movement as on the South itself. One man alone, to whom history will justly award the honor of beginning that movement, and who, if he had maintained the Christian and prudent character of Wilberforce, would have been the Wilberforce of the New World, and, it might be, the second

* Buxton, notwithstanding his political and religious purity, was at one time denounced as an apostate by English abolitionists for his course in Parliament; a public meeting was held, and resolutions passed and published in the newspapers against him; Wilberforce, lingering still in extreme age, knew him, however, and stood by him, and by their joint perseverance the cause was saved.

character in American history—has cast away the noble honor, and, sustained by a handful of misled followers, spends his rare energies in editing a paper which is devoted more to the overthrow of the Bible, the Church, and civil order, than to the overthrow of slavery. The noblest men who plead for the slave in the legislature or the pulpit, are the most denounced by him and his associates. Infidelity in religion, schism in the Church, and radicalism in politics, have unquestionably marred to a large extent this most beneficent of our national philanthropies. Let us not deny the undeniable fact—let us reform it.

But the frankness which makes these acknowledgments, demands also that we turn to the other side of the picture. Disastrous as these errors have been among ourselves, their greatest disaster has fallen upon the helpless victim over whom we have been mutually contending. The bad influence of the territorial and financial motives for slavery, which we have noticed, has been re-enforced by these our own follies. The Southern conscience, seduced by the former, has excused itself by the latter. Disposed to find sophisms for its moral justification, it has pointed to our errors and cried out against our "interference;" it lays to our charge even the continuance of slavery in Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. These states, it often alleges, would probably have been free ere this hour had not our "interference" put them back.

Two things we have to observe respecting this common remark. The first is, that it furnishes no justifiable apology for the new attitude of the South. The provocation may be admitted to be real, but it cannot be admitted to be sufficient. Its alleged effect, we know, is in accordance with the prejudices of our "poor human nature;" but there is something more than the prejudices of human nature in the world—something mightier —there are human rights and the sufferings of mighty human wrongs; there is the mighty word of God, the might of his Spirit, and the might of human conscience, and all these should have pleaded effectually with our Southern brethren, for God's own poor, who have been trodden down in this heedless melée of opinions and words. History will record it as natural to human weakness that such unfortunate results should follow such errors; but while it blames the weakness which produced the errors, it will blame and weep over the weakness which resented them in redoubled wrongs on the head of the helpless victim.

We remark further, that while we condemn the extravagances of this Northern "interference," and admit that it may really have retarded emancipation in the border states, we are not the less of

the opinion that it was *necessary*—not that its "extravagances" were—and that great ultimate good will come of it.

What anti-slavery sentiments lingered in the border states needed a *moral basis*. They were sustained almost exclusively by local and *economical* considerations. Virginia and Kentucky could not but perceive the contrast, in all economical respects, between themselves and the adjoining free states. It was inscribed as a striking geographical argument along the boundaries which separated them from free soil. Financial considerations, as we shall hereafter show, are doubtless to be the primary inducements to emancipation; but they must be backed by higher arguments in order to have effect on the *aggregate evil*. Before the agitations of the North, Virginia was on the very verge of emancipation. The eyes of the nation were turned with confident hope upon her convention of 1830. One vote alone decided the fate of the question. Since the crisis of the Revolution no one event, perhaps, bears a more solemn responsibility than that one vote. Had it been cast for the slave, it would not only have saved Virginia, but, probably, have averted all our subsequent national troubles on the subject. That noble and commanding state, which has so much influenced the history of the Republic, would have been in the ranks of the free states. Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennesse, would possibly, before now, have followed her example. The preponderance of the free states in the federal government would have thus been established, and the whole later federal power of slavery been unknown. All our subsequent legislation and popular struggles, compromises and demoralization on the subject would have been prevented. It was a sublime hour, not only for Virginia, not only for the nation, but for the world. It was lost; and the hand that cast the determining vote struck a blow, under which the nation has since reeled, and which, may God forbid, should yet be found to have struck out the keystone from the arch of the Republic!

But look through the debates of that convention; how seldom do you find in them an allusion to the *ethical* grounds of the question? The depreciation of lands, the dangers of insurrection—dollars and cents and local protection—were the arguments; the old national doctrines of liberty, the claims of humanity and Christianity, were rarely heard—God and his oppressed were comparatively forgotten, and he confounded the counsels of the people.

These arguments were good as far as they went—we shall use them ourselves presently—but they went not far enough. Pleaded from a moral stand-point, we can hardly doubt of their success at that critical moment; the Christian conscience of Virginia would have

made them overwhelming; and the same remark is applicable to the other border states.

What, now, would have been the results if these merely *economical* arguments had been successful?—very great, as we have admitted, to the border states and to our federal politics; but *would they have reached the foundation of the great crime?* They might have descended southward as far as Tennessee, and, perhaps, North Carolina; but when would they become applicable to South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Lousiana, Texas? Under their influence the slaves of the border states would have been sold to these more Southern sections; the indefinite expansion of the nation southward would have opened an indefinite range for the evil, throughout which the "mighty dollar" syllogism would have been indefinitely or forever irrelevant, except on the wrong side; and the national politics being relieved, and kept relieved, from the embarrassments of the question, by the faster expansion of the North, the mighty wrong might have been upon us indefinitely.

A better platform, therefore, was necessary for the reform. If any power could at all reach the center of the evil, it must be a *moral* one. Its ethical basis must be reached, and the religion, the conscience, the old liberal sentiments of the country could alone effectually touch it. Moral agencies overthrew it throughout the British empire and throughout most of the civilized world; they can do so here. *The Northern discussions, with all their lamentable aberrations, have placed the question on this moral basis.* Those aberrations, however calamitous, are but incidents of the controversy, and will pass away; they are now fast subsiding; the demoralization of opinion, which has been provoked by them in much of the South, can also be but temporary; our common Christianity renders that certain. Passing clouds may obscure the ascending sun, but they cannot put it out; a casual breeze can carry them away, but he rides resistlessly to the zenith. The economical arguments for emancipation remain undiminished, they grow stronger every day; when, as in the case of Missouri, they again have local effect, (as they inevitably must if the border states would not only not be dying, but not be dead,) they will now be backed by the mightier moral force of the question. And what are all the temporary disadvantages of Northern "interference" compared with this advantage? The construction of a railroad on your high-way may make it impassable for a season, and put back all the business of your farms and villages, but when it is completed, you can convey over it, in three months, more than you did before in as many years.

Good men, therefore, North and South, while they lament the

errors of both sections, should gratefully acknowledge the advantage that has providentially resulted from the controversy in spite of those errors.

We have thus traced the *causes* of that deterioration of public opinion on the question, which was shown in our former article. *These causes indicate, as we believe, the only treatment which is appropriate to the evil.* Is there *any* hopeful treatment for it? No question is, perhaps, more eagerly put to themselves by thoughtful and patriotic men than this. Few such, we think, doubt that it is the very question of our national existence. Let us come, then, with calm but earnest inquiry to this, the third point of our discussion—*the practical treatment of the evil*—its treatment in Church and State. We would not be too hypothetical here; no man can look at the problem, even from the most hopeful stand-point, without profound anxiety. *Theories*, in the presence of so formidable an evil, will be distrusted by the most sanguine thinkers; but there are hopeful *facts* as well as theories to be considered, and we turn gratefully to their examination.

Until very recently the question seemed to grow every day more hopeless; at the moment of its deepest darkness, unexpected events in the West, have reminded us that the Providence which solved for us so many problems in our early history, is mercifully interposing for us in this. No man now doubts that Kansas will ultimately be a free state, whatever may be her present laws and constitution. Local circumstances, as strong as fate, must give final success to the Missouri movement. Four results will follow:

First. Missouri and Kansas will providentially restore to freedom that opportunity for preponderance in the federal government which, as we have seen, was lost by a single vote in the Virginia convention, and thus shall we see practically annihilated the degrading fact, heretofore discussed, that slavery had become a condition of the balance of power and of parties in the national administration. A Southern paper, the Charleston Standard, has admitted, as we saw in our last number, that this must be the result from the unquestionable freedom of Kansas alone, and announces to Southern politicians that the reopening of the African slave trade and a change of the federal Constitution, virtually giving a veto to the South over the national legislation, can alone now preserve the political balance between North and South. These demands are useless, because they are absurd.* And then, the national government being

* The "South," a journal at Richmond, Va., also gives up the case. It says: "Kansas will come into the Union an anti-slavery state; . . . . they (the free settlers) will succeed. . . . . The North is pouring people into Kansas, in the

no longer bound hand and foot by the evil, the mighty prestige with which it has heretofore backed the institution will be withdrawn. It is impossible to estimate the value of this hopeful, may we not say *certain* result. It can hardly be doubted that the greatest blow against the institution is thus about to be struck, and all good men North and South, here and throughout the world, will rejoice at the fact. It will not depend upon the existence of a national party founded upon the question — however desirable that may be — it will come with or without it.

Second. Beyond this inestimable advantage, it can hardly be doubted that *other states will follow the example of Missouri and Kansas*, and a movement of this kind once begun among the slave states, will open indefinite prospects of relief to us. Besides the public papers which now discuss favorably the question in Missouri and Kansas, it has been broached by the press in Kentucky. The Newport (Ky.) Daily News is devotedly zealous for the reform. The Wheeling (Va.) Intelligencer speaks, in the following words, the sentiment of Western Virginia:

"As against slave labor, we avow our preference for the gradual introduction of a system which will, eventually, and without disturbing the rights of any man, commit the industrial interests of the state to intelligent Anglo-Saxon labor. We advocate this, because we believe and know that slavery is an '*unmitigated curse*' to the soil of Virginia. Who does not know it, that has sense to know it? We pity that man who has arrived at the years of maturity, and confesses his ignorance of the fact. The news that comes rolling over the Western plains from St. Louis, tell us that the Juggernaut era has passed away, and that, from this time on, free speech and free labor, 'twin children of the gods,' will sway the destinies of the country."

Such must be the case; and it will be such by a process beneficent alike to slave and slaveholder—the interest of the one securing the rights of the other. Even from the interior of Texas do we hear the press respond to Missouri. Like Western Virginia, Western Texas

proportion of twenty to one immigrant from the South. At this rate, the abolitionists will achieve a decisive preponderance of numbers by the time the Constitution comes to be submitted for final sanction and acceptance. Of course, the Constitution will then be rejected, if it involve a tolerance of slavery, and another convention will be called, which, representing exclusively the dominant abolition sentiment of the territory, will fabricate a free state without the least difficulty. . . . . But this is not all. The anti-slavery movement will increase in momentum at each step of its progress; for every success will multiply its resources. . . . . From the vantage ground of Kansas, it will be enabled to subdue slavery in Missouri. The conquest of Missouri will open the way through Kentucky and Tennessee, to the stronghold of slavery in the Atlantic states of the South. . . . . This is no hazardous prophecy. It is only tracing the connection between visible causes and inevitable effects."

is settled mostly by free laborers,* and a right direction of public opinion there can hardly fail to be as successful as in Missouri. The Quitman Free Press, Wood County, asserts that the interests of Texas would be greatly promoted by substituting free for slave labor, and the citizens of the county have elected its editor to represent them in the State Convention. The Galveston News, in animadverting upon the fact, candidly concedes that, "if the people of that section of the state, or any large number of them, desire to rid themselves of the institution of negro slavery, we suppose they have a perfect right to do so in a legitimate and constitutional manner." Indications like these take an importance, under such circumstances, which belongs not to the usual utterances of the public press; they imply much more than they express.

Third. This movement of the slave states, and change of the national policy, will restore the right of free speech throughout the South itself. That right does not now exist in many of the states—it is morally interdicted. Good men, there, by tens of thousands dare not speak out their deepest convictions on the question. The fact is undeniable, and it is one of the saddest curses of the institution—one that will most powerfully react and be most decidedly resented at the coming opportunity.

Fourth. The controversy being transferred to the slave states, where it legitimately belongs, it will take a healthier as well as a more hopeful tone, throughout the country. The extravagances of the North will pass away, the resentments of the South subside, and the energy of the public mind, now so largely wasted in the polemics of the question, will be absorbed in its more practical treatment.

Thus far can we advance without much theorizing; and this rapid review places the subject before us in altogether hopeful lights. There is, then, hope for us yet, though the evil hangs like a firmament of darkness over half the Republic. No man, who has faith in God, should despair amid such possibilities.

Such, we think, is the true *rationale* of the treatment of this lamentable evil. But let us look more directly at its hopefulness and requisites.

Material reasons, as we have said, must be the primary motives of the abolition of slavery. We pause not here to lament the fact. We are not even inclined to dispute whether it may not be a providential fact, and of moral advantage, rightly considered. It is sufficient to know that it is a fact, and an indisputable corollary follows, namely, that the material interests of a number of the

* The same may be said of Western Arkansas.

states, sufficient to decide the fate of the question, being overwhelmingly in favor of emancipation, it will ultimately be decided aright. And here we step upon an impregnable ground of argument and of hope. The Missouri movement appears to have sprung up almost exclusively on this ground, and how demonstrative is its logic here! Look at the motives of Missouri for emancipation. Open the map of the country, and see how she lies the central domain of the states: her territory thirty-eight millions of acres; lined along her whole eastern boundary by the Mississippi, traversed centrally by the Missouri more than four hundred miles, and by the Osage, the Gasconade, and the Grand Rivers—her lead mines, sufficient to supply the world; her coal; her iron mines, crowned with a mountain of the metal; her vast prairies; her climate adapted to white laborers. And why should this magnificent state be fettered with slavery, an evil so foreign to all her local conditions? Why should her people be content to see the march of emigrating armies of free laborers passing her by for Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Kansas; her people, we say, who, against seventy thousand slaveholding landowners, present seven hundred and seventy thousand non-slaveholders. Nothing but a public dementation could decide the popular mind in favor of slavery, if once the question were rightly presented. It is, at last, rightly presented, and no man can doubt its ultimate result, whatever may be its temporary embarrassments. A member of her late Legislature (Mr. B. Gratz Brown, of St. Louis) proved, by a comparison of the increase of internal improvements and population in the slave and free states, that the abolition of her slavery would at once enhance the value of her lands more than the actual value of her slave property. Slavery has been undergoing a most hopeful comparative decline within the state. The ratio of slaves to freemen by her census of 1851, was as 87,623 to 574,118, or as one to six and three quarters. According to the census of 1856, while the slaves have increased 12,492, the free population has increased 205,703. The increase of slaves to that of free persons has therefore been but as one to sixteen. And then of the increase of 12,492 slaves, no less than 10,230 has taken place in twelve counties, which contain nearly half the entire slave population, though less than a sixth part of the free population of the state. In these twelve counties only, out of the hundred and seven which compose the state, can slavery be considered as having a firm foothold. In twenty-five counties there has been an actual decrease of slaves since 1851, to the extent of more than a fifth of the whole number. In 1851, those twenty-five counties, containing 222,693 freemen, had 21,526 slaves. In 1856,

they had but 17,084 slaves, a decrease of 4,442; while, at the same time, their white population had risen to 293,490, an increase of 75,797—the ratio of slaves to freemen having decreased in these five years from one in ten to one in thirteen. Missouri, then, not only ought to be, but *will* be free.

From Missouri direct your eye across the map to Virginia, lying in the east, the counterpart of Missouri in the center—within almost precisely the same northern and southern boundaries, and of very nearly the same territorial area. She commands the advantages of the Atlantic on the east, and of the valley of the Mississippi, by the Ohio, on the west. No state of the Union has a more varied territory; she is fitted for agriculture, for grazing, for manufactures; her mineral resources and "water power" should have made her, long ago, the wealthiest manufacturing state of the New World. Her access to the West, and her central position between the Northern and Southern states, with one of the best harbors of the land at Norfolk, should have given her precedence over New-York, and made her the commercial center of the continent. These are not hypothetical opinions; they are written out on her very geography. But where does this magnificent state stand to-day with all her rare historical honors? How does Norfolk compare with New-York? A late assessment of the state reports a total value of real estate in her cities and country of about $376,000,000; this equals not one half the valuation of New-York city alone—an area of thirteen by three miles! Her increase since 1850 has been only about thirty-six per cent., showing an actual declension; for the change of prices in all things, produced by the increase of gold within that time, has been much more than thirty-six per cent.* She has a public debt of nearly $30,000,000—her magnificent system of internal improvements, still uncompleted and failing, her six per cent. stocks selling in the markets at ninety-two per cent., her taxation already so severe that there is great unwillingness to increase the debt; and some of her citizens consider repudiation inevitable. Her banks are unable to supply the demands of business men. The whole banking capital of the state in 1850 was less than $10,000,000, while that of New-York city exceeds $60,000,000.

What is done with the mineral treasures of the state? What are her slave lands east of the Blue Ridge becoming? While emigration has been evoking into life new states almost year by year in the free West, what has it been doing with the magnificent domain

* The increase in Ohio is stated at more than one thousand per cent., for the last twenty years—its valuation having risen from $80,000,000 to over $800,000,000.

of Virginia West of the Blue Ridge? Does history record a more astounding example of self-abnegation for a traditional institution than this sacrifice by Virginia, of national pre-eminence in opulence and power, for the sake of slavery—and slavery, too, which can hardly be said to extend over half the state, and which has long ago exhausted itself? Can there be a citizen in whom the old Virginia honor and chivalry still linger, who does not contemplate the curse which has come upon his noble state from this one cause, with indignation, and who does not feel that every sentiment of state pride as well as of state interest, should rouse him to speak out in the manful terms of Jefferson, Henry, Madison, and Washington, against "the abomination that maketh desolate?" Can the party fetters, put upon him by demagogues, restrain his own brave hand from striking down this infamous evil—infamous peculiarly in the only remaining interest which his own state has in it? Should his resentments against Northern "interference" require his self-respect to submit longer to the intolerable curse?*

Similar remarks would apply to Kentucky and Tennessee. They apply, indeed, everywhere, for the superiority of free over slave labor is, *a priori*, essential in ethics; essential to the vindication of our common humanity; and facts universally refute him that would gainsay or evade it.

According to the census of 1850, the land in cultivation in the free states was 108,082,774 acres, and its cash value was $2,143,344,437, or $19 83 per acre. In the slave states at the same date, 180,572,-292 acres were in cultivation, and the cash value $1,117,649,649, or $6 18 per acre. Free muscles, then, make land among us two thirds more valuable than fettered hands make it; and God has so ordained it, as an argument for human freedom. Such is the extent and value of the land; but what does the produce show? A Southern authority (De Bow) tells us. He shows that the annual agricultural produce of the free states is $827,054,955, and of the slave states $634,570,057. The slave states have in cultivation 70,000,000 acres more than the free, yet the productions of the latter exceed the former by more than $190,000,000. Skill and industry thus triumphantly vindicate liberty.

* Eli Thayer's scheme for colonizing Western Virginia from the North is a hopeful project. It is approved by the Norfolk Herald and some other Virginia papers, though disapproved by more. The whole of its stock was subscribed in two hours after the books were opened in New-York, a large portion of it by Virginians. Rev. Mr. Sarivaux has purchased 3,000 acres of Virginia lands for a colony of five hundred Waldensians from the High Alps—the current of settlement may yet set into Virginia.

Look at another fact: in 1850, the agriculture of the free states employed 2,509,126 persons, and their productions were valued at $827,000,000, that is, $330 per man. In the slave states, 1,197,649 whites and 2,500,000 slaves were employed in agriculture; their products were valued at $634,000,000, that is, only $173 each. Free labor, then, gains twice as much as slave labor! and in spite of the superior advantage of the South in her great staples of cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, etc. Every comparison of Northern and Southern statistics brings out the same demonstration. Thus the "border slave" states (including Missouri) are valued at an average of $9 per acre—the average of the other slave states is but $3 50 per acre—a diminution of more than one half. The free states on the border, including Illinois, average $22 per acre, more than double that of the slave border states. Take two states of nearly equal age, and neither of them claiming first-rate importance: "Arkansas was admitted into the Union in 1836, Michigan 1837. Arkansas contains 52,198 square miles, and 209,807 inhabitants, of whom 151,746 are free, and 58,161 are slaves. Michigan contains 56,243 square miles, and was entered for settlement later than her sister, but contains 397,654 persons, all free. In Arkansas the land is valued at $5 88 the acre; and in Michigan at $11 83. The slave state has 781,531 acres of improved land; and Michigan 1,929,110. The farms of Arkansas are worth $15,265,245; and those of Michigan, $51,872,446. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of land* in the new states. Michigan had (in 1855) 699 miles of railroad, which had cost $19,000,000. Arkansas had paid nothing for railroads. The total valuation of Arkansas, in 1850, was $39,871,025; the value of the slaves, $23,264,400, was included. Deducting that, there remains but $16,576,625, as the entire worth of Arkansas; while Michigan has property to the amount of $59,787,255. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of property* in the new states. In 1850, Arkansas had 115,023 children under twenty, whereof 11,050 were in schools, academies, or colleges; while Michigan had 211,969, of whom 112,382 were at school, academy, or college. Or, to omit the colored population, Arkansas has 97,402 white persons under twenty, and only 11,050 attending school; while of 210,831 whites of that age in Michigan, 112,175 were at school or college. Last year Michigan had 132,234 scholars in her public common schools. In 1850, Arkansas contained 64,787 whites over twenty, but 16,935 of these were unable to read and write; while out of 184,240 of that age in Michigan, only 8,281 were thus ignorant—of these, 3,009 were foreigners; while of the 16,935 illiterate persons of Arkansas, only 37 were born out of that state. The slave state

had only 47,852 persons over twenty who could read a word; while the free state had 175,959. Michigan had 107,943 volumes in 'libraries other than private,' and Arkansas 420 volumes. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *education of the people* in the new states." Thus does the mighty dollar argument abet every moral one for freedom, and with the Anglo-Saxon mind the double logic must prevail the world over.*

If, then, the movement of Missouri and Kansas goes on—if, as its result, the prestige of the federal government is withdrawn from slavery, and turned morally, at least, against it—if liberal-minded men in the South, thus encouraged and sustained, resume the right of free speech, and if these mighty economical motives are allowed to make their fair appeal to the industrial spirit of the land, who shall fear the result?

There is another economical view of the subject. We have shown how a single invention has developed the cotton culture of the South and riveted the fetters of the slave. Slavery is based on this great interest; nothing could, perhaps, more thoroughly overthrow it and give effect to the above motives than a revolution in this vast business. Sagacious business men have deemed such a change possible. It is too contingent for us to wish here to hypothesize about it; but we may point to the fact that European capitalists are generally discussing it. As we write these pages the news comes to us in the public prints, from England, that a convention of cotton dealers and manufacturers has just been held at Manchester, for the promotion of cotton cultivation, wherever it is possible, throughout the world, and effective measures for its encouragement have been adopted. Sentiments against slavery, as well as the perils which beset their dependence upon this country, have prompted the movement, and it will not be considered by our capitalists an unimportant fact. One of the leading English Quarterlies says:

"We have taken up our pen, on the present occasion, to call attention to the slow but sure working of a cause which few seem to notice; but which will, ere long, cut the Gordian knot which so many hands are trying in vain to untie. The great 'difficulty' in and with America is the system of slavery. The great support of slavery is not any set of particular political opinions, not the predominance of any one party in the state, not even the ascendency of the South over the North in the great council of the nation, but the cotton crop. Slave-grown cotton supplies free England, and, through her, all Europe, with cotton goods. They are grown in America, made up in Lancashire, and thence diffused over the world. India and China clothe their swarthy sons and daughters with the slave production of Carolina and Georgia; and, so long as this monopoly lasts, so long slavery in America is safe. But there is a network of

* Statistics show that Boston alone could purchase two states like South Carolina, and have a surplus of thirteen millions.

railways covering British India which will, in a few years, bring down Indian cotton more in quantity, and even finer in quality, than that which America can supply, and at a considerably cheaper rate. Tunis is commencing, under the most favorable auspices, the same kind of agriculture. The French government is encouraging its growth in Algeria. Liberia is becoming, also, a competitor in the market; and it seems morally certain that, in a quarter of a century, we shall be as independent of the United States for cotton as we are now for sugar. Such a circumstance as this can have but one termination: the estates in Virginia and the other earlier planted states are already becoming poor and exhausted; slavery has brought poverty with it; and when there is no longer the same demand for cotton, and when, after a comparatively short time, the demand almost ceases, then slavery can no longer be upheld. The estates in the Southern states will pass through the same cycle as our own West India Islands have done, and will, perhaps, go almost wholly out of cultivation. That much calamity will attend such a cycle, we cannot for a moment doubt; but the result will be a far greater degree of prosperity. They will pass from slave states to free states; the rivalry between North and South will come to an end, and America will be fully at liberty to pursue her glorious destiny, and be the civilizer, and, ultimately, the ruler of the Western hemisphere. It is a singular, but a most encouraging proof, that this theory is not a mere theory, that our West India islands are now beginning to recover from their long ruin. Estates in Jamaica which, but five years ago, were offered for £3,000, are now sought for at £7,000; and we have no hesitation in predicting that, before ten years are passed away, those magnificent islands will be rejoicing in a *free* prosperity, far greater than that which they enjoyed during the most palmy days of their slave cultivation."

Should any or all these weighty considerations have effect on the evil among us, we may congratulate ourselves—the North as well as the South—that our national fiscal resources will admit, as the national sentiment will doubtless approve, of a proper financial reimbursement of the states, which may suffer by the generous sacrifice. Christian citizens, at least, cannot fail to consider it a providential fact, that while this stupendous evil looms over not only its own territorial half of the country, but over the whole country—it has pleased God so to prosper the nation, that it is able to provide for the pecuniary difficulties which may attend so vast a measure. The only great government in the civilized world that is virtually out of debt, we have also resources almost boundless for any such exigency. With public lands yet unsold, equal in extent *to the thirty-one existing states*, we could suffer no embarrassment by liberal provisions for such border states as might choose soon to relieve themselves and the nation of the embarrassments of slavery; and should all of them, by some prudent and prospective policy, adopt the same patriotic course, we could meet its financial necessities. Such a movement would well deserve to be considered a common and national interest. The national perils to which slavery would expose us in the event of a foreign war, render it such. The North has a common, if not an equal responsibility with the South for the existence of slavery; our fathers maintained its

traffic; our manufactures and commerce have largely drawn their wealth from it; our legislators have sustained and spread it by the general government. The domestic peace and security of the country are periled by it. The slave himself has claims upon our national humanity, which cannot be ignored. But we need no argument here—doubtless, the whole country would welcome almost any financial sacrifice that should relieve us forever from this greatest detraction from our honor and safety.

Including children, and the aged and sick, $250 has been estimated as an average valuation per head for all our slaves—at three and a half millions, the aggregate valuation would be $875,000,000; not nine times as much as England gave to her Jamaica planters for their slaves—England with a national debt of four hundred millions upon her. Our national domain (exclusive of the Mexican lands acquired in 1853) amounts to 1,600,000,000 acres; at an average of 75 cents per acre, they would afford $1,200,000,000. The public lands alone would therefore provide for the liberation of our slaves, and leave $325,000,000 to the nation to be expended in providing for them or otherwise used. At $300 per head, they would cost but $1,050,000,000. Double even the average per head, and the task becomes not formidable. Without this magnificent financial resource of the public lands, the nation, with its vast industry and commerce, should not stagger before a similar proposition—with what interest, then, should it be considered under our actual circumstances? We know that many of the difficulties of the question lie back of any such scheme, but we have already considered them there; and have seen that they are not only not impraticable, but are actually giving way, locally at least, before irreversible causes. The public sentiment should, therefore, hold out, to these local movements at least, the encouragement we have proposed.*

* Elihu Burritt has advocated this scheme extensively through the country, and we notice that a convention is to be held next month to consider it. Mr. Burritt argues that:

"Of all the parties to this great moral struggle, the well-being of the slaves will be most dependent upon the prevalence of a spirit of brotherhood and benevolence throughout the nation at the time of their manumission. Nothing but slavery itself, of the most atrocious stamp, could be worse for them than emancipation in a tempest of malignant passions, of fierce and fiery hate. Great as the system of slavery has grown, it may be equitably abolished without increasing the taxation of the country by a single farthing per head of its population. The public lands alone would be sufficient to pay for the emancipation of all the slaves in the Union, if appropriated exclusively to that object. A considerable portion of the public domain lies in the slave states, and consequently has but little demand or value. The abolition of slavery would create both, by the continually increasing influx of men and capital from the present free states and from Europe. The pecuniary results of emancipation in Missouri would be immediate and immeasurable. There would be such a rapid development of her mineral and agricultural resources, such a great and sudden

No extensive plan of emancipation can be expected to be successful without some such compensation; and we are happy to notice that the movement in Missouri assumes this fact. Its organ, the *St. Louis Democrat*, says:

"We have been frequently asked for our plan of emancipation. It is a question entitled to an answer. We say, without fear of contradiction, that the means of purchasing the slaves from their owners are within the limits of Missouri, and yet outside the domain of private property. There are in this state over thirteen millions of acres of the public land still vacant, still the property of the federal government. This does not include the swamp lands which were granted to the state, nor the railroad companies, amounting to more than five millions of acres. Considering the donations to the state of lands, and the railroad grants, as reserved property, there is yet land enough within our borders, of sufficient value to furnish a cash equivalent for all the slaves of every age and every tint or shade. Their aggregate value is not more than sixty millions. The lands of which we speak are worth that sum. We may remark, incidentally, that we have more than sixteen millions of acres yet unentered, and that they are not, on the whole, inferior in fertility to the lands of Kansas or Illinois. No more inviting field for immigration than Missouri presents itself upon this continent. Half the swamp lands, all the railroad lands, and thirteen millions of acres belonging to the general government are hoarding their wealth for the hand of free labor."

The financial difficulties of the question are not, then, insurmountable. But there are more formidable though incidental embarrassments, which cautious men fail not, and we think with too much distrust, to suggest against any such scheme; we think, however, that a gradual plan of emancipation with compensation, could be successfully attempted; *gradual*, we say, for the heartiest abolitionist be-

enhancement of the price of her lands, that Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia would be induced to follow her example, one after the other, in comparatively quick succession. Even in thus appropriating the public domain to the emancipation of the slaves, it would not be absolutely necessary to withhold judicious grants to railway companies; for it is assumed that the every alternate section reserved by the government, in making these donations, will produce as much as both sections without the railway. Thus, no honest and useful railway enterprise in the new states would necessarily be deprived of any legitimate aid by the plan proposed. The Federal Congress would not in the slightest degree transcend its legitimate prerogatives, nor infringe upon the sovereignty of any Southern state, by making this generous offer of compensation, whenever it might be disposed to emancipate its slaves. Such an offer would not impair its right to retain or abolish slavery at its own will. Should it prefer, on due consideration, to put an end to the system, it would perform in and by itself every act of legislation necessary to effect that object. It would distribute the money received from the national treasury among its slaveholders in its own way, and by its own officers. The free states can afford not only to be just, but generous to the South. Their commercial, religious, and political partnership with it in sustaining slavery has been most intimate and extensive. They have had the handling of all the great staples of the South. Cotton, rice, and tobacco have constituted their currency in trading with Europe. In this they have mostly paid for their importations of foreign goods, which they have again sold to the South; thus making large profits in their various transactions in slave-grown produce. They have doubtless realized more than half 'the wealth that sinews bought and sold have earned' in America. They would, with the same certainty, share equally in all the increased wealth and prosperity which emancipation would bring to the South."

lieves that the essence of slavery is in the *chattel* principle—property in man—and that this being once renounced, any municipal regulations restricting the emancipated to local and temporary conditions, would not be inadmissible, any more than are the restrictions now imposed upon white apprenticeship and similar relations. But what would become of the multitudes which, from time to time, would thus be sent adrift upon the country? This, we know, is a most serious question. Colonization might relieve it somewhat; but, though such statesmen as Webster and Clay have looked hopefully to that relief, we are not very sanguine of its efficacy. Mrs. Stowe advocates African colonization, and sends one of her best heroes to Liberia; that colony, in proving the capacity of the negro for self-government, is of inestimable importance; improvements of navigation may make it possible even for vast numbers to return to the land of their fathers; unaided immigrants, to the number of nearly half a million a year, have sometimes come across the ocean; and, aided by public philanthropy, why may not equal numbers return? Private capital is about to launch, in England, an iron steamer which can convey four thousand passengers, or, in case of necessity, ten thousand troops, in a single voyage to Australia, and carry sufficient coal for both the outward and homeward trips. But with all such reliefs many must be the embarrassments of the best regulated plan of emancipation. They are not, however, insurmountable; numerous as are our slaves, they would be comparatively absorbed if diffused through our white masses, and they could find support in the humbler occupations of life. Philanthropy, now so fervent for them, would do much for their relief; many free states have already modified their oppressive laws against their race, and would help them further; and if, after all that can be done, their own heedless or vicious habits should subject them to suffering or final extinction, that will be their fault, not ours; the country should not forego its own relief on account of their voluntary liabilities.

We repeat, then, there is hope, and more than hope, in view only of the material and economical facts of the question—facts that are already operative, and which no contingency can well defeat. We seem, at least, at the beginning of the end of this mighty problem. The God of our fathers has not deserted us, but is already opening the way of national salvation before us and our children. We may well then turn from these encouraging considerations, to the remaining question of our discussion, What should be the *moral* treatment of the subject under such favorable auspices?

1. One thing is clear, namely, that as the movement is now setting into the slave states themselves, where it properly belongs, we should

guard well the temper and style of our Northern discussions respecting it. Our severities have challenged the South into a posture of self-defense rather than self-relief; every dictate of prudence as well as justice demands now that we avoid such provocations, and every suffering of the slave appeals to us in behalf of the demand. The state of opinion in the North also requires it; the great mass of the North has stood aloof from the movement apparently, though not really, (as we fear,) from objections to what it has called Northern "fanaticism." Recent events have modified this opposition; most of the good but erring men who have been the "extreme" leaders of the agitation, have been thrown, by their own aberrations, out of its ranks—to discuss "women's rights," "passive resistance," "Churchism," and "ecclesiastical schism." The drift of the Northern mind, thus relieved, is becoming right, and mightily right; let it not be turned back by our excesses. Strong, but calm argument; respectful, though candid language; practical prudence rather than speculative abstractions; wise statesmanship, and, above all, the considerate and charitable temper of the Gospel are what we now need. With these, the recent events mentioned can hardly fail to make us successful.

Such remarks, we know, will, by their very truism, appear to some readers superfluous, if not worse; but we would emphasize them; for precisely here, we think, is the great want of the movement at this hour. Much of the Southern and most of the Northern mind can be mastered now by this Christian policy, and the new tendencies of the border states could be delayed for years, if not defeated, by our disregard of it. We are a Christian people; can we not inspire this movement with a Christian temper? and have not its greatest embarrassments come from a lack of that temper?

The ecclesiastical bodies among us especially need improvement in this respect. We have seen some such, in which the question has become entirely a party one, without a single radical difference of opinion; but sheerly from the style—mostly the mere verbal style—of the controversy. Whole days have we known to be thus wasted in bitter strifes excited by a phrase, but classing men, at other times thoughtful and devout, into hostile and permanent parties. When, alas! shall these things cease, and with them cease the sarcasms of scorners and the distrusts of wise men?

That great errors have occurred, in the history of the controversy, among ourselves, as a Church, no one, we suppose, now doubts. Schism, once at least, has rent many of our Northern Churches, and what good has come of it? With some thousands of members and several conferences, what has it been able to do for the slave or for

the common interests of Christianity? Has it added an iota to the moral importance of the anti-slavery movement? Has it not rather detracted from it? And what has become of its leaders—men of talent and energy, who, had they treated the subject in a different temper and style, without a single sacrifice of principle, might, by this day, have become the representative men of the Church on the question? The best of them sleep in their graves, and rest in peace, we doubt not, from their honest but mistaken strifes; others are fugitive lecturers on "Mesmerism," "Spiritualism," "Annihilationism," etc.; and the remainder spend energies which deserve a better cause, in endeavoring to hold together the tottering fabric of the useless schism. We refer not to these things with uncharitableness, but for their sad lesson. We lay not all the fault to these erring brethren; their opponents shared it largely; both are responsible for its results, and the errors of both should warn all later leaders.

An improvement, then, in the temper and style of the controversy is what we would first urge in these concluding remarks. It is an obvious and an almost universal necessity. We must reform ourselves if we would not risk the great reform we are prosecuting. We acknowledge the difficulty of a moral change so dependent upon personal dispositions, and especially in a controversy which so much appeals to our keenest sensibilities; but whatever is required by our religion is practicable, and the example of comparatively few of the leaders and organs of the movement could soon give it a right tone in this respect.

2. We should cease to multiply the side issues of the controversy—issues which, by the varieties of opinion that they provoke, only divide and weaken our common force. How much strength has been expended, and how many influential minds been kept practically aloof from the movement, by the mere critical questions which have been mixed up with it? At one time party discussions have raged through all our Church organs on the meaning of "*doulos*;" at another on the testimony of early *Church History* respecting slavery. Hundreds of studious minds, revolting from misconstructions of these subjects, have justified themselves in indifference to the more practical claims of the movement. It is not necessary that we should enter here into these critical questions; suffice it to say, that recognized Biblical critics and ecclesiastical historians have had but one opinion respecting them from the first Christian century down to the present age;* that intelligent writers,

* It is venturesome, we know, to assert what *is* said on any given subject, in a great class of writers, extending through many centuries, and still more venture-

even not of standard authority, have, without exception, been of uniform opinion upon them down to within the history of the present movement. It is not necessary that it should be proved that *doulos* does not mean slave in the New Testament, or that early Church history does not show a toleration of slaveholding—it is only necessary to show that the *analogy* between the circumstances of the early Church, amid the heathenism of the Roman Empire, and of the modern Church, amid the Christian civilization of the American Republic, does not justify an equal toleration of the institution. Christianity is, in all its essence, opposed to slavery—that is sufficient for our cause. What need have we of mere verbal criticisms in the presence of such an impregnable fact? Christianity put into operation principles which immediately neutralized the attendant vices of the system, and were sure ultimately to strike out its deepest foundations. When it cleared away the superincumbent heathenism that obstructed its access to those foundations, it did upturn them. What analogical argument, then, does it afford for the defense of slavery in this the most Christianized land on the earth? It may in given and limited cases, where political causes, and even organized ecclesiastical opposition, may embarrass the question, as on our own border, justify a similar, though not equal caution; but, as a general argument, it has no more relevance than the temporary community of goods at Jerusalem would have as an argument for modern Communism.

3. We, as Methodists, should especially endeavor to promote that tendency to homogeneous opinions on the question, which is now so promising among us. Causes which are not appropriate to our present discussion, but which have been, perhaps, as much from without as from within the Church, have latterly given a preponderance to its anti-slavery sentiment. Tens of thousands among us are, doubtless, still indifferent, or too "conservative" on the subject; but most of these have logically, if not practically, yielded the question; they can stand apart from the general movement now only because of incidental errors on the part of its more active friends. Let the latter guard, then, against such errors. All dis-

some to assert what *is not* said by them; but any critical student of Biblical Exegesis and Church History ascertains enough, from the standard he must study, to know how uniform is ancient opinion on this question, and to know, also, what must be the inevitable sequence in respect to such authorities as he does not consult. Our own Methodist standards all agree. See *Clarke* and *Watson* on the word *doulos, passim.* We need hardly remind the critical reader that the very latest discovered literary fragment of Christian antiquity corresponds with all the other early Christian writers, exegetical or historical, that touch at all upon the subject. See Bunsen's *Hippolytus.*

interested men among us, who seek alike the good of the slave and the peace of the Church, should insist that the main question affords a platform ample enough for all of us to stand upon with undivided co-operation. The debates of our last General Conference showed an advance of public opinion in the Church which proves that, with brotherly courtesy, and without the sacrifice of any essential principle, we can be generally, if not entirely harmonized on the question. The Pastoral Address of that body, prepared by delegates from the opposite extremities of our field, and signed by all our bishops, declares:

"The position of our Church from the beginning has been that of an anti-slavery Church; and in both slave and free states this is our present attitude. So we are regarded by pro-slavery men, as the persecution of our ministers in some parts of our work, and the apparent necessity of changing the seat of one of our conferences, in order to avoid the notified violence of a mob, clearly prove. The debates brought out fully the fact, that none of the members of this General Conference entertained pro-slavery sentiments, and that little or no mercenary slaveholding exists in the Church. And the effect of such action upon the interests of the border conferences, probably alone prevented a constitutional majority from voting to recommend a change of our General Rule on the subject of slavery. On this subject be temperate and firm; resisting evil, not with carnal weapons, but with immutable truths—'weapons that are mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.'"

Under such circumstances, the Church may well hold responsible any party, clique, or man who shall, by any unnecessary cause, break the ranks of our forces.

4. Most especially should we guard with all care our "Border" territory, the very battle-field of the question, the only one in which we have direct access to the slave; and this can be done effectually, as we trust, without the compromise of any essential principle—that brotherly forbearance, in the style and temper of the movement, which we have recommended, can hardly fail to relieve our local embarrassments there sooner or later. Throughout all that region, local causes, economical, political, and religious, are fast undermining the evil, and recently, as in Missouri, these causes have been greatly re-enforced. According to the above Pastoral Address, "little or no mercenary slaveholding exists in our Church there." In their address to the Conference the whole bench of bishops, who traverse more or less the border conferences, declare that, "in our judgment, the existence of these conferences and Churches, under their present circumstances, does not tend to extend or perpetuate slavery." Our ministerial brethren of the border, without approving what they call our "agitation," led on the contest in the New-York General Conference against the South, and surrendered the unity of the Church rather than the cause of the slave. Their people have stood by the

Northern Church, though the agents of the Southern schism have invaded their territory with ceaseless assaults upon us. In their principal city, (Baltimore,) where, once, hundreds of slaveholders were in the Church, it is doubtful whether a score could now be found, and with these the relation is but nominal—affecting mostly family servants, who are treated, essentially, as free colored people. It was asserted in the last General Conference that "in all Western Virginia there could not be found fifty slaveholders in the Church." In Kentucky and Missouri the Southern Church has taken from us most, if not all, who have any sympathy with slavery; if there are individual exceptions, still they are not more numerous than are similar exceptions to the moral code of the Church in all our Northern conferences. Such being the condition of this extended and important field, what considerate man among us can be doubtful of the course which Christian policy—not Christian forbearance merely, but Christian conscience—demands of us? In defending rightly this field, do we not in fact defend the whole Church and the whole anti-slavery cause among us? Its standard of anti-slavery sentiment, encouraging as it is, may not be up to ours, but where was ours a few years since? With our Discipline anti-slavery, with the Church and all its organs characterized as anti-slavery—more so practically than any other in the land, not excepting the Quakers, what motive can pro-slavery men have to enter our communion, especially throughout a region where the pro-slavery Southern Church confronts us at nearly every point? If, beset by political demagogism and the aggressions of the Southern Church, our people there choose not to risk the safety of their societies by fully seconding our own more thorough measures, still we put it to all thoughtful anti-slavery men, whether, under their peculiar circumstances, with what anti-slavery prestige they have, and with the anti-slavery prospects developing more or less along the whole border, especially in the West, would it be less than consummate folly for us to risk unnecessarily such a vantage-ground? We discuss not now the merit or demerit of any particular anti-slavery measure that may have respect to this border field and our organic law on slavery; that we would do willingly and explicitly were it not, by a previous editorial announcement, considered not within the sphere of this publication. We think that both parties are unnecessarily sensitive about such measures, but the above general suggestions we believe to be relevant to both.

Many good men among us, earnest for both the slave and the Church, judged it desirable, before the last General Conference, to break up our missions in the border fields, and to virtually withdraw from the sphere of slavery. Our missionary appropriations to those

suffering fields were impeached, and the society suffered under the reproach. Even at the General Conference the subject was mooted, and a resolution passed requiring an exhibit of the funds thus appropriated; the design of the resolution was counteracted only by the fact, shown in the exhibit, that the border conferences contributed much more to the missionary treasury than was appropriated from the latter on their frontier missions. Many brethren who were then disposed to break up our missionary plans for the border, have, we doubt not, since seen reason to change their opinion. They need but to ask themselves, what would have been the result of that policy in Missouri alone? Events have occurred in that state since the session, which promise it to freedom and the Northern Church before long; but had we deserted our struggling Churches there, what would have been our reflections at this moment?—what the reflections of our thoughtful people on our wisdom as ecclesiastical rulers? Some of our persecuted members within that state held, during the session, public meetings, and passed resolutions declaring it necessary, in their peculiar local circumstances, to save themselves by a separate organization should certain measures pass which were then pending in the Conference, measures which they knew would be abused against them by their reckless opponents; but they have been saved, and saved, we doubt not, to bear, some day or other, our evangelical standard through the length and breadth of their magnificent state. The prudence of the General Conference saved us from a disastrous mistake.

It is not, we trust, trenching on the prescribed limits of the subject in this periodical, for the writer to say, that as an anti-slavery Methodist, he should rejoice to see these missionary expenditures extended to every accessible point—from Louisville to Brownsville—that with or without further Church laws on slavery, he should fear no pro-slavery corruption of our cause from any effort to gather into its embrace, men whose views of slavery should induce them to seek shelter among us from the pro-slavery ultraism of Southern Methodism. He believes, indeed, that such a policy should be fundamental with anti-slavery Methodism, and that, unmistakable as our position is now on the question—with every organ turned against the evil, and our whole attitude toward it in contrast with that of the Church, South, none would join us but for such shelter. The Church has become a law unto itself on the subject, whatever may be the alleged defects of its written law. That written law is, however, itself remarkably explicit — it allows no sinful slaveholding; for not only its chapter on slavery, but its whole moral code applies, of course, to whatever slaveholding it does allow. It

"characterizes slavery as a great evil; it makes the slaveholder ineligible to any official station in the Church, where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom; it disfranchises a traveling minister who by any means becomes the owner of a slave or slaves, unless he executes, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the state wherein he lives; . . . . . it prohibits the buying and selling of men, women, and children with an intention to enslave them, and inquires what shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery."* With such a Discipline, with "little or no mercenary slaveholding within the Church," with slavery giving way along the whole border region, with the new developments which are beginning to appear there—what man is there among us, that really cares for either the Church or the slave, who will not wish us to guard that vantage-ground with unwavering wisdom?

Such are some of the views which we think appropriate to the times, respecting the greatest of our national and Church questions.

Art. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. Westminster Review, April, 1857.—1. Present State of Theology in Germany: 2. The Hindoo Drama: 3. Gunpowder, and its Effect on Civilization: 4. Glaciers and Glacier Theories: 5. Progress; its Law and Cause: 6. The Danubian Principalities: 7. Literature and Society: 8. China and the Chinese: Cotemporary Literature: 1. Theology and Philosophy: 2. Politics and Education: 3. Science: 4. Belles Lettres.

The Westminster Review is the organ of the scholarly, decent, and, if need be, the pietistic Deism of the day. Purely on critical grounds, of course, it rejects the authenticity and inspiration of the collection of Hebraic fragments and tracts called the Old Testament. The Pauline Letters it would allow to be genuine; (Paley's Horæ Paulinæ has settled that point;) and the Gospels it recognizes as spontaneous productions of the age commonly assigned, giving impressions more or less true of a Jewish teacher and perhaps state reformer, worthy, in spite of certain miraculous claims, of attentive consideration and no ordinary respect.

The Westminster abounds in certain stereotype phrases and formulæ, which possess considerable impressiveness until repetition renders them stale.

* Address of the Bishops of the M. E. Church to the last General Conference.

Freedom and Progress are especially its banner words. And truly Freedom and Progress are pregnant and thrilling vocables. And yet they are *relative terms.* It is important to ask—Freedom from what?—Progress to what? Freedom from the laws of our best well-being, and Progress toward the ultimatum of ruin, are not, after all, matters so very pleasant. Freedom from the absolute despotism of truth; from the perfect rights of the Divine law; from the all-controlling power of religion, may suit a devil or a brute, but are no proper objects of human aspiration. And the Progress of these men may be illustrated by a simple fact: Hennell, in his skeptical Inquiry into the Origin of Christianity, after a train of much close reasoning and much special pleading, finds himself on the doctrine of man's immortality, pensively landed at last in the uncertainty of two thousand years ago! Sad progress that wheels us two thousand years backward!

With the Westminster, the cessation of Deistical publications is "the absence of free inquiry;" the repose of the Church in the Gospel faith is "stagnation;" the approximation of any man or section toward itself is "progress;" and so it has a whole vocabulary of reverse terms in which bad becomes good, and darkness is put for light.

Now we have our notion of *progress*, the realization of which would, we trust, conduce to the rapid advancement and the ultimate salvation of our race. It should be a "progress" in a true realization of the truths of the Bible; an ascending movement toward the standard of Christian holiness, as exhibited in the New Testament. And, perhaps, the mighty Christian intellects of the age might afford to let speculation "stagnate," while they construct and prosecute plans for the "*progress*" of Scripture holiness through this and every other land. And while Christendom is attaining a universal extent, we could hope she will manifest an intenser interior power. She will melt down the strongholds of sin, such as intemperance, demagogism, war, slavery, licentiousness, superstition, and Westminster Reviews, from within her midst. The world can spare them all, and be infinitely richer by the loss. And these German leviathans, the Hegels, the De Wettes, the Bretschneiders, and their successors, much as they have served in the end to rouse the activity of speculative Christian thought in counteraction, are very great nuisances. They are mischievous, because they are practically idle; and we should like to send a few Methodist presiding elders among them, (like Peter Cartwright,) to rout them from their nests, and set them to work. Labor and open air would make them realistic and healthy-minded; and with their mighty powers, progress might be rapidly made to the grand consummation, the universality of the kingdom of God. The human race might then pass them a unanimous vote of thanks for such a "*progress.*" As it is, the devil may thank them.

In the first article are traced the reviewer's views of the phases of German Theology during the past part of the present century. After referring to the existing dislike in England toward German metaphysics and theology, the Reviewer attempts to assign to the great skeptical movement of the just past era its position in the march of history. Dividing the history of theology into the great Greek, Latin, and Reformation periods, this, the great speculative period, is entitled to be named the Fourth Great Epoch! Perhaps, less one-

sided thinkers will look upon it rather as a sad parenthesis in religious history; a melancholy syncope of Christian faith in the heart of a great Christian people.

The existing theology of Germany he divides into three phases: 1. The Historico-Critical. 2. The Mediation-Theology. 3. The Orthodox.

1. The Historico-Critical was the natural and necessary offspring of the Reformation. That great movement withdrew its reliance from an organism and founded its faith upon a book. To interpret that book, apart from all tradition and all authority, took precedence of every other precedure. To consent, therefore, to find, of course, in that book what common notion had placed there, was a contradiction of Protestant profession. Awakened, too, by the freedom of Deistical inquiry in England, nothing was easier for the theological thinkers of Germany than to disregard the remains of the then existing *half* or *quite dead* orthodoxy, and prance out into the unfenced pastures of limitless speculation.

Of the Historico-Critical the great chief is found at Tübingen:

"F. Ch. Baur—the initials are necessary to distinguish him from a critic of a very different stamp, Bruno Baur—is not only the chief of the Tübingen school, but is unquestionably the first of living theologians. His exterior, by which one is involuntarily reminded of Gibbon, heavy, sleepy, and somewhat coarse, gives indication of the intellectual power locked up within. This exhibits itself in his books and lectures, in the rare union of the opposite qualifications, namely, the most extensive reading, with the most elastic vigor of original speculation. He has Mosheim's colossal capacity for details, with Schleiermacher's inventive genius. A deficiency in either of these points would have equally destroyed his means of remolding the subject as he has done. With the exception of a few, and those certainly interesting, recent discoveries, all the facts of the early Christian history had been long in the hands of theologians, had been turned over and over, commented and illustrated on a thousand sides. On the other hand, the speculative and *à priori* method had fairly exhausted itself in the various Hegelian schools. 'Mere theory' had shown its impotence in Strauss's 'Leben Jesu,' in which it professed to dissipate all fact and reality, to disperse history into air. Forsaking the illusory path of speculation, Baur undertook to submit all the remains, genuine and spurious, of early Christianity to a new examination, on the same rigidly critical method which had been applied to the remains of classical antiquity. A bare enumeration of his labors may convey some idea of their compass and drift. No description can do justice to the fund of learning and vigor of thought which they contain."

Baur's theory professed to trace the development of Christianity as a formation growing up in the antagonism of a Pauline and Petrine party. The Reviewer admires the genius and admits the general truth of Baur's development, but affirms that Baur overdid the matter. His antagonists have performed the useful work of trimming off the supererogations, and leaving the clear residuum of solid truth. Most successful in this reducing process are Dorner, Baumgarten, and especially Bleek:

"By purely critical arguments Bleek establishes the Apostle John in the authorship of the fourth Gospel. He has collected with great care all the internal marks of genuineness. He has subjected also the external testimonies to an independent examination. He lays due stress on Tatian's 'Diatessaron,' on the early appearance of the Gospel in the school of Valentinus. How, he asks, could this Gospel, if it did not really emanate from John, but first made its appearance about the middle of the second century, so immediately obtain universal reception? How is it that it was adopted unquestioned by opposite parties, by the Judaic Churches as well as by the Valentinians, by those who

followed the Asiatic Easter as well as by the orthodox adherents of the Roman computation? To suppose such a universal recognition of a recent and spurious compilation, by all the conflicting parties in the very heat of their conflict, is nothing short of a miracle."

These reductions are also very much ratified by the Tübingen divines themselves. But the work of sifting has been well aided by independent critics like Hilgenfeld and Köstlin.

2. Next comes the *Mediation-Theology.* In point of learning this section is respectable; in point of numbers, the majority. It has little uniformity of faith. Indecision of belief is its characteristic. It seeks to attain the old grounds of the Reformation as far as its dilapidated faith will allow. Schleiermacher, while he lived, was the essential first mover from former infidelity in this direction. His was more, however, the impulse of the soul than the march of logical or critical demonstration. His feeble successor is Ullmann. Yet, in advance of Ullmann, in the march toward orthodoxy, are Dorner, Leibner, and Lange, whose productions are far more scientific. The science of Christ's nature, Christology, is the point which these critics have especially elaborated. In this respect and some others, the activity of the Mediation party redeems it from the worst charge which the reviewer imagines he could impute to it, namely, a quietude from theological speculation.

3. To the strong re-ascendency of *Orthodoxy*, the Reviewer denies any "religious or theological character whatever." The entire departure of all doctrinal faith and all religious feeling, had enabled the Prussian government (1821–1830) to organize the Lutheran and the Reformed bodies into one State Church. This formed, however, merely a turning point by which the great European reaction rolled in upon Prussia both in Church and State. Hence the new Orthodox phase is as insincere as it is transient:

"It is simply a political movement, taking an ecclesiastical coloring. Its animating principle is the principle of absolute authority. This principle or sentiment is just now undoubtedly gaining a hold on the European mind. Power rests less than ever on bayonets; it is becoming respectable. It is raising itself into a right. Might is not merely submitted to, it is recognized. Absolutism is emerging from a fact into an opinion. In the same proportion all reliance on the results of thought, all the elasticity of the individual will, is failing. The rights of conscience, and the necessity for freedom of expression, are less and less keenly felt. The independent and manly sentiments in human nature are, for the time, giving way to the equally natural impulses to timidity, to crouch, to fawn, to flatter. This doctrine of power, and the corresponding sentiments of submission, are the doctrine and sentiments which are really active and popular. Their alliance with 'Orthodoxy' is purely accidental."

Of the *Orthodox* party the only great theologian is Hengstenberg. "Hengstenberg first appeared as 'Privat-docent' in Theology in the University of Berlin in 1824. Just at that time, the party which is now grown into the great orthodox party was beginning to show itself in the form of a semi-pietistic party. It was favored, and indeed was in some measure created, by the late king. Hengstenberg attached himself to it. Royal favor, and the zealous backing of a thriving party, supplied the want of professional qualifications, and he was successively appointed extraordinary (1826) and ordinary (1827) Professor of Theology in the University, alongside of Schleiermacher and

Neander! In 1827 he founded the 'Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung.' Under his clever management, this journal rapidly became a power. With an instinctive knowledge of his field of operation, the court and society of Berlin, he brought into play every engine by which a newspaper can work upon the peculiar class of passions and jealousies which gather round our most sacred beliefs." Hengstenberg's periodical exerted for a while an overwhelming influence, but has now waned in power, and even his party is flung into the shade by young High Orthodoxy, sometimes called Hyper-Lutheranism. "This German 'Puseyism' is represented by such names as Kliefoth, Vilmar, Kahnis, Delitzsch, Petri, etc. This party not only repudiated all approximation to the 'Mediation-Theology' as heretical, but affect to look on Hengstenberg and his friends as already superannuated. They belonged to a period of transition."

There is now a growing Lutheran High Churchdom in Europe, and, *perhaps, it is not without its small but assuming counterpart in this country.* The court has not as yet taken decided stand with this party; but is evidently waiting its full development.

We have no belief in the Reviewer's assumptions, that the return of Germany to the faith of the Reformation is political or momentary. It arises from the same causation as does the firm rejection by the English and American Churches of the past Germanic defection. That cause is a clear faith in the foundations of Christianity, and a profound revolting at the melancholy spectacle of a Christian people sunk in the slough of a faithless apostasy from Christ and from God.

II. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1857.—1. Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit: 2. On the Neglect of Infant Baptism: 3. The Evangelical Church Diet of Germany: 4. Baird's Religion in America: 5. The Rev. Dr. James Murdock: 6. The Liturgical Movement: 7. Kant and Hickok: 8. New Edition of Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures: 9. Macleod Wylie's Bengal as a Field of Missions: 10. Loftus's Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiani: 11. Hugh Miller's Testimony of the Rocks.

The article on the Evangelical Church Diet of Germany, by Dr. Schaff, is very interesting.

The Kirchentag, or Church Diet of Germany, is a voluntary association of the ablest and most pious men of the four Protestant denominations, namely, Lutheran, German Reformed, United Evangelical, (a union of the former two,) and the Moravian Brotherhood.

This association was formed soon after the outbreak of 1848, when its first assemblage took place at Wittenberg, and solemnly assumed the platform of the doctrines of the Reformation, in the very church where Luther first nailed up his theses, and after singing Luther's noble war hymn, proceeded to lay the foundations of the new movement. From that time until the present, it has held the most impressive annual meetings, at which from fourteen hundred to two thousand persons have been present to attend exercises led by such men as Krummacher, Tholuck, Hoffmann, Ebrard, and others. Besides these, the debates are shared by Stahl, Nitzsch, and Kapff; while Ullmann, Rothe, and Bähr, though generally silent, are present. The effect of the discussions and labors of this pious and learned body, in the restoration of the

doctrines of the Reformation and the spirit and practical energetic benevolence of Christian piety, has been immense. Its next meeting is to be in Stutgard; the time is not fixed.

This EVANGELICAL DIET is to be carefully distinguished from the EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, which is about to meet in Berlin, by invitation of the king, from different parts of Christendom. The Diet is purely a Germanic voluntary association.

III. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. Evangelical Truth: 2. The Plurality of Worlds: 3. The Mosaic Dispensation: 4. Sinaitic Inscriptions: 5. Doctrine of Endless Punishment: 6. French Literature: 7. The Atonement: 8. Geology and Theology: 9. New Testament Millennarianism: 10. Researches in Palestine: 11. Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress: 12. Literature of the Quarter.

THIS valuable Quarterly announces a change of editorship, by which it unequivocally becomes, to use its own words in its own capitals, "A SOUND, THOROUGHLY PROTESTANT, DECIDEDLY EVANGELICAL ORGAN of the Church of England." It avows itself, in one or another part of the number, upon every important article of the Christian faith. High Churchism, Pelagianism, Universalism, Rationalism, are repudiated; plenary inspiration, justification by faith alone, congenital depravity, and conditional salvation, are asserted.

IV. THE LONDON (Wesleyan) QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1857.—1. The Writings of Charles Kingsley: 2. Gold, in its Natural Sources: 3. The Marine Aquarium: 4. Crime and Criminal Law in France: 5. The Emperors of Austria: 6. Insanity, Disease, and Religion: 7. French Philosophy during the Restoration: 8. Thomas De Quincey: 9. Essays by Professor Baden Powell: 10. The Moravian Brethren.

THIS number of the London Quarterly has eight less than three hundred pages, with articles from twenty to fifty pages in length. Besides this it has nearly seventy advertisement pages, so that every number has the look of a goodly volume. The Review pages are precisely the same in number as our North American. The London page contains some nine lines more than the North American; but the material and execution are inferior. The moral of all which is, that our Quarterly must nearly double its size to reach the standard dimensions. We believe that no English Review is larger than the London. No English Review equals the North American in fineness of material and execution. We are inclined to think that at the present time none surpasses it in intellectual ability.

The leading article of the London is written by Rev. James H. Rigg, of Stockport, England. Mr. Rigg is the author of the articles published in our own Quarterly upon Maurice, and Charles Julius Hare. These, together with some other lights of the Broad Church theology, Mr. Rigg is about booking up into a goodly volume, under the title of Modern Anglican Theology. Of these lights one is the Rev. Charles Kingsley, the subject of the present article.

Mr. Kingsley is a novelist, philosopher, and preacher. Yet the three individualities so blend in one, as to present a united impression. In which-

ever department Mr. Kingsley employs his brilliant powers, whether as a philosopher elaborating his system, or as a novelist displaying its workings, or as a preacher inculcating its practical applications, he is the same consistent propagator of the Broad Church theology. And it must be admitted, that a man possessed of a rare mastery of these three modes of composition may be a formidable propagandist. Doubt you whether his system is rational? His philosophy shows you that it is pure reason itself. Do you query whether it will work in real life? Look on this picture; for this romance is its reality in sample. Do you doubt whether he can go to the conscience with it in reformatory appeal? Mr. Kingsley is prepared to show you, both in pulpit and in book, how it will preach. What can the world ask better than Broad Churchdom can show? It shall be a very pretty religion for you.

Mr. Kingsley is a Neo-Platonist. It is singular, according to the review, that although in his novels and his philosophy he is a Universalist, yet in his sermons he threatens a future retribution. Yet the phrases quoted by the reviewer can be explained consistently with Restorationism. We suppose that the Universalism of the Christian Neo-Platonists is attained, usually, by eliminating the element of *time* from the redemptive system. The whole race is *at once* dead in Adam and alive in Christ. Faith realizes the redemption to us in conception; the completed process will realize it for the whole race into ultimate accomplishment.

Mr. Kingsley's last novel, Two Years Ago, contains a purposed picture of Methodism. The London Quarterly exposes his ignorance of some patent, notorious facts of Methodism, to evidence his incompetency to draw a true picture of its interior character. The British Quarterly rebukes his unjust painting of Methodism. This novel has just been republished in this country.

The sixth article of the London has been republished in the American Eclectic Magazine. Due credit is given to the London Quarterly, but, owing to the unfortunate ambiguity of names, the credit will accrue to the Quarterly Review.

V. The British Quarterly Review, April, 1857.—1. Ben Jonson and his Works: 2. Kane's Arctic Adventures: 3. Dr. John Tauler—Middle Age Mysticism: 4. The New Government for the Principalities: 5. Kingsley's Two Years Ago: 6. Sir J. Bowring's Siam: 7. Oratory and Orators: 8. Bunsen's God in History: 9. The Chinese Question and the New Parliament: 10. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

The first article is a fine notice of the old English dramatist.

The third article is an able disquisition on the subject of mysticism; a topic which has of late called forth a number of discussions. The present article discriminates the true Christian mysticism (if that be allowable phraseology) from the spurious, as manifested in different ages of the world.

The article on Bunsen discusses his late work, "God in History." Much to the disappointment of the Christian world, Bunsen turns out a pietistic neological Pantheist. He believes the old Hebrew documents, called the Old Testament, to be the best expression of the religious sentiment of antiquity, though often of more than doubtful authenticity and abounding in myths. Yet on this foundation Bunsen has contrived to build a piety of his own, which seems to sympathize with the earnest religious feeling of Christendom.

VI. The National Review, April, 1857.—1. Aurora Leigh: 2. Secondary Punishments: 3. The Clubs of London: 4. Ancient India: 5. The Phsias of Force; 6. The Mutual Relation of History and Religion: 7. Memoirs of St. Simon: 8. The Foreign Policy of the English Ministry.

The sixth article, On the Relations of History and Religion, is a review of Bunsen, and maintains his stand-point. Critical science, the great modern solvent, has broken the Bible from a book into a literature. Although miracles may be useful to arouse and gain attention, yet religion cannot be authenticated fully by miracles, for no miracle can substantiate a doctrine not approved by the moral faculty. Religion is, in fact, to be learned from history. It must be made of those intuitions to which the great men whose lives have been moral epochs, have given the best expression, and to which our moral instincts and spiritual feelings give their sanction. Of all peoples of antiquity, the Hebrews were most eminently endowed with the spiritual instinct and inspiration; of all literatures, the Hebraic documents were the purest depository of the true religious element; of all great men, the Hebrew bards and prophets were most highly surcharged with the supernal element, until the consummation in the advent of the Divine founder of the universal religion delineated in the Evangelists.

VII. The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, April, 1857.—1. Luther: 2. On the Coming of "the Shiloh:" 3. The Last Year of our Lord's Ministry: 4. A Chapter on the Harmonizing Gospels: 5. The Visit of the Magi; the Time and Place of its Occurrence: 6. On the Word Hellenist, with especial Reference to Acts xi, 20: 7. Supposed Errors in the English Bible: 8. The State of the Heathen World considered in relation to Christianity: 9. Correspondence: 10. Notices of Books.

The Journal of Sacred Literature is edited by Dr. H. Burgess, and published by Alexander Heylin, Paternoster Row, London. Like the Bibliotheca Sacra of this country, it aims to be mainly Biblical and scholastic, though not wholly excluding articles approximating the popular religious mind. It is a publication of rich interest to the Biblical and theological scholar.

The article on Luther approvingly reviews Worsley's life of the Reformer, in which, without regarding the use papists may make of apparent concessions, an effort is made to disengage his character from the halo with which Protestant admiration has encircled it, as well as from the hostile exaggerations of his enemies.

The article on the Visit of the Magi shows, with much force of argument, the probability that the Magi found the infant Saviour, not at Bethlehem but at Nazareth.

The article on the Heathen World denies the universal damnation of the heathen, and rebukes the assumption of that doctrine as a ground of missionary effort.

VIII. The Christian Remembrancer, April, 1857.—1. The Progress and Prospects of the Mormons at Utah: 2. Ivors, and other Tales, by the Author of "Amy Herbert:" 3. The Armenian Church: 4. Palgrave's Normandy and England: 5. Translations of Dante: 6. The Will, Divine and Human: 7. Commentary on the Psalms.

IX. The Edinburgh Review, April, 1857.—1. Alexander the Great: 2. The Last Census of France: 3. The Atlantic Ocean: 4. Kaye's Life of Malcolm: 5. Roumania: 6. The Festal Letters of Athanasius: 7. Boswell and Boswelliana: 8. The Dilettanti Society: 9. British Relations with China: 10. The Past Session and the New Parliament: Letter from Lord Redesdale on Railway Legislation.

X. The Quarterly Review, April, 1857.—1. Pedestrianism in Switzerland: 2. Dred—American Slavery: 3. Lunatic Asylums: 4. English Political Satires: 5. Photography: 6. Roving Life in England: 7. Persia: 8. The New Parliament and its Work.

Both the Edinburgh and the Quarterly arrived too late for our Synopsis.

II.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1857.—1. Notes on the Anabasis of Xenophon in the Region of Nineveh, by Rev. Henry Lobdell: 2. Remarks on Passages in Acts, Professor Robbins, Middlebury College, Vt.: 3. The Theory of Preaching, Professor Phelps, Andover: 4. Advance in the Type of Revealed Religion, Rev. I. E. Dwinell, Salem, Mass.: 5. Theology of Dr. Gill, Rev. D. T. Fisk, Newburyport, Mass.: 6. Science and the Bible, Professor Dana, Yale College: 7. Brandis on Assyrian Inscriptions, translated by Professor Day, Lane Seminary: 9. New Publications: 10. Theological and Literary Intelligence.

The first article possesses a special interest for the classical instructor, being notes upon Xenophon's Anabasis, written, from actual observation in the geographical scene of the history, by a young missionary of rare talent, since deceased. The fifth article, on Dr. Gill, is acute in its analysis, and interesting from its subject. Gill, like Toplady, was a high Calvinist, but wants that piquancy of character which renders Toplady rather a favorite. Robert Hall called Gill "a continent of mud." If this expression refers to Gill's style, it is certainly unjust; for he possessed a great clearness and force of expression. If it refers to his value, it is about correct. Dr. Gill maintained the physical identification of all men with Adam in the first transgression. He maintained that Christ is the actual sinner of every sin for which he atoned. He maintained that the atonement extended just so far only as the particular election; the reprobate never had a chance of salvation, and *no preacher has any right to offer salvation to all.*

Upon this last point the reviewer says:

"More consistent than some who hold to a limited atonement, or a limited redemption, Dr. Gill denies that the work of Christ lays the foundation for the free offer of salvation to all men. 'That there are universal offers of grace and salvation to all men, I utterly deny.' 'Indeed, the universal offer cannot be supported, without supposing universal salvation.' Accordingly, he severely censures those preachers who freely offer salvation to all. 'How irrational is it for ministers to stand offering Christ, and salvation by him, to men, when, on the one hand, they have neither power nor right to give; and, on the other hand, the persons they offer to have neither power nor will to receive.' 'It is not consistent with our ideas of God, that he should send ministers to offer salvation to men, to whom he himself never intended to give it.' 'The ministers are *κηρυκες, criers*, heralds; their business is *κηρυσσειν, to proclaim* aloud, to publish

facts, to declare things done, and not to offer them to be done on conditions; as when a peace is concluded and finished, the herald's business is to proclaim the peace, and not to offer it. Of this nature is the Gospel, and the whole system of it, which preaches, not offers, peace by Christ, who is Lord of all.'

"Dr. Gill's own practice was strictly accordant with his doctrine on this subject. He nowhere invites men, indiscriminately, to come to Christ and be saved; nowhere pleads with them to become reconciled to God; nowhere charges upon them the guilt of rejecting the Saviour who died for them; nowhere intimates that their salvation is, in any sense, or in any way, dependent on their choice or conduct. As a herald, he simply proclaims the fact, that Christ has redeemed the elect, and that they can and will be saved. With a stern consistency, Dr. Gill went so far as to deny that the non-elect are on probation. No atonement having been made for them, their salvation is already a fixed impossibility, and therefore they cannot be on trial with reference to it. Indeed, he denies that even the elect are, in any proper sense, on probation. Their failure of salvation is as fixed an impossibility as is the salvation of the non-elect."

Whether a "stern consistency" would not push Mr. Fisk and New-England Calvinists generally into Dr. Gill's ultimate positions, might be a debatable matter. What is ordinarily called *moderate Calvinism*, is a contradiction both in name and thing; what is called extreme Calvinism, is abhorrent to the moral sentiments. If a man does not hold the dogma, "God foreordains whatever comes to pass," in the natural sense of the words, he is no Calvinist. If he *does* hold this dogma, he cannot stop short of Dr. Gill's ultraism without plentiful self-contradiction. If "God has foreordained whatever comes to pass," then he has eternally foreordained the damnation, *with the antecedent sins*, of all the lost; and that is *Reprobation*. If "God has foreordained whatever comes to pass," he has established the impossibility of an acceptance of the atonement, and so an absolute exclusion from its benefits of a large share of mankind; and that is *Partial Atonement*. If "God has foreordained whatever comes to pass," he has predetermined every rejection of the Gospel, and in every case rendered acceptance impossible; which brings us to Dr. Gill's clear and consistent demonstration of the *folly and falsehood of offering a free salvation to all*. And finally, if God foreordained whatever comes to pass, Dr. Gill is demonstrably right in pronouncing probation a most Divine sham; for what sort of a probation has that man had whose every perception, emotion, volution, action, trait, and destiny were fixed, by an extraneous antecedent power, a whole eternity before he was born?

A *holy* God who is the primary foreordainer and volitional predeterminator of all sin, and yet not the author of any sin; an eternal decree fixing the sin and damnation of every candidate for woe, and yet no reprobation; a universal atonement from which a vast majority are decretively excluded; a free agency whose every act has been eternally predetermined; a free will whose every volition is causatively fixed to one sole possible end; a free salvation eternally limited to a few, and yet offered to all—these are a few specimens of the congeries of contradictions that render moderate Calvinism a just laughing-stock for any clear-thinking outsider. "All things are placed over against each other," saith the son of Sirach; and so it is with the modern systems of moderate Calvinism. Every proposition hath another proposition placed over against it, giving it the lie, and all unanimously contradict and cancel each other. They are like the terrible Missouri snakes that voraciously swallowed each

other, and left nothing but the bare ground. The crowning anomaly of all is, that such numbers of those who swallow these contradictions with provoking ease, are men of great learning, acuteness, and piety.

II. The North American Review, April, 1857.—1. Mirtsa-Schaffy; a Sketch from Oriental Life: 2. Influence of the English Literature on the German: 3. Holidays: 4. Hickok's Empirical Psychology: 5. Ruskin's Last Volume: 6. Biography: 7. Oliver's Puritan Commonwealth: 8. Sprague's American Pulpit: 9. Robert Herrick: 10. The British Essayists: 11. Cotemporary French Literature: 12. The Real and the Ideal in New-England.

The first article is a highly pleasant notice of Mirtsa-Schaffy, the pleasant bard of Tiflis. Mirtsa-Schaffy's renown has been introduced to Europe by Frederic Bodenstedt, who, in a tour to Asia, was initiated by the poet into the Tartar, Persian, and Arabic languages and literature. On his return, Bodenstedt published his travels under the title of Thousand and One Days in the Orient, and translated a volume of the poet's songs into German:

"In Mirtsa-Schaffy we have a thorough and admirable specimen of Oriental character, an excellent representative of his class, the scholars and poets of Persia. The comic side of his character, resulting from no buffoonery or crudeness of nature, but from his perfect ingenuousness, his primeval simplicity and frankness both in action and speech, is most amusing. At the same time he is vain as Absalom, irascible as Ali, wise as Lockman, and affectionate as Hatim. His learning, in its department, is extensive, his literary taste exquisite, his wedded wit and humor inexhaustible, the creative swiftness and scope of his lyric genius quite marvelous. We proceed now to illustrate these statements by examples, confident that a picture, however unskillfully drawn, of a living Persian poet, a not unworthy successor of Hafiz, will have a novel interest for our readers."

Like a true poet, Mirtsa has had the spice of true romance in his history. He loved once a maiden, rather a Peri, the daughter of Ibrahim Chan, the emblem of perfect beauty. By the matchless power of his song, by the favor of the damsel's maid, and by the terrors of an unwelcome suitor, for whom her father had destined her, Mirtsa attained the felicity of her favor. The enamored pair eloped. Three days they fled. On the fourth, alas and alack! they were overtaken by the father and the suitor, Zuleika was snatched away, and Mirtsa fell "from the sublime to the"—*bastinado!* which was most painful to his sole. The history, as it seems to us, singularly resembles Lord Byron's Bride of Abydos, save that the lovers in that poem met a more tragical fate.

Spite of the mistress he had lost and the flogging he had gained, Mirtsa-Schaffy recovered his pluck and prosecuted his poetry. Why should he not? Zuleika had loved him. *A fortiori*, all the rest of the feminine gender were bound to fall in love with him, as a banker pays Mr. Grinnell's check, at sight. Equally clear was it to himself that he was the greatest of poets; a point in which we might agree with him, but for the specimens furnished in the Review. Most of it seems, to our poor taste, rather cheap trash. It is composed of the following material: Roses, five bushels; dew-drops, six quarts; diamonds, one peck; pearls, ditto; several shovels full other sea-shells, etc., etc. It is Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh all over again, and a good deal more so. Yet the following is rather pretty. It was composed in a fit of inspiration on his condescending to fall in love a second time:

"Now is the blossoming time of the roses:
Maiden, bring wine; never wait for the morrow.
Over us joyfully smiles the soft blueness:
Quick let us round the dark field of old sorrow,
Tread the bright path of to-day in its newness,
Plucking at once the fresh garlands of roses."

In this second love affair, the father of his *inamorata* objected to giving his daughter to a poor tutor. But Bodenstedt exerted his influence among the Russian officers at Tiflis, to obtain for the poet the Professorship of Tartar in the Military School at Tiflis. He was duly installed a husband and a dignitary.

The following specimen bears a striking resemblance to some of the purer effusions of Anacreon:

"Better stars without shine,
Than the shine without stars.
Better wine without jars,
Than the jars without wine.
Better honey without bees,
Than the bees without honey.
Better please without money,
Than have money, but not please."

Familiarity breedeth contempt; but the familiarity with which the Review treats Mirtsa-Schaffy must not disguise the fact that he has attained the rank of a true classic poet in the classic language of the Orient. Mirtsa-Schaffy himself knows this. And the following lines are part of a noble poem in which he says as much:

"Through all lands shall thy verses, O Mirtsa-Schaffy!
Be borne forth, and the tones of thy voice be heard sounding:
The brave thoughts and live words of thine utterance free
Shall go over the world, in sweet echoes rebounding."

Hereupon the reviewer magniloquizes upon the sublime fact that the poet's fame is, through Bodenstedt, and even through his own article, extending, further than the poet's self ever dreamed, even beyond the bounds of his geographical erudition. Hereupon, too, we might put in for a share ourself. The polished surface of the brilliant mirror of our own radiant Quarterly shall catch a few dazzling rays of Mirtsa-Schaffy's resplendent glory, and shall shed them into still more unexpected regions. It is wonderful. But, Allah Bismillah! so was it foreordained.

III. The Christian Examiner, May, 1857.—1. The New Theology: 2. The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster: 3. Reflections: 4. An Excursus on the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, ii, 5–8: 5. M. Remusat on Unitarians and Unitarianism: 6. Quevedo's Rome in Ruins; 7. Buchanan and Hitchcock on Religion and Science.

The Christian Examiner has come into the hands of new editors, namely, Messrs. Frederic H. Hedge and Edward Everett Hale. It still remains an organ of liberal Christianity of the Broad American School.

The first article is a long and very hopeful anticipation that a new liberalistic theology is gaining a rapid ascendency over the public mind. Of the nature of that new theology, he gives only negative conceptions. So far, we have merely demolitions of the doctrines of orthodoxy. We fully believe that

the doctrine of fatalistic Augustinianism needs to be eliminated from among the doctrines of Evangelical Christianity; but give us the Calvinism of Calvin himself, the earliest Genevan edition, rather than an enervated reduction of Christianity to bald moral Theism. This subtilizing Scripture history to shadow and myth, the atonement to a metaphor, and inspiration to an *excitement of moral thought* producible, perhaps, in any pious brain, by a cup of pure Mocha, is not improving, but abandoning Christianity.

The following sentences in the review of Buchanan's book on Atheism, in the peculiar thought, train, and structure, resemble a passage in our own April book notice, enough to have established a charge of plagiarism upon us, had the chronology allowed: "In this matter logic is rather critical than constructive. We think that few preachers of any experience ever devote sermons to proving the existence of God. Suppose they should be unhappy in their statement of the various arguments, suppose the proof as put by them should be defective, should we not feel that the congregation would be guilty of a practical *non sequitur*, worse than any false logic of the preacher, were they to go away and say, 'There is no God any more?' How many believe in God as they believe that they themselves live, and yet could give you no good arguments for their faith! They did not arrive at their belief by any process of reasoning."

The following, however, bears more resemblance to the "Christian Theism" of the Westminster Review, than to any theory in our pages: "Let any one, for example, turn to the sublime stories of creation in the first two chapters of Genesis. We say stories, for they seem to be two, and distinct, and, to say the least, not easily to be reconciled. According to the first account, lower animals were made before men; according to the second, after; according to one, fowls were produced from the water; according to the other, from the ground. In the first, the human sexes are described as created at once, while the second brings them on the stage successively. Which of these accounts shall we endeavor to reconcile with science? We answer, either or neither, it matters not. It was the religion in them that commended the stories to Moses, and makes them valuable to us. If we insist upon anything more, we misuse what is admirably fitted for practical instruction, by compelling it to furnish matter for contention between Scriptural and anti-Scriptural geologists, and impose upon the Christian apologist a special pleading, a narrowing of this statement and a widening of that, which is more ingenious than satisfactory, and leaves us, when we have done with it, only not defeated."

In the characteristics which have rendered this Review distinguished among its fellows, we think there will be no deterioration in the hands of the new editors.

IV. Brownson's Quarterly Review, April, 1857.—1. E. H. Derby to his Son: 2. Prayer Books: 3. Spiritual Despotism: 4. Ailey Moore: 5. The Slavery Question once More: 6. Literary Notices and Criticisms.

Dr. Brownson's Quarterly has, during our term of office, in spite of all our efforts, up to this number, failed to reach us. We have regretted this, as its peculiar position, as the sole influential advocate of Romanism in this country,

gives it notoriety; its peremptory style of presenting the positions of popery, presses it upon the public notice; and the novelty of its presentations to Protestant readers, invested with something of the freshness of perpetual paradox, obtain for it, with many, a reputation for ability not wholly unmerited. The third article is a slashing review of the piece by Dr. Collins, President of Dickinson College, on Spiritual Despotism, in our January number, which Dr. Brownson inadvertently treats as if the editor of our Quarterly were the author of the article.

Dr. Brownson is pleased to assign our Review and its editor their position in the following conclusive terms: "The Quarterly named is the organ of the Methodists, and while under the editorial supervision of Dr. M'Clintock, was conducted with spirit and ability. It is now under the editorial charge of a Dr. Whedon, of whom we know nothing; but, judging from the number before us, we think he is likely to sustain its former character. In learning it must yield to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, published at Andover; in classical taste and finish it is far inferior to the *Christian Examiner*, the organ of the New-England Unitarians; in manly thought, and independence of spirit, and theological science, it is not to be named on the same day with the *Mercersburg Review;* but, with these exceptions, it compares, we believe, not unfavorably with the ablest of our Protestant religious periodicals."

Though of the present editor of this Review Dr. Brownson professes himself a "know nothing," yet we have had him under a tolerably tight supervision ever since our boyhood, when we knew him as the editor of a seven-by-nine Universalist sheet at Utica. From our own recollections or from our notice of his own "confessions," (Dr. Brownson, like Augustine, writes confessions,) we have known that he derived his first religious impressions from the Methodist preachers; was trained for a Calvinist minister; became a Universalist editor, then fraternized with Frances Wright, and after several evolutions "too tedious to mention," the circular motion ceased under the wing of the pope and "my bishop."

Without the mental steadiness for a metaphysician, without the slightest possession, and so, like a common sense man, without the slightest pretense of Biblical science or classical erudition, Dr. Brownson continues, by force of great impulsive cerebral and muscular energy, by the command of a style remarkably clear, earnest, and bold, and by a position of brave, defiant, single-handed contradiction in face of the permanent religious opinion of the country, to occupy with his Review a prominent place in public attention. If this were all a man lived for—well. But Dr. Brownson stands not only in contradiction to the times, but to the great current of the world's mind; he is withstanding the rush of the "great iron wheel" of the rolling centuries. Had he Julian's diadem, as well as Julian's talents, engaged in Julian's business of reviving the dying past, he would suffer his brother apostate's failure, and meet like fate in life and in history.

His notice of Dr. Collins, Dr. Brownson probably wrote at a single sitting. He began with the magnanimous purpose of doing the courteous; he waxed warm, nervous, and saucy as he advanced; about the middle (p. 206) the *gentleman* abdicated the editorial chair and left a *ribald* behind; and he closed

with a nice little storm of invectives that induced us to imagine, with a smile, what would be the fate of his victim, if St. Orestes had only hold of the brand of St. Dominic.

Dr. Brownson exclaims, in conclusion, "Have the Evangelicals *never a man*" (a slight Paddyism) "among them?" "Have you no champions of metal? Where are your Chillingworths, your Chemnitzes, your Bramhalls, and your Barrows?" The Chillingworths, we reply, will be forthcoming when a competent occasion requires them; for all present demands, the President of Dickinson is a sufficiency and a surplus. We pass Dr. Brownson over to his custody.

V. The Church Review, and Ecclesiastical Register, April, 1857.—1. Voltaire and Geneva: 2. Does the Bible need Re-translating? 3. Gentleness a chief Element in Ministerial Success: 4. Political Economy and the Future: 5. The Puritan Commonwealth: 6. What the Free Church System requires: 7. American Ecclesiastical History.

In this Quarterly there is (p. 138) an offensive allusion to the episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which cannot be answered, because it is not fit to be quoted. Indecency shall be a safe refuge, though, we submit, not a respectable.

VI. The New-Englander, May, 1857.—1. Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit: 2. The Fact and the Doctrine of the Resurrection: 3. A Glimpse of German Theology: 4. The Evangelizing Church: 5. The Use of Testament for Covenant: 6. The Indian Question: 7. Christ's Bodily Presence, and the World's Conversion: 8. Olshausen on the New Testament: 9. Notices of Books.

The third article is a very valuable and highly favorable view of the present state of German Theology. It maintains:

First. Old Rationalism has died out from every University but Giessen. "Hardly a student can be found who would dare avow himself the disciple of Paulus, of Wegscheider, or of Gesenius. 'Except some young men,' says Professor Tholuck, 'who come from other countries, it is now an unheard-of fact to meet with a Rationalist.' And Professor Kapff affirms that 'learning in Germany has triumphed over Rationalism.'"

Second. Pantheism is giving way. Springing from the idealistic philosophy of Kant, in the successive hands of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, it was brought to maturity and applied to the Gospel history by Strauss. This roused to a triumphant onset such men as Hartmann, Thiele, Hase, Neander, Tholuck, Müller, Harless, Menzel, and others.

Third. The three great sections of the Church are in a cheering position. There are, 1. The United Evangelical Church, consisting of so much of the old Lutheran and Reformed as were brought into union, under royal influence, in 1817. "A consensus of the two confessions constituted its basis. The principal organs of this union are the 'Studien und Kritiken,' a quarterly, started in 1828, and conducted by Ullman and Umbreit; the 'Deutsche Zeitschrift fur Christliche Wissenchaft und Christlisches Leben,' established by Neander, Müller, and Nitzsch, in 1849, at Berlin; and the 'Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung,' at Damstadt, formerly in the interests of Rationalism, but now

conducted by Schenkel, in defense of the Evangelical doctrine. Schleiermacher, Neander, and Lücke were warm defenders of the union. So are Tholuck, Müller, Twesten, Nitzsch, Dorner, Lange, Hase, Liebner, Kurtz, Stier, Ullman, Rothe, and many others." 2. The Reformed Church so far as not brought into the Union. To this section belong Hagenbach and Hertzog. 3. The non-uniting Lutherans who are high church and ultra-orthodox. "The party has increased rapidly during the last ten years. It controls the University at Erlangen, and has strong men in several others, as Thomasius and Kaniss at Leipsic, Rudelbach and Guericke at Halle, and Klieforth and Philippi at Mecklenburg. It has also three journals devoted exclusively to its denominational interests. All its movements are positive, bold, and aggressive, and it has much sympathy from Lutherans who remain in the union."

In regard to *Anthropology*, there is a general returning to the Augustinian view of Human Depravity.

Upon the *Trinity*, the great successor of Schleiermacher, Professor Twesten, has repudiated the development Trinity of his master, and advocates the Orthodox view. "Dorner's Development of the Doctrine and Person of Christ, for Scriptural and historical thoroughness, is unsurpassed by any treatise on the subject in any language."

In regard to *Inspiration*, "The views of Neander, as he has expressed them in his Life of Jesus and his Apostolic Church, are loose and unsatisfactory, making a distinction in the sacred Scriptures between what is human, and therefore fallible, and what is divine and infallible. They are better in an article written for the Deutsche Zeitschrift, February, 1850, just before his death. Nor can Tholuck and Olshausen be regarded as altogether safe. They allow so much agency of the Spirit in the inspiration of the prophets and apostles, as preserved them from mistake in what has immediate relation to redemption and is fundamental, but hold that they were not secured against error in their statements respecting less important historical matters. Havernick, Nitzsch, and Stier take a higher view, as do Hengstenberg, Strudel, and nearly all the New Lutherans. They discard the mechanical 'dead letter' theory on the one hand, and a mere superintendence on the other; maintaining the union of the two agencies in the written word, which makes it in every part both Divine and human, and in all infallibly accurate. Thus, for example, Stier says, 'I read the canonical text of the Bible as written through the Holy Ghost; but I so read it, not because I have formed for myself beforehand an inspiration-dogma, but because this word approves itself inspired with ever-increasing force to my reason, which, though not indeed sound, is, through the virtue of that word, dayly receiving soundness. It is because this living word has, in a thousand ways, directed, and is ever directing my inner being, with all its intelligence, thought, and will, that I have subjected to it the freedom of my whole existence.'"

"In regard to the *Atonement*, the idea on which the leading German theologians are now, perhaps, more generally agreed as fundamental than any other, is its *vicariousness*."

"The following may be regarded as the three grand principles on which German theology, from its demolition by the skeptical philosophers, is now

being reconstructed: 1. Sin, not merely as an individual act or exercise, but also as a generic force or quality of human nature derived from Adam, the natural and federal head of the race. 2. The Atonement, as a provision for salvation through the vicarious obedience and death of Christ. 3. The re-animation of the sinner by the Holy Ghost in the application of the atonement, through repentance and faith. The settlement of these principles on a scientific basis has been gained after a singularly sharp conflict with most powerful antagonistic forces. But as now held by many of the best minds in Germany, they bring, for the most part, into just relations to each other, man's dependence and his responsibility, human agency and divine efficiency. They give a well-defined, objective Christian doctrine, and a subjective Christian life; a free spirit of Scriptural and historical research, and, in matters of fundamental doctrine, a profound regard for the authority of the inspired word."

The excellent article on the Indian Question is from an experienced missionary among the Dakotas. It portrays the various influences for good or for evil exercised by the *traders* and by the government, and defends the conduct of the missionary work. It denies that the Dakotas are diminishing in number, although, by cross breeding, large numbers are *becoming whites*. The editor well asks, "Why should not Congress adopt a uniform rule of naturalization for Indians?"

VII. The Christian Review, April, 1857.—1. The Spirit and Aim of the Pastor: 2. Hugh Miller: 3. Diversity of Interpretation: 4. Historical Sketch of Tract-arianism: 5. Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches: 6. Causes of the Decline of Infant Baptism: 7. Spurgeon as a Preacher.

The present excellent number of this able Quarterly has, on page 283, the following inadvertent paragraph—"A writer in the Methodist Quarterly Review holds: 'That the infant occupies the same general ground as the adult convert; he is justified from guilt, his nature is so far renewed as to offer no moral obstacle to the sanctifying power of grace.' And he accordingly argues that the 'fitness of infant baptism lies not in any regenerating power in the rite itself, nor in consideration of the faith of the parents, but the ground of the claim lies in the *child's own present personal state of grace;*' thus utterly abandoning the doctrine of human depravity."

On the contrary, Mr. Christian Reviewer, the "writer" here *affirms* the doctrine of human depravity. If, as the writer asserts, the infant is "justified from guilt," then he had "*guilt*," and, therefore, depravity, to be "justified from." If the child was, as he says, under "grace," then he had a nature that needed "grace" in order to salvation, and was therefore by nature depraved. If by that grace it is "so far renewed," then an unrenewed nature, and therefore a depraved, underlies that grace, rendering *renewal* necessary. Does this Reviewer hold that justification implies the non-existence of depravity?

VIII. The Presbyterian Quarterly Review, March, 1857.—1. Athanasius in Contest with the Arians: 2. Exclusivism: 3. Scotland: 4. Historical Development of Christianity: 5. The Writings of Nicholas de Clemengis: 6. The Bible and Science: 7. Literary and Theological Intelligence: 8. Notices of New Books.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*Philosophy of Skepticism and Ultraism;* wherein the Opinions of Rev. Theodore Parker and other Writers are shown to be Inconsistent with Sound Reason and the Christian Religion, by James B. Walker, author of 'Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation,' 'God Revealed in the Process of Creation and in the Manifestation of Christ,' etc." (12mo., pp. 286. New-York: Derby & Jackson, 1857.) The works of Mr. Walker are admirably "suited to the times," in the sense that there is a large class of minds in our day to whose cases they are well adapted, if the books can really reach their notice. They translate the formula of systematic orthodoxy into popular phrase. They shape theology into forms demanded by the current, so called, common sense. In this sense they possess a marked originality. There are hundreds of business men, merchants, lawyers, etc., men, whose main reading is the newspapers, who would find these works rarely fit into the demands of their minds. It is singular how much our pulpit fails of accomplishing the results at which these books aim.

The present work is hardly equal, as a whole, to the Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. It makes less demand, certainly, for systematic comprehension in the reader. Yet, like that work, this volume is characterized by freshness of views, common sense elucidation, and often by depth of philosophic remark. It by no means exhausts its subject, and perhaps the author may retouch and complete the work for which his abilities so admirably fit him.

He analyzes and exposes a few specimens of Mr. Parker's random utterances and palpable contradictions. The greatest of Mr. Parker's admirers would, we suppose, hardly claim that he has any logic in him. He seldom advances a series of propositions in the order of ratiocination. We doubt his ability to think three thoughts in a logical straight line. He announces, and *pro*nounces, and very often *de*nounces; but very rarely reasons or assumes to prove. He flings you out the present impulse of his own mind, careless of its contradiction of yesterday's inspiration, and relies for its success upon its fitting into the receptivity of some of his countless auditors. For every spark he throws there is always some ready tinder, and so the fiery mischief spreads. And yet when one contemplates Mr. Parker's melancholy *no creed;* his loveless, Christless, faithless, hopeless, lonely position, like a sullen Prometheus upon the scragged rock of bare heartless right, it must be confessed that genuine genius alone could win a single adherent to take the same standpoint.

The great influence of that most subtle and most powerful infidelity, of which

Mr. Parker is the apostle, arises from the fact that so large a share of the Christian Church allows itself to be left in the back ground, on great unequivocal questions of justice, humanity, and reformation. When those low grounds result assignably from interested motives and organic connections, when they are consequently sustained by theologians on doctrinal or Scripture grounds, men of quick moral insight detect the whole melancholy deficit. This failure Mr. Parker exaggerates, paints with terrible pictorial power, taunts with the poisoned arrows of sarcasm, and holds forth to the world in shameful contrast with his own solitary, unequivocal, uncompromising position. He has powers that can make it glare before the eyes of all the world. The result is, that there are spread throughout our land hundreds of thousands of most noble-minded men, who reject Christianity on moral grounds. These men, but for a most disastrous delinquency somewhere, should be the very cream of the Church, the very flower of Christian chivalry. On Mr. Parker and his like do we lay a terrible weight of the responsibility; but in fearful co-partnership with him do we most sorrowfully hold that part of the Christian ministry and Church to stand, who are false to the day of their visitation and the demands of their age; and such a weight of responsibility, for ourselves and for ours, we do solemnly choose "to stand from under."

Mr. Walker takes up the topics of Divine Personality, Trinity, Atonement, Retribution, and the relations of Revelation to Reform, and treats them unequally indeed, but with much power and interest. Our young ministry would, doubtless, derive no little aid from a perusal of the work. We wish it in the hands of all slightly skeptical thinkers, whose misgivings arise from what they suppose to be surveying religion from a common sense position.

(2.) "*Common Sense Applied to Religion;* or, the Bible and the People, by CATHARINE E. BEECHER." (12mo., pp. 358. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) The advantages of an early mental discipline, the solemnizing effect of a sad event in dawning womanhood, and the influences of a creed that tasked the faculties as it sobered the spirit, have given to Miss Beecher an earnest, stern thinking, yet practical cast of mind. Powerfully individualistic, like all her kin, she essays in this book to analyze the depths of mind, and to try the problems of theology. It is the revisal and first publication of a work printed, but circulated only among friends, some thirty years ago. She then withheld it as containing unorthodox tenets; but a retention of more than thrice the nine years that Horace prescribes for authors, has but confirmed the strength of her opinons, and decided the propriety of laying them before the world.

The book is a proper part of the educational work of Miss Beecher's life. She desires to lead her countrywomen to self-analysis and to sober thought. She is in all this no abstractionist; for the housekeepers of our country well know that she is a sound authority in the pantry, and as superb a mistress of the art of cookery as of metaphysics. But it is her ardent desire to lead the minds of her sex from the prevalent superficiality and giddy thoughtlessness, to the formation of the true reflective womanly character. She would lead

them to reflection, to the fixing of opinions, and to the attainment of the high standard of feminine character which Christianity requires.

The book itself is simply a treatise on the science of mind. The title, by a singular misfit, suits only the Introduction and the Addenda; and these, being the properly theological part, might be shaped into a separate volume.

Early educated in the tenets of Calvinism, Miss Beecher's mind, after years of perplexity in its mazes, finally revolted from its authority. To its terrible influence in placing the authoritative expositions of the Bible in opposition to the dictates of common sense and the moral instincts of the human soul, she traces an immense amount of the fearful sum of infidelity with which our young America is appearing on the stage. Certainly it becomes the doctors of high predestinarian theology to pause and reflect whether this be not startlingly true. Yet we fear that with Miss Beecher, the reaction from Calvinism has tended far in the direction of Rationalism. There is a MEDIUM, between Calvinism on the one hand, and Pelagianism on the other, which it is her misfortune not to have had in early life presented to her notice; a *medium ground* where all the declarations of Scripture are fully satisfied, and where all the moral sense harmonizes with the teachings of Scripture.

(3.) "*An Exposition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, by CHARLES HODGE, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J., (12mo., pp. 373. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) Dr. Hodge excels as a commentator no less than as a theologian. His system reigns with pervading consistency and great logical power, through the entire mass of his various volumes. Indeed, we are tempted to say of him what was said, in a different sense, of Charles V., "He is a system and not a man." His expositions abound with the results without the ostentation of philology. The consulter is led insensibly to entertain a great reliance on his manly judgment and to respect his solid style.

In chapter iii, verse 13, Dr. Hodge holds the *fire* to be the testing fire of the judgment day. The *stubble* is the false doctrine which will then fail to stand; yet the man himself, if he build on Christ, shall narrowly escape.

In chapter xi, verse 10, the *power on her head* he holds to be the vail, so called as the symbol of the man's authority. The presence of the *angels* is adduced as a still stronger inducement for a solemn decency and decorum.

In chapter xv, verse 29, Dr. Hodge seems to incline to the opinion that St. Paul alludes to the heretical practice of vicarious baptism for catechumens, who had died previous to baptism; he gives, however, no positive decision.

Dr. Hodge also maintains the resurrection of the same body: but apparently nullifies his own doctrine by adding that there is no clear certainty in what the sameness consists. Undoubtedly, the fact that they will come forth from the graves where they are buried, shows that the same constituent particles of corporeal matter will form the *material* of the new body, otherwise it is *substitution* rather than *resurrection*. The body is different in its properties, and new in its reorganization; it is the same in its material substratum.

(4.) "*A Commentary, Critical, Expository, and Practical, on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark*, by JOHN J. OWEN, D.D., with a Map, Synoptical Index, etc." (12mo., pp. 501. New-York: Leavitt & Allen, 1857.) Everything from Dr. Owen's hand exhibits the marks of judgment and scholarship. This work will take a high stand in the estimation of the students of the New Testament. It is, in general, more free from doctrinal bias than a few passages like the following would indicate: "The duration of the siege (of Jerusalem) and all its attendant calamities had been fixed in the eternal counsels of God." Every crime, then, in that great series of iniquities, was simply an act of obedience to God's own will. Preach such a doctrine, and you make repentance an absurdity.

(5.) "*An Analytical Concordance to the Holy Scriptures;* or, the Bible presented under Distinct and Classified Heads or Topics. Edited by JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church. Author of 'Bible Cyclopedia,' 'Ecclesiastical Cyclopedia,' 'Concordance to the Holy Scriptures on the Basis of Cruden,' &c." (8vo., pp. 776. Boston: Gould & Lincoln; New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co.; Cincinnati: George L. Blanchard, 1857.) In this magnificent book the entire Scriptures are printed under classified heads. It forms a sort of complete concordance, not furnishing the passage containing a particular word or phrase, but the passage touching a particular topic.

(6.) "*Biblical Commentary on the New Testament*, by Dr. HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, Professor of Theology at Erlangen. Revised by A. C. KENDRICK, D.D., Professor in the University of Rochester." (Vol. III. 8vo., pp. 615. New-York: Sheldon, Blakeman, & Co., 1857.) This volume includes the closing part of the synoptical Gospels, the entire upon John, and Acts, and seven chapters of Romans.

II.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(7.) "*Life of Tai-Ping-Wang*, Chief of the Chinese Insurrection, by J. MILTON MACKIE." (12mo., pp. 350. New-York: Dix, Edwards, & Co., 1857.) Strange as it may seem, almost synchronously with the convulsions which, in 1848, shook the thrones of the West, the growing sense of oppression, and the powerful working of new religious ideas, gave birth to a wide-spread rebellion in the empire of China in the far East. The revolutions of Europe have already run their career. Not so, however, in China. Less impetuous, and more patient and persevering than their fellow-aspirants in Europe, their revolution has gradually but steadily increased; and, starting from the comparatively insignificant province of Kwang-si, situated in the southwestern portion of the empire, it has sent forth its augmenting and conquering armies throughout the west; has triumphantly passed the great Yang-tsze-kiang; has stationed its victorious forces within the walls of Nanking, the ancient capital

of the empire; has proclaimed its leader Emperor of China, and has hailed him as the founder of a new dynasty, and the deliverer of his country.

The origin of this revolution is as singular, as its great power and success are wonderful. Its leader is known to us under the titles of *T'een Tek*, "Celestial Virtue," and *Tai-ping-wang*, "Prince of Great Peace." The family name of Tai-ping-wang is Hung, a name honorable in China for its antiquity, and for its connection with some of the highest offices in the empire, under the old native régime. He was born in 1813, in a small village in the Hwa-hien district, about thirty miles distant from the city of Canton. At his birth he received the name of "Brilliant Fire;" but afterward, upon attaining the age of manhood, another name was given him, marking his relation to the Hung family; and subsequently he himself adopted Siu-tshuen, "Elegant and Perfect," as his literary designation. His father was poor and lived in very humble circumstances. "Brilliant Fire" was his third and youngest son, and while his two elder brothers assisted in the paddy fields, it fell to his lot to be set apart for a literary career. His career of academic education was brilliant until his examination for the degree of Siu-tsai, or Bachelor of Arts, at the provincial capital of Canton. Here he failed, less, perhaps, on account of his literary deficiency, than for the want of the *copper* to *fee* the examiners. He returned home disappointed, entered into the profession of school teaching, gave himself up to meditation and study, became first a Confucian philosopher, then a general skeptic, and in a few years returned again to Canton to try his fortune before the provincial examiners; but with no more success than before.

This time, however, he found what was infinitely better than the degree of Siu-tsai. Passing through the street, on the second day after his arrival at Canton, he met "a venerable man" with flowing sleeves and long beard, having in his arm a parcel of books consisting of nine small volumes, being a complete set of a work entitled "Good Words for Exhorting the Age;" the whole of which he gave Siu-tshuen, who, on his return, brought them home, glanced over their contents, and place them in his bookcase. This "venerable man" was Liang-afah, the first Christian convert in China, and then employed as an evangelist. Once more Siu-tshuen tried the provincial examination, and once more failed. He returned home broken in spirit, and was seized with a violent fit of sickness, the force of which spent itself on his overwrought brain. He soon became wildly delirious, and for several weeks was haunted by the most extraordinary visions, and appeared to be receiving the most wonderful revelations. He supposed himself to be taken up into heaven. Here he saw the "venerable father," and Jesus, "the elder brother," and received a commission, after himself being washed and made clean, to exterminate all idolatry from his country, to preach a new religion to his people, and "to purify the age." When he had recovered from his sickness, he was at a loss what to make of his wonderful dreams and visions. One day his eye fell on the books of Liang-afah, and he took them down from the shelf and gave them a careful perusal. Here he detected, as he thought, the true secret of his extraordinary experience.

He received the books and the visions, as coming from the same source;

adopted with eagerness the new truths; baptized himself, and became at once an enthusiastic reformer. His earnestness and enthusiasm soon won the whole Hung family to the new doctrines, and his bold and fearless preaching against idolatry, and strong assertion of his divine commission to destroy all idols and purify the age, soon spread his fame throughout the district and gained for him a large number of converts. From the books of Liang-afah, he drew a system of religion, and from the few intimations scattered through them, as well as from his own fertile imagination, he devised a form of worship.

The work before us minutely traces the history of these and the subsequent extraordinary events of the early reformative movements of this enthusiastic convert. The commission of Siu-tshuen to reform the age, and exterminate the demons, could not long fail of bringing him into conflict with the authorities. The opposition and violent persecution in this case, as in most others, served only to increase the fame of Siu-tshuen and add to the number of his followers, until in a very short time his adherents numbered two thousand in Kwang-si province. In 1850, a chain of hostile events which took place in the mountainous districts of Kwang-si, involved Siu-tshuen in actual conflict with the authorities. In the year 1849, there had broken out a contest between two classes of mountaineers, called the Puntis and the Hakkas; and the former proving victorious, large numbers of the Hakkas fled to the neighboring adherents of Siu-tshuen for protection. Being in no condition to make their own terms, these refugees readily consented to be converted, and accordingly were baptized and received into the society of the God-worshipers, as the new religionists were now called. While these greatly swelled the numbers of Siu's followers, they also exposed them to the ill-will of the Puntis and of the local magistrates. Some petty causes of quarrel soon sprang up, and as the combined forces of the Hakkas and God-worshipers were too strong for the other party, victory in several petty engagements fell on the side of Siu-tshuen.

Finding himself strong enough to resist the feeble and cowardly forces that could be brought against him, he now disclosed to his principal followers the secret thoughts and purposes which he had long cherished in his heart. "God," said he, "has divided the kingdoms of the world, and made the ocean to be a boundary for them, just as a father divides his estate among his sons, every one of whom ought to reverence the will of the father, and quietly manage his own property. Why should now these Manchus forcibly enter China, and rob their brothers of their estate?" These intimations of revolution were hailed by his followers; orders were issued for the gathering together of all the adherents at Thistle-mount; the banner of rebellion was unfurled; proclamations were issued, defining the objects of the movement to be, "the extermination of the demons of idolatry, the purifying of the age, the dethronement and expulsion of the hated Manchus, and the establishment of a native government, and the institution of the new religion of the worship of one God, the common heavenly father, and of one Saviour, the common heavenly brother." Siu-tshuen assumed the name of T'een-tek, was recognized as a great politico-religious revolutionist, and the new army of patriots and iconoclasts moved forward to the conquest of China. Victory attended them

in almost every engagement; the disaffected flocked in thousands to the standard of revolution; they were received, indoctrinated, baptized, and pledged to the new faith, and in less than two years Tai-ping-wang, with an army of eighty thousand men, besides a host of women and children, took possession of Nanking, the ancient capital of the empire.

Two powerful elements are at work in this revolution, patriotism and religion. The fundamental principle is the emancipation of China from the domination of a foreign people. The Chinese have always fretted under the Manchu yoke. Their submission from the first has been only apparent. They felt and acknowledged themselves vanquished, and submitted because they were hopeless of successful resistance. Two hundred years passed away before the events of the empire awakened in the minds of the people a suspicion that the government might be successfully combated, and the people be able to assert and maintain their independence. The wish to be free has always been present with the people, but the circumstances under which that wish might be manifested have only recently evolved themselves. But there is another, and, we are satisfied, even more powerful element at work in this movement. It bears a religious feature, which, viewed in any light, is striking and even wonderful. That a great heathen empire, submerged for four thousand years in idolatry, should suddenly become the theater of a great religious revolution, springing up within itself, and in an incredibly short space of time overrunning one half of its territory, and gathering to itself hundreds of thousands of its people, is an historical occurrence which neither the philosopher nor the Christian can view without profound interest. That religious forces are powerfully at work in the revolution of China, is a fact which admits of no doubt.

What is to be the result of this movement, cannot at present be foreseen. In the language of our author, "the struggle may, indeed, be continued for a considerable number of years to come; the Chinese civil wars have generally been of long duration. That the insurgents may become divided among themselves, is, of course, possible. But their unanimity hitherto is no sign of future discord. They are led on by a mind the most gifted, perhaps, which has illustrated the annals of China since the days of Confucius; a mind of strong convictions, steady purposes, and of indomitable energy; a mind which has inspired the leaders of the insurrection with its own heroism, has kept them in perfect subjection, and has led them from Kwang-si to Nanking in an uninterrupted march of triumph, to be paralleled only by the conquests of the greatest captains of the East." If left alone to work out its own results, we believe the revolution would make the conquest of China. But already the opinion of our author seems about to be realized, namely, "that the nations of the West will finally interfere in this war of the two dynasties, and will throw the weight of their swords into one scale or the other." The movements of Tai-ping-wang must be lost sight of, for some time, in the more threatening hostilities of China and Great Britain, and the future result of the revolution must be profoundly involved in the present issues between the government of Heen-fung and foreign nations.

The "Life of Tai-ping-wang" is an interesting and valuable book, written

in a most pleasing and readable style. The very events which it records give it an air of romance, while, at the same time, it is reliable as an accurate historical exposition of this great revolutionary movement. The work is accompanied by an extended Appendix of official and authentic documents, such as proclamations, edicts, creeds, rituals, laws, government, etc., of the new dynasty, making the book altogether a valuable accessory to the library of any who are concerned in the affairs of China. J. W.

(8.) "*The New-England History*, from the Discovery of the Continent by the Northmen, A.D. 986, to the period when the Colonies declared their Independence, A.D. 1776, by CHARLES W. ELLIOTT, Member of the New-York, Ohio, and Connecticut Historical Societies." (2 vols., 8vo., pp. 500, 492. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.) This is certainly a very readable history. It is thorough in its collection of facts; it is animated with a truly living spirit; on the great subjects of human rights and abhorrence of oppression, whether by pope, potentate, or planter, the author has a large heart occupying the right locality in his "*physique*." It gives a very lively picture of the New-England of the past, by anecdotes and by *documents*, not fused, as a Bancroft or Robertson would have done it, into the texture of the style, but transferred verbatim into the pages of the volume. Thus we have a poem by Franklin and his speech of Polly Baker, (containing rather licentious language,) the entire twenty-five verses of the ballad on Captain Kidd, the Saybrook Platform, with every plank and nail, and the mortal entirety of the Westminster Catechism.

The work would be valuable to all professors of rhetoric, in obtaining specimens of every kind of defect of style, and illustrating every sort of violation of the rules of good sense in composition. Especially are there upon every few pages specimens of the uncouth, the tawdry, the shallow-profound, the vulgar, or even the colloquially profane. Under each of these heads we have penciled a few passages, all from the second volume:

The Uncouth.—"Governor Haynes was the *strongest* man in the first company that settled Connecticut."—P. 34. Whether Governor Haynes was strongest in his arms, legs, or head, is not said.

"It is told *how* one of his waggish neighbors was applied to by a traveling tinker for a job. Not having anything to mend, he said, 'I have nothing, but I advise you to go to neighbor Saltonstall, who has a "Saybrook Platform," which needs *tinkering badly*.'"—P. 35.

"He was hanged at Execution Dock, May 12, 1701; and *all England was agog* with the doings of the pirate Kidd."—P. 59.

"Before he could do these things, *he ran against Colonel Johnson* on the shores of Lake George."—P. 99.

The Tawdry.—"Most New-England children, whether educated in Episcopacy or out of it, remember with delight the preparation for Christmas; how through the snow they went out for evergreens, and brought back loads of 'Christmas,' with which to dress and ornament the little country church; how, evening after evening, the girls and boys, with a few matrons, collected

together to wind these into wreaths, and fashion them into stars and mottoes; and that many a love matter had its small beginning at such times. And when the Church was trimmed, and 'Christmas Eve' came, the eyes of every child sparkled as *through each pane of the windows of the little Church the little candles shot out streams of bright light over the glittering snow.* And when in the singer's gallery, half hidden among the trees, the blushing country maidens stood with wreaths on their heads, and sung out that beautiful hymn, beginning,

'While shepherds kept their flocks by night,'

then the *growing men below saw angels there*, whom they never forgot; and in the fullness of time they returned, and bore away one of them, *and together were translated, not as Enoch was, but to a kind of heaven here below.*"—Pp 220, 221.

The Shallow-Profound.—"Meanness of spirit is certainly to be regretted, and to be *fled from;* but he who flies from New-England in search of Paradise, will probably compass the earth and come back to New-England without having found it. Men and women, there as elsewhere, *ought* to be open-minded and open-hearted; but they do well to avoid the loose and lavish habits of courtly people, when indulged at the cost of honor, and conscience, and comfort. Let every nation make the most of its virtues, and repel its vices without delay. Let every man enjoy all the good wherever he is, and learn quickly that all people and all nations have their good side, which he will try to appreciate, *if he is not a* FOOL (!!!")—P. 16.

"In New-England, women were never made the slaves or inferiors of men; they were co-equal in social life, and held a position superior to that held by them in England. Society did not then, however, *recognize their political rights*, and it *does not yet, there or elsewhere;* their right to own property is now generally allowed.

"There were few books in New-England once, and *women got knowledge by word of mouth*—they do it still (!)

"There seems to have existed a surprising and unnatural development of that peculiar and delightful organ, *the tongue;* for we find included in the earliest and most important laws in Rhode Island, and other colonies, this one:

"'It is ordered, Common Scolds shall be punished by the Ducking Stoole.'

"We can only infer, that there were women then who were a public nuisance, *and are lost in wonder;* the historian commends the fact to the notice of those who are regretting that they do not live in those 'good old times.'

"Young, unmarried women, however beautiful or accomplished, were known under the singular generic name of '*gals*,' and it is yet a common title. It seems to be a corruption of the word girl, and a singularly inveterate one. Fathers were in the habit of saying, '*my gals*,' and sweethearts spoke of blushing maidens in the same way, as '*my gal*.' It certainly fails to impress one, in this day, as elegant or necessary.

"We know (for the New-England Records tell us how Hanniel Bosworth's daughter was fined 5s. for wearing silk) that brocades rustled then as finely as they do now, that hoops amplified the lower parts, and that stays made

strange work with the bodies of women; and *we also know that some deacons' wives were as bad as any other.*"—Pp. 17, 18. (Any other what?)

"The children probably had as poor a time as any portion of the people, for the prevailing principles did not favor too much gayety. Besides the catechisms, which were apt to prove indigestible to children, there was an infinite quantity of work to be done, and both women and children were required to do their share. To the latter fell a class of work known by the Saxon word 'Chores;' and these chores they were deputed to do, morning and night, besides their school duty; they consisted of *bringing in the wood, feeding and milking the cow, taking her to and from pasture, picking up chips, making snow paths*, going of innumerable '*arrants*,' carrying cold victuals to the poor, and so on, the odds and ends of dayly life. This early inured children to the responsibility of life; and although it made them old before their time, it guarded them from that levity and recklessness which has ruined many a fine promise, and wrecked many a high hope. There is much truth in the fine old verse,

'All work and no play
Makes Jack a dull boy;
But all play and no work
Makes him a mere toy.'"—Pp. 24, 25.

"The prevailing religious opinion of New-England was strongly *committed to the importance* of the devil and his agents; and his power was believed, by many, to be *equal*, if not *superior to that of God* (!) This belief has always given singular importance to a priesthood, who were supposed to be able to withstand or cajole him; and acting against him, the clergy of New-England were of consequence, in the eyes of the people, as well as in their own. The few who urged the Almighty power of God, and the certainty of evil being overcome with good, and resisted this belief, whether among the clergy or laity, were easily silenced by the cry of sadduceeism and infidelity, which was sprung upon them."—P. 43.

"Those who have been led to think that *these religious excitements were the work of God, rather than of men*, will do well to remember, that they never came in times of war, or when the minds of people were already occupied; and that usually they followed a dull condition of the public mind, and always were brought to pass at a season of the year when the work of the farmer does not press. *No revivalist preacher would now attempt an excitement in the month of May.*"—P. 143.

The Vulgar.—Colloquial vulgarisms are especially and unnecessarily given in numerous trashy anecdotes. Some of the anecdotes are amusing and pointed; a large number are very flat.

The Profane.—The word *damned*, or *damn'd*, in its colloquially profane sense, seems to be a favorite, as it occurs several times in the anecdotes in the course of a few pages. The following two sentences occur on the same page. "Hang, and be *damned!*" "Gentlemen," he said, "this is one way to make Whigs, but, *by heavens*, 'twill do it!"—P. 374.

There is not, probably, a well-written chapter in the book. Would the author put the mass of valuable matter into the hands of some literary man, possessed, not only of his own free, living spirit, but of suitable literary qualifications,

and a little less inclined to the irreligious, the public might, as it ought, receive a book not only readable like this, but worthy to stand on the same shelf with the works of Prescott and Bancroft. We have done our critical duty, no more, no less, in making this statement. And we do this all the more thoroughly because these volumes have been indorsed so easily by leading New-England religious periodicals, one of the ablest of which (The New-Englander) quotes the following solecism without rebuke: "His quickness of *insight*, and his fervid *imagination*, though *they* led him to see and maintain the noblest truths, *they* also *led* him to advocate opinions, which may be called fantastic, such as the 'gift of tongues' and 'power of prophecy' in the true ministry."

(9.) "*Greece and the Greeks of the Present Day*, by EDMOND ABOUT." (12mo., pp. 360. New-York: Dix, Edwards, & Co., 1857.) M. About landed at Piræus on the 9th of February, 1852; and we infer from his book that his stay in Greece was of considerable length. The pages before us are devoted exclusively to the Greeks of the present day, and aim to convey a vivid portraiture of the country and its inhabitants, their arts and manufactures, commerce, domestic life, government, religion, and finance, the royal court and the state of society. Our author gives us a systematic view of his observations, rather than a consecutive narrative of his travels and intercourse with the people. The plan, however, is better than its execution. The style is that of a flippant Frenchman, who continually leads the reader to suspect that accuracy of representation may have been sacrificed, to allow him to point a jest or introduce a *bon mot*; and this fault is rather exaggerated than concealed by the awkwardness of the English version. A more serious defect in M. About's work is the *animus* pervading it. There is a view of the condition of any country, which, however true it may be, is not fair and comprehensive. It would be no difficult task, by collecting all the floating scandal of the most virtuous community, to make it appear a very sink of corruption. The duty of a faithful traveler is very different from this. From the mass of information which he has collected in the country he has visited, he should select such materials as will properly illustrate both the good and bad features of its civilization. If he acts otherwise, and gives an undue preponderance to either, he utterly deprives his readers, as well as himself, of the means of forming an impartial estimate of its condition. M. About has fallen into the error of making his book a repository of gossip. With little sympathy for the Greek race, in either ancient or modern times, he undertakes to support the position taken by a countryman of his, at the beginning of this century: "Monsieur, c'est la même canaille qu'au temps de Themistocle!" Consequently he pays little attention to the wonderful progress of intelligence and refinement, and to that remarkable school system which bids fair to rival that of the most polished nations of Europe. "The only thing I admire in public education in Greece," says M. About, "is that it is gratuitous for all classes, from the village schools up to the classes of the university."—(P. 173.) Of the value of the latter, at present barely twenty years old, he judges by instituting a comparison with the time-honored halls of the Sorbonne.

Considerable sensation is said to have been created at Athens by the descrip-

tions which M. About gives of the depredations of the Klefts, or mountain-robbers; and a certain patriotic Greek writer undertook to apologize for them, as the champions of Greek independence. But whatever may have been their character during the dominion of the Turks and at the commencement of the revolution, it cannot be denied that theirs is a system of highway robbery which can claim no sympathy from a Christian philanthropist. At the same time, we think that M. About has given an exaggerated view of this brigandage, which has certainly been entirely suppressed throughout the whole of Peloponnesus. That it should maintain its ground a while longer in Northern Greece, whence, on approach of danger, the robbers are accustomed to take refuge over the mountains into Turkish territory, is not astonishing, when the rugged character of the country is taken into consideration. It will be idle to expect the government to show much energy in this direction, while its attention is constantly drawn to the imperious demands of the three allied powers, and its hands paralyzed by the presence of foreign troops. B.

(10.) "*Brief Recollections* of the Rev. GEORGE WASHINGTON WALKER, by the Rev. M. P. GADDIS." (12mo., pp. 538. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1857.) The Rev. George W. Walker was a member of the Cincinnati Conference, and was one of the representatives of that body in the last General Conference. He had previously been elected, several times, as delegate to represent the Ohio Conference before it was divided, and always enjoyed the esteem and confidence of his brethren in the ministry. The incidents furnished by Mr. Gaddis, in connection with his early life and conversion, together with those of his career as an itinerant in the West, are of a deeply interesting and instructive character. As a biography, the book is very readable and entertaining, and will, doubtless, be perused with interest by the numerous friends of the deceased. S.

(11.) "*Stories of the Island World*, by CHARLES NORDHOFF, author of "Man of War Life," "The Merchant Vessel," etc. (18mo., pp. 315. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Mr. Nordhoff's name is pleasantly familiar to the readers of the Ladies' Repository, and we doubt not his animated style of narrative and description will render the present volume acceptable, especially to the juveniles, who may like to take the tour of the Island World with him. It is a varied and picturesque route, abounding in attractive views of nature, but repulsive views of humanity. "All but the spirit of man is Divine." When shall the Gospel breathe the Divine life and develop the Divine image in that depraved mass?

(12.) "*The North and South:* being a Statistical View of the Condition of the Free and Slave States, by HENRY CHASE and C. H. SANBORN. Compiled from Official Documents." (12mo., pp. 191. Cleveland, Ohio: Henry P. B. Jewett, 1857.) This is an invaluable book for North and South, and contains truth that both North and South will learn to a common advantage. It ought to be in every freeman's hands, and especially in every slaveholder's. It is a true Union saver. The Union can never be rescued by compromises

or bargains, by silencing discussion, or "suppressing abolitionism." It is not *freedom* which threatens the Union, but *slavery*. And the Union can be saved, not by invading the rights of freemen, but by limiting and diminishing that servile cause of all our discord and all our danger. Now, this book lays before us the path of peace and union by the route of freedom. Its argument is founded, not upon moral philosophy, but arithmetic. It appeals, not to the rights of man, but to the interests of men. It shows that slavery does not PAY, but that its cessation would. Tell a man that he is prosecuting a dishonest or a shameful business, and there is a tolerable danger that he will flash and refuse to hear; but show him that his business is unprofitable, and that you can point him the way to wealth and prosperity, his eye will brighten and his ear open. Now the demonstrative truths of political economy show that the disuse of slave labor and the basing the prosperity of our entire country upon free principles would *enrich the South;* would spread fertile farms over her soil, dot her territories with thrifty villages, enlarge her capitals with city blocks, fill her ports with commerce, and her merchant's coffers with wealth, as well as unite our states in harmony, and restore the happy reign of ancient concord.

A large part of the work is devoted to demonstrating the very great and very unfair political advantages afforded to the South over the North in our federal compact. Some of them are of a startling nature, and ought to be well understood and weighed. But it is not to this part we intend to direct our attention. The various modes in which slavery at present renders the South poor and degraded in wealth, in education, in morals, are here depicted; but the *one special point* to which we call attention is, *impoverishment by depreciation in the value of lands*. The statistics show a regular and rapidly descending sliding scale from North to South. Mount a pair of hundred mile boots, and starting from the Pennsylvania line, march toward the Gulf, and at every step you take, though the soil may oft grow richer, the price grows uniformly cheaper. You leave it at New-Jersey worth *forty-three dollars*, and you find it in South Carolina worth *one dollar and a quarter*. The proximity of a free state, though it thin the phalanx of slaves, enhances the price of the soil; and every slave that escapes, *by the very act* leaves behind him more than his own value. Plans of emancipation are vainly hatched by our Northern theorists, by way, perhaps, of amusement; for the South has been too busy in plans of slavery extension to notice these fabrics of moonshine. But what shows the futility of these plans is the demonstrable fact, as shown in this valuable book, that *the South would be immensely richer to-morrow by the cessation of slavery*. Freedom would pay for itself and emancipation prove a profitable job. "Thus, the figures show that Tennessee could afford, for the sake of freedom, to sacrifice the whole value of her quarter of a million of slaves, and pay in addition the sum of $185,749,446. For the sake of a free neighbor, and to bring up their lands to the value of those of Maryland, the states of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, could afford to sacrifice the whole of their own slaves, pay for those of Tennessee, and make $439,958,405 by the bargain; which sum is considerably more than twice the present value of all their lands. Nay, these states could afford to send off, singly, every slave within their limits, in a coach with two horses, and provisions for a year, if they could but bring up

the value of their lands to that of the land in Northern Maryland. Indignation, and patriotism, and dissolution of the Union, indeed, if a fugitive now and then be not reclaimed! South Carolina could afford to pay every year more money than she spent in the whole Revolutionary war, to make her whole number of slaves fugitives; and then make money enough by the transaction to fence in the whole state with a picket fence, to prevent their return."—P. 45.

Now we rejoice in these facts, and rejoice in their diffusion through the public mind as causes and tokens of returning peace and union to our country. They are a dawning light in a dark sky. We cheerfully hope that the day is not distant when the ignorant fanaticism of pro-slavery propagandism will burn out, when the vile craft of political pro-slavery demagogism will break down, and returning common sense, guided by a view of her own welfare, will prompt the South to the path of the truest freedom and the richest prosperity. The broken fraternal bonds of Church and State may be then restored; the tarnish which dims the fine gold of Southern piety may be wiped off; the same Episcopal hands may then again consecrate our ministry from Maine to Texas; and brethren, long separated, may yet shake hands upon the common platform of freedom and religion. We do not believe in a semi-pagan "manifest destiny." But we have faith in the grand designs of a gracious Providence for our great united country. We have a cheery hope that the dark cloud of plantation despotism will disappear, and that rational liberty and pure piety, the English language, Republican institutions, and the Protestant religion, will spread their benign existence over our entire continent.

(13.) "*The Student's Gibbon.* The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by EDWARD GIBBON, Abridged. Incorporating the Researches of recent Commentators, by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D., editor of the Classical and Latin Dictionaries. Illustrated by One Hundred Engravings on Wood." (12mo., pp. 677. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) We have called Gibbon's the greatest of histories. And when we send our memory through its vast and varied apartments, we look upon it as one of the greatest monuments extant, as the product of a single mind. We suppose it is right to reduce it into a symmetrical abridgment. It is the few, indeed, probably the *very* few, that master the great original. Here it is in its trimmed and compressed form, still a great book; still a discipline and a treasury for the mind. That it is well done, the great erudition and solid judgment of Dr. Smith are guarantees.

(14.) "*Life Among the Indians;* or, Personal Reminiscences and Historical Incidents, Illustrative of Indian Life and Character, by RA-WAH-WAH. Edited by D. W. CLARK, D.D." (12mo., pp. 548. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe.) Lo, here is a book by an Indian chief; a real *native* of pure breed. Ra-wah-wah belongs to a very large and powerful tribe living on both sides the Rocky Mountains. They are a people somewhat civilized, and, to a great extent, profess to be Christians, though it must be confessed a large part of their conduct but poorly sustains the profession, being, to a great degree, a hard-drinking, marauding, oppressive race.

Rah-wah-wah, notwithstanding the badness of the breed, is a very brave, stout-built, mild-looking old chief. He is a great speaker, and has labored with much success among both his own and other tribes. His narrative commences with the first settlement of the Northwestern Territory, and, though somewhat marvelous, is very intelligent, and no doubt perfectly reliable. The book in its different pages presents in unconscious but powerful contrast, the opposites of Pagan savagism and Christian civilization. The narrative of the massacre of the Moravian Indians, and the terrible vengeance upon Colonel Crawford, present pages of torture for the reader. The bold figure of Tecumseh stands out in fresh, real life. Of the various portraitures of Indian chiefs, the most truly striking is that of Keokuk. He is the finest character in our wilderness history, Red Jacket not excepted. Keokuk is the forest Pericles; the warrior, the orator, the statesman, the accomplished lover of the beautiful, and the instinctive master of human nature, he is in no respect the natural inferior of his brilliant Athenian prototype. His management to arrest his countrymen in the purpose of joining Black Hawk, is one of the finest strokes on record.

We omitted to say that Rah-wah-wah belongs to the tribe of Pale Faces, by whom he is called James B. Finley; familiarly, Father Finley. Perhaps our readers have heard of him.

(15.) "*Heroines of Methodism;* or, Pen and Ink Sketches of the Mothers and Daughters of the Church, by Rev. GEORGE COLES." (12mo., pp. 336. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) Religion calls out all the heroism of man's nature, but it is the very field for the purer heroism of her who was last at the cross and earliest at the tomb. The developments of our own peculiar Church history have drawn into history many a noble specimen of the sex, which, weaker though it be in physical power, is stronger in the moral and the spiritual. Mr. Coles has here presented us a series of portraits, or rather miniatures, which the—*ladies?* no—women, of our present living Church will contemplate with pleasure and study as examples. Our only regret is that so many of the biographies are so brief; while we assure our readers that none of them will be found too long. Let this fine volume be found on every parlor table through all our denomination.

(16.) "*Recollections of a Superannuate;* or, Sketches of Life, Labor, and Experience in the Methodist Itinerancy, by Rev. DAVID LEWIS, of the Ohio Conference. Edited by Rev. S. M. MERRILL." (12mo., pp. 311. Cincinnati: Printed at the Methodist Book Concern, for the author.) Mr. Lewis has given us a book which will possess much interest for many readers. Some of the dwellers on the banks of Lake Champlain and the Hudson will delight to read of stirring events which occurred in those regions forty years ago. The inhabitants of Ohio will learn what the Lord hath done in many parts of their noble state in later years. Sketches of scenes in which McKendree, George, Merwin, Ostrander, and many others took part, will be perused with pleasure and profit by some who knew and many who have heard of those deceased men of God.

E. O.

(17.) "*Arctic Adventure by Sea and Land*, from the Earliest Date to the Last Expeditions in Search of Sir John Franklin. Edited by EPES SARGENT. With Maps and Illustrations." (12mo., pp. 480. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co., 1857.) A volume of great interest, both scientific and popular. The entire history of the fascinating adventures of arctic discovery is here furnished in manual form, drawn from the most authentic sources, adorned with the amplest illustrations, and invested by Mr. Sargent with an attractive style. Nearly the entire of the first three chapters is occupied with the details of the primitive explorers after the Northmen; namely, the Cabots, Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, Baffin, Behring, Mackenzie, and others. Their names, by a peculiarly appropriate compensation, are made immortal and common as school-room words, by being spread upon the maps of the regions they explored. But by far the principal bulk of the book, comprehending more than seventeen chapters, is occupied with the achievments of the present generation. The stalwart forms of Ross, Franklin, Parry, McClure, and Kane, with others, heroes and martyrs of science, march in brave procession before us.

(18.) "*Pictures of Slavery in Church and State;* including Personal Reminiscences, Biographical Sketches, etc., with an Appendix containing the Views of John Wesley and Richard Watson on Slavery, by Rev. JOHN DIXON LONG, a Superannuated Minister of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church." (12mo., pp. 410. Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1857.) Mr. Long is a native of Maryland, and the son of a slaveholder. He had resolved to brave the reproach of being called "an abolitionist" in his native state; but repugnance to subjecting a rising family to the influences of the system, induced him to remove northward. But removal from the system did not remove him from among its supporters. A sense of the guilt of northern advocacy of slavery induced him to devote the hours of feeble health to preparing his testimony to the facts upon which the world should form its judgment. Having prepared his work, no Philadelphia publisher would assume the responsibility, and, though possessed of little money to lose, he publishes at his own risk.

A glance at the work induces us to think that it furnishes something of what is needed—*an unimpeachable statement of facts.* Good or evil, let us know the truth. Let falsehood, cowardice, and concealment stand aside; and let the light of the sun shine on all its parts and transactions. Take off the enchanting mask, and let the apologizing part of the church see for what it is they are pleading. Let it be bought, read, and judged by the thinking public.

(19.) "*History of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by Dr. EMORY." This work has been revised and brought down to the present time by W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D. The changes which have been made in the Discipline since 1813, when the work was first published, have been all incorporated in their appropriate places and under their respective dates. The whole forms a complete digest of the doctrines, government, and economy of the Church from the beginning, and should be in the hands of every administrator of discipline in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

(20.) "*The Norse Folk;* or, a Visit to the Homes of Norway and Sweden, by CHARLES LORING BRACE, author of Hungary in 1851." (12mo., pp. 516. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.) We regret that space does not allow us to give a full notice of Mr. Brace's visit to the home of his ancestors. It is a vivid picture of a peculiar people.

(21.) "*The Christian Doctrine of Slavery*, by GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, D.D., pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Norfolk, Va." (12mo., pp. 148. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.)

(22.) "*A Report of the Decisions of the Dred Scott Case.*" (8vo., pp. 633. New-York: Appleton & Co., 1857.)

(23.) "*Star of Bethlehem, and other Stories:* Book of Sunday Pictures."

(24.) "*The Good Shepherd:* Book of Sunday Pictures."

(25.) "*The Boys and Girls' Illustrated Bird Book*, by JULIA COLMAN."

We cannot help it. We must give Carlton & Porter a puff. These last three books are the very flower of young literature. They are written in simple style and short words. And the pictures are colored with the richest splendor. No live peacock ever unfolded a more brilliant tail than glitters on one of these pages. These books are at the head of the art in this country.

III.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(26.) "*Lectures on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery*, by WILLIAM A. SMITH, D.D., President of Randolph Macon College." (12mo., pp. 328. Nashville, Tenn.: Stevenson & Evans, 1856.) Dr. Smith is an eloquent preacher and an able thinker of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Our only personal recollection of his noble person and sonorous voice points to a moment in the Conference of 1844, when he paced backward and forward in the chancel of our Greene-street Church, like a magnificent lion, chafed and roaring, wounded by the keen and skillful shafts of the Baltimore archer.*

* Since the above allusion flowed from our pen, the Rev. JOHN A. COLLINS has himself succumbed to the "insatiate archer." He has gone from the scenes of sublunary excitement and the mists of earthly misunderstanding, to the upper clearness and calm. Would that the departure of our brother might aid in purifying our struggle for apparent right, from every alloy of earthly passion. Would that the same Divine Master that takes one and another from the moral battle, would shed a chastening influence over those who still wage the sacred contest. So shall their eye be single, their aim pure, and their hearts enjoy a blessed calm in the midst of the commotion.

Our allusion above indicates the point in Mr. Collins's history which will be most gratefully remembered by the general Church, as well as by the cause of advancing humanity and truth. The noble stand taken by him and his colleagues in the General Conference of 1841, furnishes the brilliant passage of his history. In the case of Francis A. Harding, brought up from the Baltimore Conference, which preceded the case of Bishop Andrew, and in fact decided it beforehand, they earnestly besought the General Conference, by every argument and supplication, *not to force a slaveholder into their ranks.*

Every human institution that claims permanent existence or power must have its *theory*, and demands a philosopher to construct it. Popery established transubstantiation, and mental philosophy had to be reshaped to fit to it. Charles II. desired to establish an English despotism, and Hobbism came into existence to justify it. Slavery has made up its mind to stay a while; its theory is now being constructed, and one of its philosophers is Dr. Smith. It is a benevolent wish we utter, when we pray, as we cheerfully hope, that this talented gentleman may live to be as ashamed of his book as we are ashamed of him.

There are at the present time three simultaneous causes at work in the venerable Ancient Dominion which must speedily put domestic despotism out of existence, and Dr. Smith's book out of employ. First, Virginia, in spite of her

They unanimously maintained that such exclusion had ever been their LAW; and they deprecated as an unspeakable evil its infringement or its reversal. This was spoken at a time when it was liable to cost something; when they were not on trial for being pro-slavery, but anti-slavery; and was therefore, beyond all question, sincere and TRUE. It shows, too, that when adjacent conferences, as Virginia, had yielded, and when the nation was asleep on the subject, a PROTEST of FREEDOM had there been sleeplessly maintained. We are not ready to be convinced that a gratuitous apostasy from that protest has since occurred. There are marks of genuine stuff here not easily obscured; not at all certainly by any counter proof yet furnished. If they seem a little too sleepy now we are awake, let us not forget that they waked, long and lone, when we were asleep.

The undivided and unhesitating course of Mr. Collins and his colleagues in the case of Harding, reined up the General Conference to the unwavering point, and did an incalculable service to the cause of freedom at a crisis. The course of that General Conference was certainly indecisive enough; and there is no knowing how the center might have flagged had not the border stood perpendicular, and, in fact, boldly led the way.

The chagrin of Dr. Smith and his adherents could not be concealed. "The Southern party," exclaimed he, in his high dictatorial tones, "are composed of thirteen annual conferences: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Holston, Kentucky, Tennessee, Memphis, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas. Why the Baltimore should be left out of this category, *the delegates from this conference* MUST ANSWER." ("We *can answer*, responded many voices.") "And *I forewarn you that you will have to* ANSWER it to the members and other citizens of Maryland and Virginia within your conference bounds." This crack of the plantation lash only served to render the defeat of the Rev. overseer a little more conspicuous. "Let New-England *go!* Let New-England *go!*" vociferated George F. Pierce; but New-England did not "*go*," while Georgia *did* have leave to "*go*," with her *Georgey* included, where, we trust, that both will have leave *to stay*.

The position which Mr. Collins at that time understood his conference to occupy, is indicated by these memorable words: "She wishes to preserve the members of her body disconnected with slavery, that the influence of their example may tell silently *and surely* AGAINST ITS PERPETUATION." These are prophetic words. This is the most memorable sentence that voice ever uttered. It repudiated the perpetuation of slavery; it thereby pointed to an expected period when abolition shall be accomplished. Whether the seer that beheld that *period* in the distance, recognized the sight of its closer approach; or whether he slid into the impression that the "*breakwater*" office was to be perpetual, is a point on which we are not fully informed. But the growing impression, whether true or false, with our Church, that he forgetfully and unnecessarily refused to rise with the rising omens of the age, that he dictatorially assumed the maintenance of an unyielding suppressor over every advance of free sentiment, through the entire Church, and that, too, amid the most startling aggressions of despotism, did tend to narrow the great reputation of this eminent man, and obscure his welcome and cordial influence with the general Church. But for this lamentable isolation, far greater and more genial would have been the living reputation, and far more general and deep the appreciation by our Church of her loss in the departure of JOHN A. COLLINS.

intense negrophilism, is rapidly and wisely (as the world goes) selling her slaves to the South; second, a large section of that population are expeditiously stampeding it, via the underground railroad, in contempt of Fugitive Slave Laws, toward the North star, with much more probability of arriving at it than of being remanded into slavery; third, the destruction of the soil and the sixpenny cheapness of its price will invite a free emigration and a market, which heavy taxes and approaching bankruptcy will compel the land owners, in spite of an absurd dread of being robbed of their poverty and reduced to free affluence, greedily to accept. Thence a new prosperity will arise. New blood will be infused into old decrepitude. Without any diminution of those noble traits for which the heart and soul of old Virginia have been celebrated, a career of honor lies before her which will enable her to emulate her ancient renown.

We are not solicitous to defend the principles of liberty which our fathers held, and upon which our right to national existence was based, against our learned Virginia doctor. We would as soon think of setting up a defense of the science of Geometry against some moonstruck assailant. The man who attacks axioms stultifies himself. Dr. Smith cannot come into court, any more than a second Dred Scott. His absurd case is unworthy a hearing, and of itself rules itself out of discussion. The stipendiaries of the oligarchy can have it all their own way on their own grounds, especially within the pale of Lynch Law. We think, however, the outside world, including Christendom "and the rest of mankind," is in no haste to reverse the primary principles of right, of universal freedom, of political economy, to provide full play to slavery for her prohibition of instruction, her nullification of the marriage contract, her overseer's whip, and her negro auctions. Yet it is worth while, perhaps, for a moment to exhibit the concrete for which Dr. Smith constructs the abstract. Let us contrast the Virginia which God intended with the Virginia which Dr. Smith and his plantation clients have made.

Look on this picture:

"Said Sir Thomas Dale, in 1612, speaking of Virginia, 'Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country either for commodities or goodness of soil.' Says Beverley at a later period: 'In extreme fruitfulness, it (Virginia) is exceeded by no other. No seed is sown there but it thrives, and most of the Northern plants are improved by being transplanted thither.' Says Lane, the Governor of Raleigh Colony, in 1585, speaking of Virginia and Carolina: 'It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven, the most pleasing territory of the world. The climate is so wholesome that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it.'"—*North and South*, p. 53.

And then on this:

"Said Henry A. Wise, in 1855, during his canvass for governor, speaking to the Virginians: 'You all own plenty of land, but it is poverty added to poverty. Poor land added to poor land, and nothing added to nothing makes nothing; while the owner is talking politics at Richmond, or in Congress, or

spending the summer at the White Springs, the lands grow poorer and poorer, and this soon brings land, negroes, and all, under the hammer. You have the owners skinning the negroes, and the negroes skinning the land, until all grow poor together. You have relied alone on the single power of agriculture, and such agriculture! Your sedge-patches outshine the sun; your inattention to your only source of wealth has scared the bosom of mother earth. Instead of having to feed cattle on a thousand hills, you have to chase the stump-tailed steer through the sedge-patches to procure a tough beef-steak."—*North and South*, p. 55.

Happy is the land blessed with such statesmen, philosophers, and divines, as Henry A. Wise, Professor Bledsoe, and Dr. Smith! Blight, mildew, and weevil could not be a more propitious trio.

(27.) "*Moral and Religious Sketches and Collections*, with Incidents of Ten Years' Itinerancy in the West, by Rev. ANDREW CARROLL, A.M." (12mo., pp. 392. Cincinnati: Printed at the Methodist Book Concern for the Author, 1857.) This is a volume of miscellanies, upon which the author has employed his leisure hours. They are autobiographical and moral, original and selected. The author intends adding one or two more volumes. We presume they will be acceptable to a wide circle of friends.

IV.—*Belles Lettres.*

(28.) "*Biographical and Historical Sketches*, by T. B. Macaulay." (12mo., pp. 335. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1857.) A few of these sketches are taken from the Encyclopedia Britannica; the remainder are extracted from Macaulay's histories and reviews. It is unnecessary to say, that of the art of portraying character Macaulay is a great master. His pen has rendered history more attractive than romance. If there be fault, it is the very relentlessness of its unsoftened brilliancy.

(29.) "*Ballyshan Castle*, a Tale Founded on Fact, by SHEELAH. By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter.—Heb. xi, 24." (New-York: N. Tibbals, 118 Nassau-street, 1857.) The powers of imagination and fancy have been so grievously prostituted to unholy purposes, that we are suspicious of everything which they originate. Once in a great while, however, they find their legitimate sphere, and by powerful delineations of important truths do good service against the vices and superstitions of the age. Exactly this is what may be claimed for them in the production of "Ballyshan Castle." The staple of the book, we learn from the preface, is sober matter of fact, and its grand purpose is to expose the proscriptions and madness of Romanism, and bring out the true heroism of the Protestant faith. The style is good, the

reading lively, pleasing, and instructive, and some of the scenes are deeply affecting. It will, we believe, do good. We happen to know the writer as a worthy Christian lady. J. T. P.

(30.) "*Louisa Von Plettenhaus*, the Journal of a Poor Young Lady." (18mo., pp. 233. New-York: Francis & Co.) A religious narrative elegantly translated from the German; published in the usual graceful style of Francis & Co.

V.—*Miscellaneous.*

(31.) "*Ministering Children.* Revised and slightly abridged from the Twenty-ninth London Edition." (12mo., pp. 542. Carlton & Porter, Sunday School Union, 200 Mulberry-street.) If we were a little boy, as we once were, but never expect to be again, we, no doubt, should read this little book through and through. But dryer studies now fill up our time, and we have not leisure to cast even a stolen glance into the "flowery land" of childhood. So we have put this book into the hands of some ten or twelve year old readers. The Grecian painter knew that when the birds pecked at his pictured grapes, their merit was decided. Our boy critics, like the bird critics, know what they like better than any body can tell them; and they decide that the flavor of this book, unlike that of the deceitful grapes, is prime. The book not only looks nice to the eye, but it smacks well to the taste. We expect that the innumerable family that sit around Dr. Wise's table (his book-table we mean) will pass this dish round with great rapidity and gusto.

(32.) "*Life in its Lower, Intermediate, and Higher Forms;* or, Manifestations of the Divine Wisdom in the Natural History of Animals, by PHILIP HENRY GOSSE, F. R. S." (12mo., pp. 363. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.) This is a most fascinating book. It contains the scientific and the popular in rare perfection. In its classification it is exact; in its details minute and copious; in its vocabulary scientific; in its spirit enthusiastic; in its style eloquent. There is no romance like the romance of nature. God's great book is composed, through all its grand chapters, of all the elements of beauty, variety, sympathy, mystery, and sublimity. It is a poem worthy of an infinite genius. We envy the man whose hours can be spent in delighted reverie over pages like these.

(33.) "*The Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the Apostles of our Saviour*, to which are added, Lives of the Evangelists Mark and Luke, by WILLIAM CAVE, D.D., Chaplain in ordinary to Charles II." (2 vols. 12mo. New-York: Carter & Brothers, 1857.)

(34.) "*Life of Mary Queen of Scots.* In two books, by DONALD M'LEOD." (12mo., pp. 430. New-York: Charles Scribner, 1857.)

Art. XI.—RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Established Church.—The continuance of the Palmerstonian ministry secures to the Establishment Low Church appointments for such episcopal sees as may become vacant in the next year; and as, also, Earl Derby has thought it expedient to disclaim any sympathy with the schemes of the Puseyites, the High Churchmen of England must see that there are no prospects whatever for them of obtaining the patronage of the secular government. On the other hand, the Puseyites are a little cheered up by the recent decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council in the case of the Churches of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, which declares the admissibility of a large proportion of the Puseyistic ceremonial at Divine worship. Unexpected as the decision itself, was the concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London in it. There are other indications besides this, that statesmen, as well as Low Church bishops, are not disinclined to avert the threatened secession of the Tractarians from the Church by a compromise. The more important doctrinal question, whether the belief in the real presence of Christ in the eucharist is admissible in the Established Church, is now further from a decision than three months ago, the Court of Arches having decided that legal proceedings have not been, as the law requires, commenced within two years after the commission of the alleged offence, and that the case has therefore to be dismissed. The opposite party has appealed from this decision to the Privy Council, but the friends of compromising will, in the meanwhile, have time to make new attempts at a reconciliation. The Convocation has had again a few short sittings, but the debates appeared to the Home Secretary so useless and mischievous that he would have suspended them, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury hastened to take that step himself.

The Other Protestant Denominations.—The Missionary Society of the Wesleyans, with an income of over £119,000, bears off again the palm among the religious associations of England, which, during the present month, (May) are again edifying the world with the grand spectacle of their anniversaries. The oratorical successes of a young Baptist (Spurgeon) and a young Wesleyan minister, (Punshon,) who assemble around their pulpits the leading statesmen of the country, and the largest audiences known of in England, will not be without a bearing upon the struggle between State Churchism and freedom of religion. Among the Congregationalists suspicion is still awake that a number of the ministers are infected by secret heterodoxy. The trial of Dr. Davidson, one of their prominent theologians, for unsound doctrines on inspiration, has terminated in his acquittal, but the opposite party not being satisfied with the decision, the contest threatens to come soon up again.

The Roman Church.—Cardinal Wiseman loses the prestige of his elevated dignity, by making too frequently his appearance before the jury. A French priest (Abbé Roux) having brought action against him for not being able to recover a document worth 25,000 francs, the Cardinal has been sentenced to pay £500 damages. A controversy among the Roman Catholics, whether it is safe to accept support from the government for the Catholic schools, has been decided by the English bishops in the affirmative; the number of applications has greatly increased, and a third inspection of Catholic schools has been appointed. A new proof of the breaking down of the influence of the Roman Church in Ireland, has been furnished by the recent elections, which have diminished the number of Catholic M. P's. from forty-one to thirty-five, among whom are several who have been chosen against the candidates proposed by the Irish bishops.

GERMANY.

United Evangelical Church.—In Prussia, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council will be enlarged so as to extend over all ecclesiastical matters, and to take them entirely out of the hands of the state ministry and the secular courts. We hail this measure as another step toward the lib-

eration of the Church from the fetters of the state. Now already the Prussian Church, governed, as she is, by a board of men selected for their influential post on account of their prominent standing in the Church, and with the understanding that their whole and undivided attention shall be devoted to the Church, is in a better position than the Church of England, where an essentially secular court, (the Privy Council) gives the final decision on controversial points, and regards the affairs of the Church as an appendage to those of the state. The Supreme Ecclesiastical Council receives an excellent new member by the appointment of Dr. Wichern, the founder of the Rough House (Das Rauhe Haus) near Hamburg. As the second chamber of Prussian Parliament has refused to change the civil legislation in conformity with the teaching of the Scripture, as the othordox parties of Germany unanimously interpret it, it now devolves upon the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council to provide measures which will secure to the Church the right of refusing the remarrying of divorced persons, whenever she thinks it would be anti-scriptural. With the maturing of such measures the Ecclesiastical Council is at present occupied. The governors and consistories of the provinces are displaying a praiseworthy zeal for promoting religion, but not a few of their measures seem, unfortunately, to be adopted under the influence of those High Church tendencies which are rooting themselves more deeply in German Lutheranism than in the Church of England.

The Lutheran Churches.—The Free Lutheran Church of Prussia has established on the divorce question those rules which the State Church will adopt as soon as the government allows it. It declares the admissibility of divorce only on the ground of adultery and wilful desertion. In Baden, the Lutherans who had seceded from the State Church have at length been recognized as a lawfully organized denomination, without receiving, however, the rights of a civil corporation. This legal recognition ends one of the most disgraceful persecutions which Germany has witnessed in the nineteenth century. In Hanover, the Consistory of Osnabruck, while endeavoring to enforce the compulsory introduction of an old-fashioned Lutheran hymn-book upon the consistorial district, has called forth a joint protest of about sixty congregations, some of which have declared a readiness to join the less retrograde Reformed Church, if their petition to the king for the abrogation of the hymnbook is not complied with.

Protestantism in Austria.—Five Protestant Colleges (four in Hungary and one in Servia) have been deprived of the names and the privileges of state institutions, because unable to comply with certain conditions on which the government makes the continuance of these privileges dependent. Even the right of imparting private instruction has been curtailed, and in the Tyrol the Protestants cannot yet obtain permission for erecting the first Protestant parish.

The Roman Church.—In Austria the Marriage Law (see April, p. 341) is in full operation, and other articles of the Concordat are gradually executed as a suitable opportunity offers. Nevertheless the organ of the ultramontane party, (the *Oertreichische Volksfreund*) continues quarrelling with the ministry, and the question is still undecided, for the Roman Catholics, whether the government, in re-organizing the empire, will regard the Roman Church more as an ally or as a guide. In Prussia, the Catholic fraction in the Parliament has shown its influence by defeating the Divorce Law, (see April, p. 341), first voting with the conservative Protestants for repealing a number of the provisions of the Prussian law, and then with the Liberals against the adoption of the ministerial bill as a whole. In Bavaria, the Papal nuncio and the bishops are accusing the government of having violated the Bavarian Concordat, by forbiding the Jesuits and foreign priests to hold missions and spiritual retreats. In Baden, the long contest between state and Church is on the point of being settled to the satisfaction of the Church. The Supreme Ecclesiastical Council for Catholic affairs, whose members had been excommunicated by the Archbishop of Fresburg for siding with the state against the Church, has been abolished by the Grand Duke. But in other states new conflicts have arisen: thus, in Hesse Cassel, because the Bishop of Fulda refuses to acknowledge the new constitution of the state, and in Saxe Meiningen, because the (Bavarian) Bishop of Wizyburg has appointed a Bavarian priest for the capital of the duchy, without previously informing the government of it.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—If the government of Louis Napoleon were guided by prineiple in exercising its constitutional influence in the affairs of the Church, we might attach a great importance to a conflict which has recently arisen between state and Church. One of the most ultramontane prelates, the Bishop of Moulins, had, by some acts of arbitrariness and spiritual despotism, which are so eommon in the Roman Church, aroused against himself the public opinion of his whole diocese. Even a large number of the priests combined to resist him, and the bishop saw himself compelled to suspend two of them. They appealed from his judgment to the secular government. The ecclesiastical legislation of France provides for such cases, but the bishops and Catholic party consider these provisions as an encroachment upon the landmarks of the Church. Ever since the beginning of the reign of Louis Napoleon the bishops have aeted in open opposition to a number of the obnoxious state laws, and the emperor has tolerated their doings. In the case of the Bishop of Moulins he has, for the first time, planted himself again upon laws which are abhorred by Rome and its faithful followers. He has declared the decisions of the Bishop of Moulins to be null and void, on the ground that they are eontrary to the laws of the state and the usages and liberties of the Gallican Chureh. The ground on which the imperial deelaration is based is of greater importance than the declaration itself, for an enactment of the Gallican usages and liberties would bring the government into war with all the bishops of the Empire. There is a split in the Catholic party on many important points, but it does not affect the question of the relation of Chureh and state, and the leading organs of the two opposing parties, *l' Univers* and *le Correspondant*, have again fraternized in defending the Bishop of Moulins. The organ of the Gallican party, (*Observateur Catholique*) hails the imperial decision with joy. But the Gallicans, after having lost, by the death of the retired Bishop of Chartres, the last defender among the bishops, are like a flock without a leader, and are becoming themselves doubtful whether it will be possible for them to remain much longer in communion with the Roman Church. The emperor, who is guided in his policy, ecclesiastical as well as secular, by considerations of expediency, will hardly think an alliance with Gallicanism to his advantage; its austere morality has, moreover, never met with his sympathy.

Protestantism.—In several places Protestant churches and schools have been elosed; and the government and eourts have declared that liberty of religious worship exists only for the State Churches, while all other denominations enjoy only the liberty of worship in the family cirele, and are, for public meetings, and the erection of new ehurches and schools, dependent upon the local and provincial authorities. On account of the increasing influence of the Roman bishops in the provinces, it is feared that the deelaration of the government will be, in most eases, interpreted in the least liberal sense. Baptist prineiples are spreading among the clergy of both the State and the Free Churches. Although, in the former, a majority of the evangelical party deplores this as the germ of a new sehism, yet it does not wish the Baptists to seeede from the Chureh, in order not to weaken the ranks of the Evangelicals in their more important contest with the rationalistic party in the Church. One of the organs of the latter party—"*Le Disciple de Jesus Christ*"—which counts among its contributors many of the pastors of the State Church, has made, recently, a profession of pure deism.

The aniversaries of May betoken the continuance of a lively interest of the Protestant population in Bible, Tract, Missionary, and other religious Societies, and an organization from which other Protestant countries of Continental Europe might learn to their advantage. It is, in particular, the *Société Centrale d'Evangelization*, which records again very satisfactory results; as, for example, the foundation of several new congregations, consisting of former Roman Catholics, and, in many other places, the assembling of large Roman Catholic audiences, amounting sometimes to several hundreds, to hear the preaching of evangelieal missionaries.

ITALY.

The Roman Church.—The relation of Rome to the Italian governments has again improved. The Austrians in Lombardy are on terms of the greatest intimacy with Rome, and have influenced most of the smaller courts to imitate their example. In Tuscany, where, notwithstanding the many persecutions of Protestants, the ministry opposed the eonclu-

sion of a new concordat, the anti-papal party has lost one of its leaders, and the grand duke thinks of reconstructing his cabinet on an Ultramontane basis. The king of Naples has been confirmed in his attachment to Rome, by the belief that he owes his escape from the attack of an assassin to a miraculous amulet; and even the king of Sardinia, according to the last reports from Turin, is showing from time to time a disposition to come to an understanding with Rome. The visit of the Austrian Emperor to Lombardy, and the full amnesty granted by him, has gained some new friends to Austria and to the Roman Church, among the nobility and the country people; but among the educated and middle classes of society, public opinion sympathizes more than ever with the anti-papal policy of the Sardinian ministry. In Sardinia, one of the few Catholic organs has been discontinued for want of support, and the Catholic party in the legislature is without self-confidence, and full of despair. The Catholic press unanimously complains of its inactivity. The degeneracy of Church music in the City of Rome has become so great, that the Cardinal Vicar, who exercises in Rome the ordinary episcopal authority, has felt the necessity of repeating the warnings of a previous notification, addressed by him to the Roman clergy, but without any effect, in 1842. While the unchurchly deportment of his countrymen little edifies the pope, he finds some consolation in the steady progress of foreign national colleges at Rome, where young priests are educated, from all parts of the Catholic world.

Protestantism.—According to all reports, the progress of Protestism in Sardinia is uninterrupted and promising. A new evangelical Church was dedicated at Nice, on November 27th, amid a large concourse of people; and a school-house and hospital of the same congregation are approaching their completion. In Alexandria, the number of attendants at Evangelical worship does not fall short of four hundred, and is still growing; and the germ of an Evangelical congregation is developing in nearly every town of the kingdom.

In several places, as at Castel Nuovo d'Asti, mobs have been instigated to disperse forcibly Protestant meetings. The Catholic press has, as usually, endeavored to justify these scenes, by representing them as an act of self-help on the part of the Catholic population; but the government has been prompt in doing its duty, and has indicted the instigators of the mob for having interfered with the free right of association.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Roman Church.—The Spanish Ministry base their whole policy on full harmony with the Church, and avow their belief that only a zealous Catholic priesthood will be able to save Spain from ruin. All officers of the State have therefore been directed to see that only good Catholics are chosen into the municipalities and the legislature. An official list of all clergymen will be drawn up, and promotion to the higher places of the Church will be decided only by ecclesiastical zeal. The bishop of Osma, banished by the former ministry for opposing the Constitution of his country, has now been decorated with an order "for the zeal displayed in a revolutionary period." No controversy on religious questions shall be permitted in the periodical press, except with the permission of the diocesan bishop. No wonder that the Spanish ministry appears to the bishops as a model government, and that they make the best possible use of so favorable dispositions. The imprisonment of another convert to Protestantism, a friend of De Mora, is one of the many indications of what they intend to do with regard to heretics. Even the expedience of re-establishing the Inquisition is seriously taken into consideration. In Portugal, the king has announced, on opening the Legislature, that the conclusion of an agreement with the pope, relative to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the former Portuguese possessions in Asia, is near at hand.

SCANDINAVIA.

Protestantism.—The announcement of the Swedish king, on opening the diet, that a bill establishing greater religious liberty would be introduced, raised great hopes in all friends of religious liberty. This hope was, however, greatly diminished when it appeared, from the draft of the bill as published in the official Gazette of Stockholm, that some of the most obnoxious provisions of the old law were left unchanged. The only real improvement was, that secession from the Lutheran Church should be no longer considered as a crime. But even this change met with a strenuous opposition among the nobility and clergy. In Norway the clergy shows itself more tolerant, as appears

from a resolution, not to petition the government for the use of force against the new Catholic missions in the northern part of the land. The State Church is losing hundreds of members, not only by the progress of the Methodist and Roman missions, but also, more recently, by a Free Church movement, under the leadership of pastor Lammers. In the Danish Church a hot controversy has sprung up among the two parties of the Church (see January, p. 170) on the question whether the validity of baptism is dependent upon the faith of the baptizing minister. Controversial pamphlets and articles have increased the animosity already existing. The diet has declared in favor of abolishing compulsory baptism, which had been established by a royal decree in 1828.

The Roman Church.—The greater part of the Roman missionaries in the new mission of Norway, have left for southern Europe in order to collect more means, and to induce more priests to join them. The superior thinks he has work for two hundred priests, and is already dreaming of a restoration of the five episcopal sees which existed in these regions before the Reformation.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—The hope that a better time is approaching for the Greek Church, is confirmed by the other great reforms which are continually made in the secular departments of administration. New efforts are, in particular, made to improve the system of public instruction. An increase in literary activity is already visible among the clergy, and shows itself in exchanging controversial pamphlets with the Roman Church. To assure the orthodox clergy that his reforms have no unchurchly aims, the Emperor Alexander overwhelms them with greater honors than they received before; while the people have been confirmed in their good opinion of the orthodoxy of the emperor by a public pilgrimage, undertaken by the emperor and empress, to an image of the Holy Virgin near Moscow. Recently he has also enlarged the ecclesiastical academies of Russia.

The Other Denominations.—Protestants and Catholics continue to eulogize the government for new acts of toleration. The Protestant and Catholic chaplains attatched to the Imperial army have been placed on an equal footing with the Greek Church. The Roman Church, in particular, acknowledges with gratitude the publication of the Concordat concluded with Rome in 1847, although she has been surprised that the government, in appointing Roman bishops for several vacant dioceses, has made no mention of their previous recognition by the pope.

TURKEY.

Mohammedanism.—The European papers are filled with complaints of the Christian population, that the fanaticism of the Mohammedan population attempts to baffle the reform projects of the government. Even the cemeteries where the Christian defenders of Turkey during the Eastern war are buried, have not been spared. Many Christian families have been ruined by immoderate sums of ransoms demanded for freedom from military service, and a pernicious influence is anticipated from a recent firman which takes from the Greek bishops the right of appointing guardians for orphans and insane persons, and transfers it to the Turkish Kadi.

The Greek Church.—In Bulgaria and Bosnia a large portion of the Greek Christians have risen in indignation against the oppressions of their bishops, who, not only continue their pecuniary extortions in the most shameless manner, but endeavor also to repress the national (Sclavonian) language of these provinces by favoring the Greek. The threats of a number of the Bosnians to join the Roman Church, have at length induced the government to remove one of their chief oppressions. By a recent decree of the Sultan a committee has been appointed to recognize the Greek Church on the basis of the Hat-Houmajoum. The decree demands, in particular, that the ecclesiastical taxes raised hitherto by the patriarch and other dignitaries of the Church be abrogated, that fixed salaries be substituted for them, and that the ecclesiastical property be administered by an assembly of clergymen and laymen, to be chosen by the Greek congregations.

Protestanism and Romanism.—The Protestant missionaries and the Roman priests agree in the opinion that the Greek Church is rapidly losing ground; that the other Eastern Churches are near their entire dissolution; and that a contest will be fought between Protestanism

and Rome, greater than any other since the sixteenth century. The monastic orders of France continue to send large numbers of their members, as missionaries and teachers, to Turkey. The Dominican order, which has not yet been represented in Turkey, has sent one of its members to Asia Minor, to spend there a whole year in the exploration of the missionary field, the order intending to begin its operations, and to rival the Franciscians, who have opened, during 1856, three new missions in Palestine. For the same reason the pope has sent a special embassador to Asia Minor, who was received by the consuls of Austria and France with marks of great respect, and has the promise of their liveliest assistance. In Jerusalem, the Austrian government is building a spacious pilgrim's house, as from Germany, as well from France, one or two caravans of pilgrims are now every year visiting the Holy Land. It is gratifying to hear that, in view of the extraordinary efforts of Popery in Turkey, simultaneous preparations are made by the Protestant Churches of America, England, and Germany, to augment the missionary activity of Protestantism. The Missionary Board of the Methodist Church have already made an appropriation for a new mission to Bulgaria, and the Prudential Committee of the Americans Board likewise have it in contemplation to extend operations. In England, the Countess of Huntingdon Missionary Society intend to establish a mission to the Mohammedans of Turkey and Syria, as the Turkish Mission Aid Society is formed more especially to assist American Missionaries. In Germany, the Gustavus Adolphus Association, the Home Missionary Society, a Jerusalem Association at Berlin, and the Prussian government, are combining their efforts to supply congregations of German Protestants in Turkey with preachers, teachers and hospitals; and the increasing interest in foreign missions promises that soon more will be done than merely to provide for the spiritual wants of the Germans in Turkey.

Art. XII.—EDITORIAL PARLEY.

THE DISCIPLINE AS IT IS AND SLAVERY.

In our April number we were led, by the able and eloquent article by Dr. Stevens upon slavery, to affirm the platform upon which, in regard to this subject, our Quarterly stands. The subject of changes in the Discipline, being a point of difference between different sections of the Church, we prefer to leave to the columns of our sectional papers. It is well known some sections adopt the favorite motto, "the Discipline as it is;" others, more ultra-conservative, perhaps, advocate *the Discipline as it was*. They would restore that brief but golden period when the Church conceded no place to slavery. That to that consummation we may ultimately come, we trust is the united expectation, hope, and prayer of nearly all. That freedom, both in principles and practice, will extend its area beyond our present Southern border, and, at no distant period, relieve the arduous task of those who may be firmly maintaining our outposts, we confidently trust. That the cause of righteousness must win the battle in Church and in State, we no more doubt than that we stand on American soil, and live in the light of the nineteenth century. But while we leave the discussion of sectional opinions to our sectional organs, we place

ourselves upon the Discipline as an anti-slavery organ of an anti-slavery Church.*

That we are an anti-slavery Church, was one of the points placed beyond all doubt by the unanimous profession of our last General Conference. North and South, from border to center, it was perfectly agreed, nay earnestly asserted, that one and all were anti-slavery. Of the intensity of that anti-slaveryism, if not of its future policy, it was a clear indication that, in spite of constitutional scruples, which lessened the vote, a clear majority of thirty decided for excluding slaveholders from the Church. The order given for the untrammeled issue of anti-slavery tracts from our Book Rooms, settled forever the point that John Wesley's voice was not to be smothered in the house of his friends. The manning of the editorial posts with men of clear anti-slavery antecedents, tolled the knell of the reign of old Silence. In the general, from every post we have heard a clear and unequivocal report. St. Louis has bravely responded to Chicago; and Boston has had no faint echo from Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. The pages of our last and present Quarterly prove that New-York may perhaps be able to roll a metropolitan peal loudest and clearest of all. The present attitude of things is most cheering. Surely, our Church is dispersing the delusive shadows that dimmed her, discarding the sophisms that deluded her, repudiating the false leaderships that misguided her, and will come forth in her purity and her bravery; and as she has a record on the subject more bright than any other Church, and a fundamental declaration more unequivocal, so she will take her stand at the head of all her Protestant sisters, and lead the march of freedom, faith, and victory.

Let us take up that big little book, the Methodist Discipline. We have a holy pride in it. We bless God for it. It is is the child of a wonderful and blessed providence. Now this book has a fundamental rule which, at any rate, forbids slave trading, and morally condemns the *intention to enslave*. It has also an entire chapter on the subject of the extirpation of slavery. Here we stop and draw a few incontrovertible inferences as to what, on this subject, is or is not Methodism. And when we say Methodism, we mean not of course the German silver Methodism of the South, the genuineness of whose metal is recognized by no Methodist body on earth, and in whose pulpits John Wesley would not be allowed to preach his Evangel of freedom. We mean the Methodism of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which stands read, known, and acknowledged of all men; which has a past history in which we glory, and a future in which we trust; and which, when her sons unite firmly upon the platform the fathers have left, will yet win laurels of faith and freedom not merely from the world, but from our Divine Master, at his coming and kingdom.

1. It is not Methodism to affirm that slavery is a political matter with which the Church and pulpit have nothing to do Such a doctrine can indeed be shown, from various reasons, to be false and cowardly. Is the minister to take limitations of his commission from the politician, or from Jesus Christ? Shall

* At no time has our subscription list risen so rapidly as since this announcement in our April number. Seventy-five additional names have been received in a single week; a clear index in what direction the free heart of the Church is tending.

a demagogue governor or a partisan editor prescribe to me, as a minister, the topics I may touch? Shall a political party assume what ground it pleases and thereby exclude the Church from any of the most momentous positions? Is the Church subordinate to the caucus, and the pulpit the pupil of the newspaper? The ministry has not been silent upon rumselling, although a political party has made temperance its platform. It has never ceased to oppose popery, though anti-popery is agitated at the ballot-box. Nor will the Church be silent in regard to polygamy when Mormonism becomes a question of state policy. What an abdication of our ministerial duty it is to decline denouncing the great crime of our age and country on the pretense that it is political! But, at any rate, the Methodist minister who adopts this pretense is unmethodistical. Will any Methodist minister dare say the Methodist Discipline, with its fundamental rule and its full chapter on slavery, is a political book? To do so would be inveighing against the doctrines and discipline of the Church. If it be not a political book, then, slavery is a moral topic, a topic belonging to the Church, within the limits of pulpit discussion and ecclesiastical action. It is and it has been the doctrine of our Church, from its foundation to the present hour, that slavery is a matter with which she and her ministers are bound to deal; and he who denies it, on the ground of its political character, is on the platform of the Church, South.

2. It is anti-Methodism to affirm that we of the North have nothing to do with Southern slavery. It is not uncommon for some Southern sprig to be seen North, some sub-overseer, perhaps, aping the true "plantation manners," impudently telling us that the North has no right to touch the subject. Doubtless, this insolent bravado will be repeated from the same sources so long as there are Northerners imbecile enough to listen to it with gratuitous servility. For ourselves, it delights us to comb down these stray underlings from the rice swamp, whose proprietors evidently do not know they are abroad. Strange that we have no business to discuss slavery, when every square foot of these free states is a legal hunting-ground for the slave chaser, and every man of us is by law an *ex-officio* slave catcher! Up to the boundary of our free states the negro-hunter chases his panting and bleeding human victim with dog and gun; but when he crosses the boundary, he abandons his four-legged hounds for human hounds of two. By law of Congress, signed by President Fillmore, *we* are his hounds; the ex-President himself included. *Our* only business, forsooth, is to be good faithful negro-catchers, and to shut our mouths. Should a general Southern slave rebellion take place, the North is bound to send her armies to reduce the bondsmen to submission. It is Northern power in fact that holds the slave in awe and the system in existence. We are, in reality, the *slave-holders* while they are the *slave owners*. And who does not know, even of these deniers of our right to touch the subject, how by fillibuster *southward*, by border ruffianism *westward*, and by a great Judicial Lie, almost big enough to cover the continent, nullify the Constitution, and dehumanize a race, at the *center*, slavery is making a most audacious push for a supremacy over every square inch and every living soul of US in this great nation? The very retort so often made, that Northern men and Northern capital are involved in the maintenance of the system, proves that the *responsibility*, and, therefore, the

duty and *the right, of reformatory speech and action* are not limited by state lines, but are common North and South. And when we think how willing Northern complicity has been, and how servilely the very worst pro-slavery measures have been sustained by Northern votes, given by Congressmen elected by Northern voters, we do not thank the varlet who tells us that we have nothing to do with the subject. But when a Northerner, and he a Methodist, and a Methodist preacher especially, holds this language, we put the Discipline before his eyes, and tell him that our free Northern Church *makes* the matter her business. We respectfully and affectionately remind him that he is off the old conservative platform of our venerable Methodism. If such be his unchangeable sentiments, the Discipline of our mother Church kindly commends him to take up his repose in the more congenial bosom of her dusky sister of the South.

3. Opening the Discipline, we find a solemn question put, which in its very terms does not condescend to assert, but coolly assumes, that a fundamental object of the existence of our Church is, *the extirpation of slavery*. Now it would be unworthy the dignity of our beloved Church to suppose that she would hair-split a distinction between *extirpation* and abolition. We beseech all venerable damsels, of both sexes, not to be frightened at mere words. John Wesley, William Wilberforce, Francis Asbury, and Dr. Coke were *abolitionists*, and would not have dreamed of shrinking from the *name*. Nor are we willing on account of the violences of irreligious and disorganizing ultraists, to surrender to dishonor a name consecrated by such illustrious applications. Nor are we clearly informed of any intrinsic difference between the ancient abolitionism and our true "*modern abolitionism*," both being the same as the *extirpationism* of our Discipline. When, therefore, we hear Methodists denouncing *abolitionism*, and using the term as a slur name, we hesitate not to take the Discipline and unchurch them. *Pro tanto*, they are not Methodists. They deny their faith. They abjure their venerable mother. Nay, when a whole conference proceeds to lead her young candidates up to the altar and there oblige them to pledge, as a condition to holy orders, that they will have nothing to do with "modern abolitionism," we would like to see some competent authority take a Discipline and read that conference out of pro-slaveryism into Methodism. Our hearts are saddened at one of the most questionable procedures ever prosecuted in any Northern Protestant American Church. We would be glad to bury it in forgetfulness; but that most unsilenceable blabber of uncomfortable truths, Harriet Beecher Stowe, has, in the Appendix to her Dred, proclaimed it to the world. We would hope that if the conference record of these transactions cannot be expunged or girt with mourning lines, some darkness or shadow of death may be found to hide them. We rejoice that if we cannot quite erase this blemish from the escutcheon of single conferences, we can take our big little book, and clear the honor of our beloved Church by pronouncing these proceedings to be undisciplinary, unconstitutional, unWesleyan, and unMethodistical.

4. With the same open Discipline in our hand, we understand not the orthodoxy of a Methodist minister's striking the sin of slavery from his circle of pulpit topics. If that Discipline does not permit that topic to be banished,

either as a political, a sectional, or an abolition matter, on what grounds does any minister seal his own lips in silence? Is not slavery a *present* sin, here, on this very spot? Is the dehumanizing near four millions of human souls too *small* a sin to be noticed? *Is there any other sin upon which our Discipline expends one fundamental rule and one entire chapter?* Why not blot an article from one of our twenty-five? What worse is a theological than a moral heresy? We ask not now how such a ministering brother can answer at the judgment seat of Christ; or how his omission is reconcilable with his Christianity or his solemn profession of holiness; we ask how he can answer to his ordination vows, and how he can make it consistent with his Discipline and his Methodism?

5. Nor do we see how our Disciplinary logic can quite spare an unMethodistical Church. If there be Churches within our limits which require their pastor to be silent in deference to the slave power—Churches that say, "We do not see the great evil of slavery, and we will not allow its evil to be shown;" who insist that they have a nice peaceable communion, and their quiet is too sweet to be disturbed upon this agitating subject; with all tenderness for this Christian prudence, we wonder what they are to do with their Discipline? It seems strange that the entire of Methodism cannot be preached in a Methodist Church. If, upon the sin of slavery, John Wesley's own doctrine cannot be preached in any pulpit, we doubt whether John Wesley himself would preach in it. And if John Wesley could not be allowed to preach the Methodism of the Methodist Discipline in any of our pulpits, many will take the liberty to think and say, that the Methodism of such pulpits has upon this point a marvelous German silver ring to it.

6. And with our "Discipline as it is," we do not quite see the Methodistical propriety of admitting slaveholding ministers (or even, perhaps, the ministers of a pro-slavery Church) into our pulpits. These men, alas! are guilty of the great evil of slavery. Under our Discipline, they could not be ordained. They are rejected on *moral* grounds. How, then, can we admit to our pulpits men held unsuitable to be admitted to our ministry? The very ground on which our separation from the Church, South, took place was, our solemn, conscientious refusal to accept a ministry ordained by slaveholding hands. What consistency, then, in accepting a ministry in detail which we rejected in mass?

7. Nor do we see what Disciplinary discretion is allowed to any authorized organ of the doctrines of our Church, whether pulpit or periodical, to maintain a policy of silence upon this subject. In a single instance, (and in but one to our knowledge,) the query has been raised, On what grounds does the Quarterly Review claim to be an anti-slavery organ of an anti-slavery Church? Our answer falls into a most conclusive syllogism. Our Quarterly is an organ of our *entire doctrines and Discipline;* anti-slaveryism is included in our *entire doc. and Disc.;* Ergo, our Quarterly is etc., Q. E. D. No Methodist man or body can ask any one of our organs to be silent or withhold the freest, fullest effort toward "*the extirpation of slavery,*" without contradicting our Discipline. No section of our Church has any right to assume to hold a check-rein of silence on this subject upon the rest of the Church. We desire the union of the Church. Our earnest wish is, that our inevitable moral advance as a

Church should be in solid phalanx; but that phalanx cannot afford to be retarded by one file refusing to move, and pronouncing *Halt*, to all the rest. Our prayer is, that such movement should be taken as our Church can take as a unit. We could desire that our anti-slaveryism should be as extended, as common, and as decisive as our Discipline. But if any power or section assumes to checkmate all movement, and presumes to re-pronounce the old dictation of SILENCE, we tell them they are off the platform of Methodism, and that the day of that dynasty over Methodism is past—forever past.

Let our beloved Church then take herself at her own word. Let her become conscious of her own clear meaning. Let her beware of a stupendous insincerity or a permanent falsification of her professions before the world, and, above all, before a heart-searching God. Let her not bespot her *testimony for* HOLINESS with a *plea for* SIN. O, let her skirts be clear and her garments white, as becometh the bride of the Lamb. So shall her righteousness go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth.

We may remark it as a noticeable, but on our part unintentional fact, that the *first three* articles of the present number are from new contributors to our Quarterly, all young writers and scholars from whom the Church has much to hope.

Our own share in the present number, we fear, appears arrogantly large. And this the more so, as a freshet of valuable articles has flowed upon us during the last three months. We shall give contributors larger space in our next number. We cherish the hope that after that number our dimensions and accommodations will be somewhat extended.

Our most hearty thanks are due for many encouraging and cheering sayings and doings from editorial brethren, from the annual conferences, from ministerial associations, and from a great number of individual friends, who are nobly aiding our just ambition to make the Quarterly what it should be, a strong tower of the Church, and an impressive power with the broad public.

As much of our editorial touches upon the same specific points as Dr. Stevens's article, it may be proper to say, that each was wholly unaware what the other was writing, and each is responsible for himself alone. We expect an article for the next number, on the same general subject, from Rev. Dr. Thomson, of the Ohio Wesleyan University.

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1857.

ART. I.—THE SUNDAY SCHOOL IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE CHURCH.

The American Sunday School and its Adjuncts, by JAMES W. ALEXANDER, D.D. 18mo., pp. 342. Philadelphia: 1857.

A CERTAIN general of antiquity demanded of the Spartans, after a battle, fifty children as hostages. They offered him instead fifty men of years and distinction. In their eyes, fifty children, capable of training for the public service, were of more value to the state than the same number even of eminent and worthy citizens. Yet the Spartan discipline aimed at nothing higher than earthly ends. It was a stern and severe *drill*, beginning with the earliest infancy, and tending to make the body elastic, vigorous, and firm to the last degree. For the mind and heart it cared nothing. A young man who could neither read nor write might yet be the flower of Spartan youth, if he could hurl the discus further than his fellows, or wield the javelin with more vigor and grace; or if he could endure without a groan the savage discipline of the lash, inflicted, not in punishment, but as a test of honor, and with all the sanctions of religion, before the altars of the gods.

Nor was the Athenian culture, with all its boasted superiority of refinement, intrinsically better. It was an intellectual discipline, to be sure, and, as such, in many respects superior to our own; but it took little heed of the *spiritual* nature, and left the culture of the heart to accidental agencies to a great extent. The Persians, more, perhaps, than any other nation of antiquity, took pains to implant moral principles in the minds of children; yet even their morality was of the earth, earthy. It sought rather the advantages of virtue than its beauty.

It was, as might be expected, among that chosen people whom God selected as the depositary of his truth, that we find the earliest

recognition of the duty and necessity of a strictly religious teaching of children. Nor was this the fruit of any superior wisdom or philosophy of theirs, but of the direct command of God. It was when they were gathered before the Lord in Horeb, under the "mountain that burned with fire unto the midst of heaven, with darkness and clouds and thick darkness," that the Lord said unto Moses, "Gather me the people together, and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me, *and that they may teach their children.*" And in declaring to the people the ceremonial law, Moses repeatedly laid upon them the injunction, "Thou shalt teach these statutes diligently *unto thy children*, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."

To this day the Jew obeys this law with strict fidelity, and to this day its fruits are seen. Find the Jew where we may, and under what form of civilization soever, in Republican America, or under the most crushing despotism of the East; in the midst of Christian schools, or amid the savage and ignorant rovers of the desert; whether he be rich enough, like a Rothschild, to command the politics of the world, or poor as the meanest peddler that offers his wares at your door, you will still find him *taught in "the statutes, commandments, and judgments"* which the Lord God gave unto Moses. And this teaching, grained into the very texture of the Jew's mind and life from his infancy, is, in most cases, proof against all influences from without. Men talk of the spirit of the age as overpowering all early impressions, whether prejudices or other, but the spirit of the age cannot touch the Jew; its vast waves surge against him only to be broken into foam by the breakwater of early teaching that effectually guards him, as if in a charmed circle.

It is not at all necessary to prove that the law given by Moses to the Hebrews is still binding, and that, too, in a far higher degree, upon the disciples of the great Teacher who, in person upon the earth, repeatedly testified to his great love for children. To bring up the young in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord" is a common obligation, confessed by all who name the name of Christ. The second chapter of Dr. Alexander's admirable treatise named at the head of this article is, "Children intrusted to us to be trained for God and our Country;" and in it he draws the following argument, in regard to this large and important portion of the race, from their relation to us as parents:

"Regard for children and children's children is proper to humanity and is strengthened by true religion; as when the Psalmist prays 'that our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner-

stones, polished after the similitude of a palace.'—Psalm cxliv, 12. If all be right with our sons and daughters, there need be no fear for the United States. The greatest blessing we can confer on the commonwealth, is to leave behind us a generation of right-minded youth. If it is trite, it is nevertheless important enough to bear a thousandfold repetition and inculcation, that well-trained youth are the hope not only of our nation, but of all nations. In this era of highways, commerce, telegraphs, and the press, all nations are in certain great respects tending to be one. The rising race is the hope of the coming peoples of the earth. After hearing and saying this for years, we feel it more than ever, when, turning to our own children, we see in them the hope of mankind. I have always regarded these parental sensibilities as affording one of the readiest means of entrance to the affections of Christian people for the purpose of marshaling them in behalf of education and the country. The genuine citadel of Christian education is the heart of parents; and there is no parent who does not exercise incalculable power. He who has children, wards, or pupils, or any whom he may mold or shape, need never complain that his sphere of influence is small, or that he has no means of leaving his mark on the coming age. As well might a man lament that he had no share in the hydraulic power of a district who should sit on the top of a mountain to guide by his hand the spring that was presently to become the propelling river of a thousand manufactures.

"The Scriptures rank it among the blackest sins to be *without natural affection.* It is one of the crimes which even the heathen and the infidel are ashamed of, and which is rebuked by the very beasts. But no words can at all express the profound anxieties of pious parents for their children. When one comes to experience these anxieties, he is surprised. Having been told a thousand times how it would be, he now for the first time knows what it is to believe it. He has knowledge of it. He recalls the incredulity and wonder with which, when a boy, he regarded his parents in respect to this solicitude, and how repeatedly he put that unknown sensibility to the test. How often did he inflict immedicable wounds on those hearts, which, now that he has become a parent himself, he begins first to comprehend! His soul is now bound up in those whom God is giving him. Or, if we turn our eye to her who is pre-eminently the parent, if one can earn the title by intensity of pain and love, the mother has a tenderness toward her offspring which she has long since concluded to bury in silence, or utter only in prayers, since she well knows no language of hers can ever express it.

"What a mercy it is that our God has been pleased to make much of religion consist in these very feelings, and to open a channel for these unutterable emotions! Do not wonder, therefore, that, with unusual confidence, I propose to the reader a modification of what was discussed before: OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS ARE TO BE TRAINED FOR CHRIST AND FOR THE COUNTRY."
—Pp. 50–54.

The modern Sunday school aims to discharge, to a certain extent, this function of the religious training of children. It has attained vast proportions, and has interwoven itself most intimately with the framework of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We name our own church especially, because there is no other, we believe, which has so distinctly recognized the Sunday school in its legislation, and has so closely incorporated it with the whole system of its ecclesiastical and pastoral work. There is still, we think, even among ourselves, some confusion of thought as to the true scope of the Sunday school, and its proper relations to the life and working of the Church. On

this point, if possible, we should arrive at entire clearness of view. Our duties to the system cannot be fully apprehended if we have no well-defined theory of its nature.

A brief survey of the history of Sunday schools in the modern church will go far toward the settlement of these questions. The first institution of schools deserving of the name, seems to be due to Cardinal Borromeo, the eminent Archbishop of Milan—eminent, in an age of spiritual strife and in the bosom of a corrupt church, for his personal piety and for his religious zeal. He was born 1538, and died 1584. His efforts to reform the monastic orders, which nearly cost him his life from the fury of a fanatical monk, do not form so brilliant a page in his history as his devotion to the training of the neglected children of Milan. He gathered them by thousands into the vast cathedral on each Sunday, divided them into classes, assigning teachers to each, and directing the catechetical instruction himself. These schools still remain, though little is taught in them but the Roman catechism and lessons concerning the worship of saints and of the Virgin. Whether such schools were widely diffused among the Romanists in that century we do not know. Southey remarks in his autobiography, that they are "noticed in an ordinance of Albert and Isabel, in 1608, as then existing in the Catholic Netherlands, the magistrates being enjoined to see to their establishment and support in all places where they were not yet set on foot."

It appears that the first Sunday schools in the Protestant Church sprung up in New-England. Ellis, in his History of Roxbury, says that, "In 1658, the church at Roxbury had voted, 'that infants, either of whose immediate parents are in church covenant, do confederate in their parents, and, therefore, are members of the church, *and ye Church ought to take care that they be duly instructed in the grounds of religion*, and be trained up under ye tuition of ordinances.'" And further, that "in 1674, 6th, 11th month, *is the first record of a Sabbath school.*" The record was as follows: "This day we restored a primitive practice for retraining up of our youth: 1st. That the male youth (in fitting season) stay, every Sabbath after morning exercise, and the elders examine their remembrance in every part of the catechism: 2. That the female youth should meet in one place, and that their elders examine their remembrance in the catechism, and whatever else may convene." The next date in the history is that of a Sunday school commenced by Ludwig Thacker, in Ephrata, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, as early as the year 1750, and which was kept up for many years. There were probably many isolated cases of the kind of which no record is preserved; but, whatever may have been done by indi-

viduals, it is clear that there was not, before the year 1780, anything like a general system of Sunday schools either in England or America. It is equally clear that within a few years after that date they sprung up in all directions, and on both sides of the Atlantic. The honor of originating this movement is due, by universal consent, to Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, England. The history of his labors has been so often given, that we shall only quote from a letter of his, dated June 5, 1784, the following simple and natural account of the beginnings of this movement:

"The utility of an establishment of this sort was first suggested by a group of little miserable wretches, whom I observed one day in the street, where many people employed in the pin manufactory reside.

"I was expressing my concern to one, at their forlorn and neglected state; and was told, that if I were to pass through that street upon Sundays, it would shock me, indeed, to see the crowds of children who were spending that sacred day in noise and riot, to the extreme annoyance of all decent people.

"I immediately determined to make some little effort to remedy the evil. Having found four persons, who had been accustomed to instruct children in reading, I engaged to pay the sum they required for receiving and instructing such children as I should send to them every Sunday. The children were to come soon after ten in the morning, and stay till twelve; they were then to go home and return at one; and after reading a lesson, they were to be conducted to church. After church they were to be employed in repeating the catechism till half after five, and then to be dismissed, with an injunction to go home without making a noise, and by no means to play in the street. This was the general outline of the regulations."

On Mr. Raikes's first plan, the schools were taught by hired teachers, and their object was chiefly to teach the rudiments of common education to the children of the poor. The introduction of gratuitous instruction is due to John Wesley, who established these schools among his people in 1785, exhorting them "to engage in the work for conscience' and not for lucre's sake," and making religious instruction the paramount consideration. From the beginning he saw the spiritual side of the movement; even in 1784, we find in his Journal (under head of July 18) a single fragrant sentence which contains the whole theory of the modern Sunday school in its relation to the Church: "I find these schools springing up wherever I go. Perhaps God may have a deeper end therein than men are aware of. Who knows but some of these schools may become *nurseries for Christians?*" This was written with reference to a Church school in Bingley, the year before Mr. Wesley commenced the organization of the system in his own societies; when he *did* begin, it was with the determination that *all* his schools should be "nurseries for Christians."

The introduction of Sunday schools into America, in an efficient form, is due to Francis Asbury, first bishop of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church, a man whose labors for the evangelization and civilization of this country are among the marvels of Christian history. In 1786, he established a Sunday school in Hanover, Virginia, which was the parent of a multitude. It is clear from a statement in Bishop Asbury's Journal, (vol. ii, p. 65,) that he set up such schools in many other parts of the country about the same time. So far as we can learn, no other denomination of Christians shared the labors or the reproach of this enterprise at that early period. Reproach there was, and it often took the severe form of persecution. In 1787, George Daughaday, a Methodist preacher in Charleston, S. C., was drenched with water pumped from a public cistern "for the crime of conducting a Sunday school for the benefit of the African children of that vicinity." Nothing daunted by such rebukes, the pioneers of Methodism went on with their work. The Minutes of 1790 contain the first act of *Church* legislation on the subject known, perhaps, either in Europe or America; showing that in this, as in many other things, our fathers were far in advance of their time in Christian zeal and practical wisdom:

"*Quest.* What can be done in order to instruct poor children, white and black, to read?

"*Ans.* Let us labor, as the heart and soul of one man, to establish SUNDAY SCHOOL in or near the place of public worship. Let persons be appointed by the bishops, elders, deacons, or preachers, to teach, *gratis*, all that will attend and have a capacity to learn, from six o'clock in the morning till ten, and from two o'clock in the afternoon till six, where it does not interfere with public worship. The council shall compile a proper school-book, to teach them learning and piety."

The path opened by the Methodists was soon entered by other laborers. In December, 1790, a meeting was held in the city of Philadelphia, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the establishment of Sunday schools for that city." On the 26th of that month, a constitution was adopted for the "First Day or Sunday School Society." On the 11th of January, 1791, the officers of the society were elected; and in March of the same year, their first school was opened for the admission of children. If we are rightly informed, these schools were taught by paid teachers, and were devoted exclusively to the instruction of poor children. It was not until 1816 that the system of unpaid teaching was introduced by the Philadelphia society. This valuable organization was the parent of the American Sunday-school Union. In the mean time the Methodist schools were going on under the gratuitous system; and in the notes to the Discipline of 1796, the bishops urge the "people in cities, towns, and villages, to establish Sunday schools, wherever practicable, for the benefit of the children of the poor."

It is obvious, that in the beginning of the system, and for many years after, the idea of the institution was restricted to the teaching of *poor* children to read, in order that they might learn the Scriptures and be brought within the sphere of Christian influence. It does not seem to have formed any part of the plan that the children of pious members of the Church should be placed in these schools. Gradually and imperceptibly, the scope of the Sunday school has been enlarged. There are at this day more than half a million Sunday-school teachers, and three and a half million of scholars, in the United States; and of this vast host, more than one fifth are within the pale of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In these schools are gathered, Sunday after Sunday, not merely the children of poverty in their rags and nakedness, but the most favored children of the Church, the cherished fondlings of wealthy parents; often, perhaps too often, "arrayed in purple and fine linen." Such is the phenomenon which the Sunday schools of this age present. The fact is an established one, that the children of the best Christians in the land, as well as the poorest outcasts, are trained in these schools.

The charge has been made that the system has deviated from its proper course, and that it should never have undertaken any task but that of training such children as cannot enjoy good parental or home care. Is this true? Has the Sunday school institution, like some other human applications of the Church's power, gradually built up the enormous fabric that we see, so stately, and apparently so strong, and yet is it without a firm and safe foundation?

Our answer to this question is at hand. The rapid historical sketch just given, shows amply that the present scope of the Sunday school is far wider than its original design. The change is admitted: but, in our view, it is a development and not a corruption. In this case, as in the origin of Methodism, and in many of the greatest movements of the Christian Church, the end was not foreseen from the beginning. But this, as Neander strikingly says,* is precisely "the characteristic of the greatest achievements of great men in behalf of humanity. They do not work by plans previously arranged and digested. 'On the contrary, such men are generally unconscious instruments, working out God's purposes, before the fruits of their labors appear to their own eyes. The work is greater than the workmen: they have no distinct anticipations of the results that are to follow." Instead, therefore, of regarding the present position of the Sunday school as a false and anomalous one, we see in it the agency of a Divine hand. We recognize it as an instrument of the Church,

* Life of Christ, p. 79.

acting in the two-fold capacity of a conservative and aggressive power; or, in the first, as auxiliary to the pastoral function; in the second, as auxiliary to the missionary function. We consider it, in these aspects, not as a mere accident in the Church's history; not as a merely temporary expedient, to be used for the accomplishment of certain ends, and then to be laid aside; but as an essential part of the existing life and activity of the Church. The Sunday school system is not a mere tool in the hands of the Church; but a limb, that can never, hereafter, be lopped off without maiming her.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church this is pre-eminently the case; and she has always seemed, with a swift instinct, or—to speak more truly as well as more religiously—under the guidance of Divine Providence, to regard the enterprise in this light, even from the beginning. Methodism has always been stronger upon the aggressive than upon the conservative side. Her mission has impelled her to constant attacks upon the strongholds of Satan, to unintermitted efforts for the spread of her borders, to all sorts of pioneer labors; and nobly has she fulfilled this grand function in modern Christendom. Her itinerancy is specially adapted to this missionary work; flexible, elastic, vigorous, and active, it has been the greatest instrument of Christian propagandism at work in these later ages. As such it needs no praise of ours. Its monuments are in all the earth; its victories are celebrated by innumerable bands in heaven. But there is one function to which the itinerant system is not adapted, and that is *continuous* pastoral instruction and guidance of the people. The minister who is stationed but two years in a place, may, indeed, during his term of service, faithfully and successfully discharge the pastoral duties of the time; but he cannot go beyond it. Another follows him; perhaps equally zealous, faithful, and diligent, and with different ideas of the detail of pastoral labors, and with different modes of working. It is plain that under this system the continuous training of the children of the Church, from early youth to manhood and onward in life, cannot be carried on by the minister.

But the function is not wanting in Methodism; on the contrary, it is, perhaps, better provided for than in any other branch of the Church. The class-meeting, which, like the Sunday school, began with little or no prevision of its ultimate religious uses, fills up the gap fully, so far as the adult members of the Church are concerned. The leaders are sub-pastors, permanently connected with the congregation, and each attending to the care of that portion of the flock committed to his charge, with a minuteness of observation that the ablest and most diligent pastor could never compass with a large membership.

From year to year he meets his little band, knowing them intimately, learning all their forms of thought, and feeling, and life, and keeping pace with the growth of their religious experience, it may be, from youth to hoary hairs. So far, then, as the adult membership of the Church is concerned, the class-meeting is, in theory at least, the perfect supplement of the itinerancy, in the fulfillment of pastoral labor. And just in proportion to the efficiency of the one, will generally be found the success and reputation of the other. When the classes are fully attended, and the religious life of the membership is kept at its normal point of heat thereby, it will be found that the itinerancy is valued for its immense power as an instrument of aggression, and its inconveniences are gladly endured for the sake of its advantages. On the other hand, in those parts of the country and in those separate congregations in which the itinerancy is beginning to lose favor, and voices are to be heard, here and there at least, prophesying its speedy decay and dissolution, we think it will generally be found, also, that class-meetings have more or less fallen into disuse. When this is the case, the need of a more direct and continuous pastoral service from the ministers begins very soon, and of necessity, to be felt; unless, indeed, the people are so far gone in worldliness as to be careless about such influences in any form. A permanent ministerial pastorate is essential to all Churches in which the class-meeting does not exist.

But, admitting the class-meeting to be alive and vigorous, bringing its fruits of blessing into the circle of the church's adult membership continually, there is still a want left unsupplied. The children of the Church, in their tender years, are not fit subjects for the class-meeting, as regularly constituted; yet the same preacher can only train them, if he does his full duty, for two years. But here again, and more completely, there is a need of continuous and systematic culture. It is precisely this gap that is filled by the Sunday school; supplementing, for the children, as the class-meeting does for adults, the pastoral work of the preacher.

Still, there are some who doubt whether this work can or ought to be done in the Sunday school. Let us look at the question a little more closely. That the children of pious parents are to be *taught* religion all admit. Theirs is the very age for education—one may say, indeed, the only age. Richter says, (perhaps too strongly,) that the "educators of childhood are angels of good or evil, who open or close the gates of heaven for the young soul. Childhood is the age of faith—of humble, genial trustfulness. The little heart opens fearlessly to those about it; believes everything that is taught it; holds its parents and teachers for infallible." Illustrations

of this truth might be multiplied in abundance; but there is no need. It is more to our purpose to inquire where, and how, the religious training of the young mind should be imparted. In the first instance this duty devolves, unquestionably, upon the parents; and the obligation is not transferable. In the earliest years, (and these are the most important of all for developing the moral nature,) no other than home education is physically possible. The Sunday must have its lessons, even for that early age, but they are lessons learned from the eye, the lips, the movements of father, mother, brothers, and sisters at home. There, and from them, the neophyte of eternity is receiving his first impressions. Nor, even in later years, is the transfer *morally* possible, for parents who have a conscience; nor is this transfer any part of our theory of the Sunday school system. If it were so, and necessarily, better disband our Sunday-school Union, shut up our school-rooms, and send teachers and children home.

On this point, again, we quote a few forcible words from Dr. Alexander:

"*We are under obligations, as believers, to educate our children for the Lord;* and in doing this we are to seize every opportunity, from their earliest years, to remind them that their names have been given to Christ, that they owe him allegiance, that they are enlisted in his army and are to fight under his colors. As they advance a little toward early youth, we are to renew and redouble these impressions, assuring them that they stand in a different relation to the Church from other young persons; that they can never destroy the providential connection except by rebellion or apostasy; and that every hour they live for the world they are robbing Christ of his own. This we should teach them; and, if we begin early and continue unremittingly, we shall certainly and fully escape that shyness in regard to religion which makes it harder for some parents to speak to their own children than to all persons besides. The great matter, however, which I urge, is the deliberate *intent* of the parent respecting the child's training. 'This child is Christ's; and for Christ's warfare have I entered him and am now rearing him. God grant that *he* may grow up as a young tree planted in the courts of the Lord! that *she* may shine as the brilliant corner-stone of the palace or the altar!'"—Pp. 55, 56.

But, besides the home training, is no other necessary? Yes, it is said, the *pastor* must come in to re-enforce the parent's teachings with the catechism and the sermon. Here, too, we say, Amen! The pastor's duty is not transferable. At the bar of God, when he comes to answer how far he has obeyed Christ's command to "feed his lambs," he will not dare, in presence of the Judge, to plead as an excuse for any neglect that he had delegated this duty to the Sunday school. The Church has set forth this duty so clearly in her law that none can evade its force, (Discipline, Pt. I, ch. ii, § 3:)

"*Quest.* 3. What shall be done for the baptized children of our Church?
"*Ans.* 1. The preacher in charge shall preserve a full and accurate register

of the names of all the baptized children within his pastoral care; the dates of their birth, baptism, their parentage, and places of residence.

"*Ans.* 2. As early as they shall be able to understand, let them be taught the nature, design, and obligations of their baptism, and the truths of religion necessary to make them wise unto salvation; let them be encouraged to attend class, and to give regular attendance upon all the means of grace, according to their age, capacity, and religious experience.

"*Ans.* 3. Whenever they shall have attained an age sufficient to understand the obligations of religion, and shall give evidence of a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins, their names shall be enrolled in the list of probationers; and if they shall continue to give evidence of a principle and habit of piety, they may be admitted into full membership in our Church, on the recommendation of a leader with whom they have met at least six months in class, by publicly assenting before the Church to the baptismal covenant, and also the usual questions on doctrines and discipline.

"*Ans.* 4. Whenever a baptized child shall by orphanage, or otherwise, become deprived of Christian guardianship, the preacher in charge shall ascertain and report to the Leaders' Meeting the facts in the case; and such provision shall be made for the Christian training of the child as the circumstances of the case admit and require."

Again, it is made the duty of the minister (Discipline, Pt. I, ch. iv, § 11) "to publicly catechise the children in the Sunday school and at special meetings appointed for that purpose. It shall also be the duty of each preacher, in his report to each Quarterly Conference, to state to what extent he has publicly or privately catechised the children of his charge." And still again, (Pt. I, ch. vi, ans. 3,) it is made "the duty of every preacher in his pastoral visits to pay special attention to the children, speaking to them personally and kindly on the subject of experimental and practical godliness, according to their capacity, pray earnestly for them, and diligently instruct and exhort all parents to dedicate their children to the Lord in baptism as early as convenient." It will be noticed that these duties are quite apart from those which the preacher owes to the Sunday school as such, and which are treated of in another section of the Discipline. Our Church, therefore, does not contemplate any neglect of the children on the part of the ministry. If such neglect is to be the *necessary* result of the Sunday school system, let it, we say again, with all its vast capacities for good, with all its stupendous machinery of benevolence, be abolished at once!

But the system involves no such results. Indeed, it requires, for its efficient working, the preparatory and concurrent labors of both parents and pastors, and offers itself only as their adjunct and coadjutor. It promises, however, not only to aid them, but to do some things which they cannot do, or, at least, cannot do so well. It supplies, we have said, a want which is especially obvious in the Methodist economy; but we may extend the remark, and say, that it fills up also a gap in the organization of the modern Protestant

social system; nay, so far as we can judge, it was designed by Providence specifically for this end. That gap is the want of *schools for teaching religion.* Our religious social system is obviously incomplete without such schools. The day schools, whether private or public, cannot teach religion; they are not meant to do it; and whatever attention the best of them pay to the subject is always superficial and perfunctory. But shall our children spend five days in the week at school merely for intellectual culture, and not *one* for religious training? Shall there be schools of art, of science, of language, of commerce, but none of religion? In a Christian land, shall we say that there are seminaries for everything but Christianity?

On this broad ground, then, we vindicate the existence of the Sunday school as an institution for the training, not of outcasts, but of the children of the Church. It is a place in which the children are to be "gathered together," according to the Divine command, in regular and systematic instruction in religion. In *religion*, mark; for on no other ground can we rest our case. As schools of literature, the Sunday school occupies a very low place; no place at all, in fact, for as such they are unnecessary, and would be, indeed, un-Christian. The day of the Lord is desecrated by any other teaching than that of the things of the Lord. But when the children know that the whole aim of the school, the object of all its preparation of teachers, books, and lessons, is to instruct them in Divine things, the subject gets an importance in their eyes that could be attached to it in no other way. The same arguments that vindicate the assembling of adults for public instruction and worship apply in this case; the gathering together, the common prayer, the united singing, the sympathy of common lessons, all help to enlarge and to fix the impression that religion is a reality. Adults might read at home, but yet in addition they need the Church; so, too, the children might be taught at home, but they need the public teaching. That the Sabbath day should be devoted to this teaching is another element of its power. On this point Dr. Alexander remarks:

"Often has the poor man *felt*, though he could not *sing*, with 'Holy Herbert,'

> 'O day most sweet, most calm, most bright!
> The *fruit* of this, the next world's *bud;*
> Th' endorsement of supreme delight,
> Writ by a Friend, and with his blood;
> The couch of time, care's calm and bay!
> The week were dark but for thy light;
> Thy torch doth show the way.'

"These associations are lost on no one of the three classes of teachers, children, and parents. The very proximity of the Church, the nearness of Divine service, the sight of the great congregation, and diversified Sabbath relations,

so affect the little ones in particular, that we need not marvel that they sometimes learn more on the first day of the week than on all the other six. Therefore, in estimating the Sunday school, let us never forget the *day*."—Pp. 91, 92.

In many Christian families, even where the best intentions prevail, regular and systematic instruction in religious literature is impossible. There are none so busy, none so ignorant, that they cannot pray with their children, and keep them from forming bad habits and vile associations; but there are many whose dayly labor leaves them no time to prepare lessons in the Scriptures, or whose early education has been so deficient that they are incompetent to the task. In the Sunday school there are teachers who make this a special duty and a peculiar study, and who are gathering continually for the work a wider experience and an apter capacity.

We might furnish many additional arguments in behalf of the Sunday school, considered on its conservative side, as a branch of the pastorate, and devoted to the well-being of the children of the Church. But enough has been said to vindicate our fundamental position, and to justify the legislation of our Church upon the subject. There is no part of our code of Church law to which we can point with greater pride and pleasure than to those which concern the religious training of children. One has been already cited; we now quote another, (Discipline, Pt. I, ch. vi:)

"*Quest.* 1. What shall we do for the moral and religious instruction of the children?

"*Ans.* 1. It shall be the special duty of preachers having charge of circuits or stations, with the aid of the other preachers, to form Sunday schools in all our congregations where ten children can be collected for that purpose, and to engage the co-operation of as many of our members as they can, to visit the schools as often as practicable, to preach on the subject of Sunday schools and religious instruction in each congregation at least once in six months, and to form Bible classes wherever they can for the instruction of larger children and youth; and where they cannot superintend them personally, to see that suitable teachers are provided for that purpose.

"*Ans.* 2. It shall also be the duty of preachers to enforce faithfully upon parents and Sunday school teachers the great importance of instructing children in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion, to see that our catechisms be used as extensively as possible both in our Sunday schools and families, to preach to the children, and publicly catechise them in the Sunday schools and at special meetings appointed for that purpose.

"*Ans.* 4. Each preacher in charge shall lay before the Quarterly Conference, (see part i, ch. iii, § 4, quest. 4, ans. 8,) to be entered on its Journal, the number and state of the Sunday schools and Bible classes in his charge, and the extent to which he has preached to the children and catechised them, and make the required report on Sunday schools to his annual conference.

"*Ans.* 5. It is recommended that each annual conference, where the general state of the work will allow, request the appointment of a special agent, to travel throughout its bounds, for the purpose of promoting the interests of Sunday schools; and his expenses shall be paid out of collections which he shall be directed to make, or otherwise, as shall be ordered by the conference."

Let us turn now to the second aspect of the Sunday-school system, its aggressive and missionary function. Moses enjoined upon the people to teach the "stranger within their gates" as carefully as their own children; and we, too, recognize the obligation. This class includes, in a Christian land, all who are strangers to the Church and to religion, whether rich or poor. There is scope for the missionary labor of our Sunday school teachers, not merely in the huts of poverty, in the filthy lanes of our great cities, but in the homes of wealth and magnificence that adorn the grandest avenues. There is many a rich man, in the very bosom of our so-called Christian civilization, whose children, nursed in luxury, are growing up with almost as little knowledge of true religion as if they had been born in Caffraria. In our horror at the revelations occasionally made of the prevalence of crime in what we call the lower classes, we forget that there is almost as great a prevalence of vice among the upper. So, too, in the class of those who are neither rich nor poor, this missionary work can find objects, and, perhaps, readier access than at either extreme. With many of these there is absolutely no care of the souls of children. Their whole time is occupied in "getting and spending;" the strife, and care, and toil of every-day life leave them little opportunity and less disposition either to study the Scriptures themselves or to teach them to their children. For all such, the Sunday school, if they will but use it, is an incalculable blessing.

But as it is recorded to be the strongest proof of the divinity of our religion, that "the poor have the gospel preached unto them," so it is the crowning glory of the Sunday school system that it seeks out the children of wretchedness, and tries to throw a gleam of sunshine, at least, on their dark and dreary life. This, as has been remarked, was, in the outset, the only aim of the system; and a pure and noble aim it was; conceived in the spirit of that exquisite precept of Nehemiah for a day of festivity: "Eat the bread, and drink the sweet, and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared." And without settling the question which of these two elements, the conservative or the aggressive, ought to be held as chief, it will be perfectly safe to say that the Sunday-school system will have lost its main beauty as a charity, nay, it will have forfeited its character as a *charity* altogether, when this duty of gathering in the outcasts and teaching them the fear of the Lord is ignored, or even neglected.

A few years ago there appeared in the public papers, in the city of New-York, a document, which startled the better part of the population almost as much as would the revelation that the fires of an unspent and ripening volcano were gathering force and fury be-

neath their feet. It was a Report of the Chief of Police upon crime and destitution among children. A fearful record it was, with its hard, dry statement of facts, with no colòring of rhetoric, with almost no expression of sympathy, and thus all the more impressive in its fearful nakedness, as the bare skeleton terrifies more than the clothed corpse. A fearful record it was, of ignorance, profligacy, crime, and that, too, the ignorance, profligacy, and crime of *children*, even such as Christ declared were the elements of whose like the *kingdom of heaven* is made up! And what fearful anticipations did that record open, of thousands of young lives as surely doomed to misery, and shame, and despair, while they last, as they are doomed to be early quenched in unlamented death and in dishonored graves.

That the *root* of this evil can be reached, without some deeper inquiries into the nature of our social system, and, perhaps, sharper and more sweeping remedies than most men are prepared for as yet, we do not believe. Since that report was issued, the ladies of the Methodist Episcopal Church have established the "Five Points Mission," the history of which is a record of one of the most signal and splendid triumphs of Christian charity in modern times. In other quarters of the city, and in other cities, a vast deal has been done by the Sunday schools in the way of missionary labor among the outcasts; but as yet, the Church's work in this field has, we trust, only begun. Dr. Alexander has an excellent chapter on "The Sunday School Portrayed," from which we take the following extract:

"If the census be taken, the ignorance of the civic population will startle us most in regard of numbers. Great towns show their thousands who are utterly unlettered. New-York, Cincinnati, New-Orleans, Boston, have their spots of deep soil and rank growth, where the progeny of filth and misery spring up too fast for ordinary and established means, and where the spirit of Robert Raikes might come again to sigh over Sabbath profanation. The over-peopled tenements disgorge hordes on the Lord's day, but comparatively few to schools and churches. The tattered, squalid urchins—often already men and women in perverse acuteness—disperse themselves in streets and alleys, continue noisy sports, hang about wharves, ferries, markets, and open lots, or stroll to green fields, river-banks, and beer-gardens. Vast is the increasing levy made for these legions of citizens, who are, for the most part, ignorant and superstitious, if not profane and vicious. It is the fashion to ascribe all this evil surplus to Germany and Ireland; justice would force us to acknowledge that no more noxious importation has been made from any country than from England. If any one will consult Mr. Mayhew's 'London Labor and London Poor,' or Mr. Vanderkist's 'Dens of London,' he will learn how many thousands grow up almost as unchristian as Hottentots, within the sound of Bow Bells and under the great shadow of Saint Paul's. The police well know how many of this class add to our city and jail populations. The children of these are corrupt themselves, and corruptors of others. *As are the children of the present period, such will be the men and women of the next.* Unless blossoms of poison can mature into wholesome fruit, there is before us a time of new dangers and corruptions.

These are the people who brawl about the hustings; who stand out for high wages in strikes and trades-unions during warm seasons, in order to make themselves the paupers of the following winter; who foment bad blood between nation and nation, between religion and religion, between region and region, between class and class; the people, in a word, who endanger the peace and the very union of our commonwealth. If we can, let us figure to ourselves what may be expected ten years hence from the lad who is now the nocturnal runner to fires, or the prowler about the theater and circus, or the precocious haunter of drinking-places, or the beguiled Sunday news-boy. Let us seriously ask, what sort of citizens and Christians those myriads will ripen into, who attend no religious worship. . . . . It is my solemn belief that in the absence of day-schools which shall teach the way of salvation—and for our purpose it matters not whether national or ecclesiastical—there is no way to reach these masses but the SUNDAY SCHOOL. By its two-fold machinery of ORAL LESSONS and BOOKS, this institution goes so deeply to work that for its triumph it needs only the thorough carrying out of its principles.

"In the immediate vicinity of the localities of darkness and degradation already alluded to, God has providentially gathered Christian Churches, the members of which have abundance of leisure, intelligence, and wealth. In these churches are young men and young women, professing faith and 'apt to teach.' Does not the truth flash with conviction on every such person, as he reads these lines, *I am the very laborer on whom God calls?*"—Pp. 103–107.

We cannot forbear quoting another passage, illustrating the value of Sunday schools in a political and national point of view:

"It is greatly to be lamented that statesmen and legislators, who are sometimes philanthropists, do not oftener condescend to look into the working of certain humble schemes, which they, from a distant and erroneous view, discard as methodistical or enthusiastic, or even fanatic. The operation of religion in abating social nuisances is best studied on a small scale; as, for instance, in a single neighborhood. We should be willing to stake the question upon a fair examination of what has been wrought by the Wesleyans in certain well-known districts in England, or by the Irish missions in Connemara. So far as the experiment has gone, the same may be shown in regard to seamen by labors under the Bethel flag and to slaves on the plantations. But the whole history of Sunday school progress is an argument to this very point. A single family, there are ten thousand such, regenerated by God's blessing on the word which it received from the Sunday school, would suffice to demonstrate this socializing tendency. Society is made up of such families. Once introduced, religion percolates into every cell of the domestic structure, and comes to tinge every act, whether inward or outward. Let the number of such families only be multiplied to a degree not too great to be supposed, and we should already have turned the helm of state away from one of our most dangerous social reefs. Our hopes are raised when we contemplate tens of thousands of children awaiting the hand of Christian education. To present to the mind at a glance the social effect of such training, conceive twin-brothers, born in poverty and squalor, to be separately brought up, one in his native nest or rookery, and the other under the formative lessons of divine truth. We propose to repeat this thousands of times, for the sake of its influence on society. The ductile current of American youth may be poured into the right mould, even though adult evil be incorrigible."—Pp. 286–288.

We had intended to notice, at some length, the great value of the Sunday school as affording the best *nucleus* for the formation of a new church, whether in city or country, but our limits forbid. The

experience of Methodism is full of examples of the great importance of this form of missionary activity; many of the best of our new congregations, especially in large cities and towns, have been formed in this way. The *modus operandi* is very simple, yet wonderfully efficient. A few energetic and zealous young men and women, looking out for new spheres of usefulness, select a spot for the establishment of a school—the more unfavorable in outward appearance the better, if it only have the one great advantage of being accessible to a neighboring population. The school is opened; the vicinity is carefully visited; children are gathered in, and by and by some of them are converted. The parents are soon interested; they wish to see something of these new forces that are at work upon their children; and their visits to the school, or the calls of the teacher at their houses, at length open their hearts to spiritual influences. It is not long before the rented school-room gives place to a simple but commodious church building, with ample accommodations for worship, for the class-meetings, and the schools. In a year or two "the wilderness blossoms as the rose."

The general efficiency of the Sunday-school system, both as a pastoral and missionary agency, may be inferred from the fact that in the year 1854, according to the carefully prepared statistical statements of the Annual Report of our Sunday-school Union, the number of conversions in the schools was equal to half the entire net increase of the membership of the Church. It is believed that a comparison of the reports of the last ten years would exhibit an average result still more striking.

A few remarks upon the duties springing from the relations of the Sunday school to the Church will close our article. Among the most important of these duties are those which devolve upon the minister. If any neglect on his part be culpable, it is a neglect of the Sunday school. Here is a body of sub-pastors, under the authority of the Church, regularly employed, Sunday after Sunday, in teaching religion. Has the chief pastor nothing to do with them? Shall they teach what they please, with no guidance or hinderance from him? Shall they labor as they can, without his aid or sympathy? On the contrary, it flows from the very theory we have sought to develop, that the teachers, on the one hand, are bound to obey the pastor, in a certain sense; and that he, on the other hand, is bound to teach, to stimulate, to encourage them. His time is precious! But what more precious way of spending it than this? What hour more pregnant with results, both for time and eternity, than the hour of the weekly teachers' meeting, when the pastor unfolds views of Bible truth, and plans of spiritual teaching, which they, in turn, are

to work out in their classes at the Sunday school? What a theological seminary is this!

It flows from the relations of the Sunday school to the Church, further, that the work of the *teachers* is a religious work. It is a specific branch of Christian labor for the spread of the kingdom of God. When Christ "ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts to men: he gave some apostles, and some evangelists, and some prophets, and some pastors and teachers," for the edifying of the Church, and for the work of the ministry. In a true sense the Church recognizes the teacher, or, at least, is beginning to recognize him, as engaged in pastoral labor. But this recognition breeds distinct and weighty responsibilities. No teacher is faithful to his function in all respects, who does not definitely aim at the *salvation* of the children intrusted to his care. In order to success in his work, the teacher must be what he wishes his pupils to be. "It is not the cry of the wild duck," according to the Chinese proverb, "but his flight, that leads the flock to follow him." Whatever virtues, whether the minor ones of punctuality, neatness, attention, and the like, or the greater, of earnestness, truthfulness, and devotion, the teacher wishes *them* to learn, in all these he must be their example. For, after all, the child learns as much by the eye as by the ear. The savage gives but little instruction, yet the child of the savage is more like his father than the children of civilized men ever are. Limited as the scope of savage life and thought may be, it is all real, all earnest; the word and the deed correspond, or rather, in most cases, the deed stands for the word. We are glad to believe that the generality of American Sunday-school teachers afford pious examples to their little flocks. We concur fully in Dr. Alexander's judgment that "the best part of our American Church is that which is in the ranks of Sunday-school teaching, or which has been there. They are, in great part, young Christians. The very term imports ardor, zeal, and strength, the spring, bloom, and promise of the Church. They are the advance-guard of our host; leading the van, breaking through the frontiers of indolence, adventuring into the enemy's territory; our blessed 'army of occupation.' It is one of the good points of the scheme that it affords employment for such, and that, whenever an intelligent young disciple feels himself stimulated by an irrepressible desire to labor for the salvation of souls, he always has a field open for him, and need not delay even a moment. Hence, the pastor naturally turns, in an emergency, to his Sabbath-school teachers; and hence, also, some of the most able and successful ministers and missionaries have issued from these nurseries. The exercises enjoined on teachers cultivate their graces

and keep their benevolence always in working order. Taking pupils and scholars together, they comprise the better portion of our churches."

Finally, in surveying the various fields of the Church's labor and activities in this age, we find in no one of them greater cause of rejoicing than is to be found in the present prosperity of the Sunday-school system in America; believing that the tendency of its faithful working is, and in proportion to its fuller development will be in a still higher degree, to build up the Church of Christ in her inward life, to extend her triumphs over the kingdom of evil, and to hasten the coming of that hour of the predicted joy of the Son of God, when he shall "see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied;" to hasten the coming of that hour of the triumph of the Son of God, "when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them."

Art. II.—SLAVERY.

Happy is the man whose life is as good as his principles. Few are of this description, perhaps none who are not regenerate. The principles of men generally are good, for conscience is rarely at fault where the intellect is sound and the facts are fairly laid before it.

The man who has violated the whole moral law admits in the court of his own breast, that it is "holy, just, and good;" that it would be a happy thing indeed if we could have a perfect conformity to it by all mankind; and that he has often sighed for a world without an idolater, or a blasphemer, or a Sabbath breaker, or an ingrate, or a murderer, or an adulterer, or a thief, or a false witness, or a covetous person. Take the most unscrupulous oppressor aside when he is in a calm and meditative mood, and submit to him the golden rule. Do you think he would disapprove it? Not he. He wishes it enforced so far as he and his family and friends are concerned, and he sees no reason why it should not apply to all others. Let the whole human family be assembled in one great senate-house, to legislate for all men and all time, and let the law of love be proposed, would it not be unanimously and promptly voted, to the condemnation of every voter?

But proud man is slow to confess his errors to his fellows: he has

many refuges of lies in which he conceals himself when openly attacked. It is an easy thing for him to make the worse appear the better reason, when his passions move him to do so. He can diminish the force of testimony and argument on one side, and augment the force of all that he finds on the other; he may even close his ears to that which is against him, and say there is nothing; and imagine what does not exist in his favor, and say there is something; but in the closet, and to one who does not know his sins, he will easily confess that they are grievous, pernicious, execrable; or let him see these sins in others, or in the abstract, and he will quickly condemn them. Indeed, in calm and honest hours, there is no man more eloquent or severe in condemnation of drunkenness than the drunkard, or of covetousness than the miser, or of oppression than the oppressor. He understands and feels what he says. Hence there are no reformers equal to those who have reformed themselves. But so long as men are determined to sin, they conceal their sins from themselves, disguise themselves before others, and studiously dissemble their feelings. For this purpose they often put ingenuity upon the rack; they walk softly, look both ways, as near as may be, at once, scan their words, and train their looks, and voice, and gestures; but with all their caution, art, labor, address, and cunning, they are unsuccessful; in a thousand ways they daily admit principles, which, applied to them, secure their condemnation. How indignant was Hazael when the weeping prophet disclosed his future life! a life which was but the development of his present passions. He condemned that life as inhuman, brutal, like that of a dog. When David was committing adultery secretly with Bathsheba, and plotting the murder of her husband, doubtless he had many ways of blinding himself to his fault, and many modes of silencing his accusers; perhaps he would have treated a man as a rebel against his government, as a meddler in political affairs, who should have dared to question his justice. But when the prophet told him of the rich man that had exceeding many flocks and herds, and who spared to take of his own flock and of his own herd, but took the poor man's lamb, and dressed it for the man that was come to him, his anger was greatly kindled, and he said: "As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this shall surely die."

When a certain young man was directed by the Saviour to sell all and follow him, he went away sorrowful, although he had laid down for all men broadly the principle of obedience to God.

The Stoics taught the doctrine of indifference to all events, yet in secret they acted and murmured as other men.

"The Platonists, and even Epictetus and his followers, believe

that God alone is worthy to be loved and admired, and yet they themselves desire to be loved and admired."

The Pyrrhonists denied the reality of an external world, yet they acted upon the reports of the senses, as others, and were as careful as they to preserve their natural existence. But why refer to history for examples?

The rich man praises the life of poverty for its quiet and health, its freedom from care and temptation, but shuns it as if it were a pestilence; the poor man denounces the life of avarice as attended with diseases, solitudes, dangers, and sins, as hardening the soul, and rendering its salvation as difficult as the passage of a camel through a needle's eye, and yet he pursues it with all the eagerness of a miser. Let us select a theme of popular interest for a more full illustration. Talk with a calm and candid slaveholder, and he will probably declare that he is not in favor of slavery; that with him it is a necessity, a burden thrust upon him. Ask him why he does not emancipate; he will say, perhaps, he dare not, for the law forbids, or, at least, it would hold him responsible for the support and good conduct of the slaves he might free. "But suppose, sir, that by leaving the country, they relieve you of all responsibility? are you willing that this burden should move off from your shoulders?" "O! no; if my slaves should leave me, I would pursue them and bring them back, if it cost me my farm." But why? "O! I have too much mercy for them, to leave them to take care of themselves; they are incapable of liberty." Why? "Because they are uneducated?" Are you willing, then, to let them remain free if others will engage to educate them? Moreover, if you assume the position that slavery is better than freedom, where persons are uneducated, you should, as far as possible, enslave ignorant whites as well as blacks. There are thousands of voters in the United States, both North and South, who cannot write their own names. "But they are *capable* of being educated; they have good minds." Do you take the ground that inferiority of mind should subject one to enslavement? then, if we can find among your kindred persons of feeble intellect, will you allow us to enslave them? If we can find on your plantation some mulatto slave girl, whom a jury of twelve men shall pronounce to have more intellect than your own daughter, are you willing that she should take your daughter's place and your daughter hers? or, if we can find a Fred Douglas on your neighbor's plantation, whom disinterested parties shall pronounce superior in natural talents to yourself, are you willing that he should assume your place and put you in his? "No, sir. Do you think a white man is to be compared to an African?" And so you shift your

ground again. You enslave men because they are Africans. And why so? Is it because they came from another country? then, if you go or can be taken to Africa or Asia, are you willing to be made a slave? "It is not because they were born in Africa, but because they are negroes, that they may be enslaved." Then, if you may enslave the negro because he is not of the same variety of the race as yourself, may not a Malay or a negro enslave you for the same reason? "No, no, sir. The Lord has authorized the slavery of the negroes, but not of the whites." Pray when and where? Were the slaves of the Israelites black? Not at all, they were white. If you go to the Old Testament, the negro will have the advantage of you. "Well, I'll go to the New. Did not the apostles justify Roman slavery?" If they justified any they did; but that slavery was also the slavery chiefly of whites, not of blacks. The negro still has the advantage of you. "But the slave is mine; I did not steal him, but I inherited him; I received him providentially; he passed through I do not know how many hands before he came to mine." Suppose some one should steal your horse, and he should be sold fifty times in getting to New-York, and you should find him at last in the hands of a son of the last purchaser, would you claim him, or would you think the youth held him providentially? "I would claim him, because I am the original owner." And is not the negro the original owner of himself? If a man cannot prove his right to his own flesh and blood, no man can prove a right to any thing, for there is nothing else which sustains so intimate a relation to him. "But I take as good care of my slave as of myself." Are you willing to exchange places with him; let him live in your house and you in his? "Not exactly; but my slave is contented with his situation." Because you have imbruted him. If I can take your infant son, and keep him so ignorant that he shall not know his rights or be capable of enjoying them, will that authorize me to hold him in slavery? "Well, well; but if the slaves were emancipated we should not be able to endure the country, for it is impossible for two races so different as the white and black to dwell together in peace, if both enjoy liberty." Is there less danger when one race is oppressed by the other? do men hate you less when you *right* them than when you *wrong* them? Moreover, if such be your ground, you will emancipate all *white* slaves, and all who are willing to depart from the country. "O no! we should have none to till the soil." Cannot white men work the cotton and sugar fields of the South? If not, then Providence does not design that white men should dwell there. Are you willing to leave the country to that race for which alone, you say, the climate is adapted? "I have no patience with

such a man as you; we ought not to sympathize with a few negroes, while we have no feeling for twenty-five millions of whites." Let us not talk at random. According to the census of 1850, the population of the United States was 23,256,972, of which 19,630,133 were whites, 3,626,839 colored persons. Of the whites, 13,347,715 are in free states, and only 6,222,418 in slave states, so that the number of whites in our free states is more than double the number of whites in our slave territory. The whites of the free states are both injured and dishonored by slavery, which discourages manufactures, and diminishes wages in the free states, and threatens to shut out Western territories from our landless poor, and bring upon us the scorn of the civilized world; if, then, we are to sympathize with the majority, should not our sympathy be with freedom against slavery. But of the six millions of whites in slave states, only about 346,525 are slaveholders; the rest are injured rather than benefited by slavery, which creates in their midst an imperious rural aristocracy, and, by making labor disgraceful, shuts out their hope of self-elevation. If we are to sympathize with the majority, shall we sympathize with the 350,000 aristocratic whites, or the 6,000,000 poor whites—350,000 oppressors, or 3,000,000 oppressed? If you allow sympathies to follow majorities, the case is soon decided, for it is in the last result 350,000 on one side, to nearly 23,000,000 on the other.

"I am sorry to hear you talk in this abolition style; it is meddling with politics, bringing disgrace upon the clergy, and causing multitudes to turn skeptical. I believe in preachers preaching the gospel." In this we agree. But what is the Gospel? a set of phrases, of long and learned discussions, nice speculations, and trite admonitions? or does it contain animating saving truths, and practical principles regulating life and morals? The heathen altars served as a refuge from cruelty and oppression; is the Christian less potent and less humane? Shall three millions of our fellow-men suffer under cruel bondage, and their cries provoke no sympathy from the Christian Church? Shall ministers hear daily of the sufferings and wrongs of fellow-men inflicted by a Christian community, and utter no remonstrance, no prayer, no admonition in the ears of that community? If such is Christianity, we have not understood it. Is any system of slavery, as bad as our own, tolerated in any pagan or Mohammedan country in the civilized earth? If Christianity, properly interpreted, favors slavery or forbids its ministers to utter a remonstrance against it, then it is not of God. God cannot be against himself; but he has revealed his abhorrence of slavery in his providence; he has made it a curse to the master

and the slave, the parent and the child, the state and the Church; slaveholders themselves being judges. Not more clearly has he revealed himself against drunkenness, idolatry, or debauchery. Convince the world that Christianity forbids its ministers to cry out against it, and the reasoning part of mankind will declare the Gospel an imposture.

Slavery must be either right or wrong, a blessing or a curse. If wrong, it ought to cease; if right, it ought to extend over the earth. In the latter case, the civilized world should acknowledge its mistake in denouncing the slave trade as piracy; it should reopen and promote it at once. This might enact cruelties, but not half so bad as those which the domestic slave trade exhibits; it would operate not upon such as have been brought under the refining influence of Christian civilization, but upon savage natures; it would not transfer Christians from feeling Christian masters to unfeeling and infidel ones, but from pagan masters to Christian ones. The domestic slave trade is confined to the aristocracy; the African would enable the poor as well as the rich to enjoy the blessings of slavery; if it is a blessing, it ought not to be monopolized.

But let us leave the South and take a seat by the city merchant. O, what religious horror he has of slavery. He cannot contain himself when he thinks of slaveholders, who, for the sake of gain, will hold their fellow-men in bonds, will enlarge the area of slavery for the sake of raising the price of human bodies and souls. But, sir, how has your social and political influence for the last thirty years been employed? Have you and your fellow-merchants in this city uttered your remonstrance against slavery, and voted against it, and petitioned against it, through your chambers of commerce, and by all your avenues of commercial influence, sent forth a constant stream of resistance to its encroachments? "No, sir; if we had, we should have lost our trade with the South; as it is, we have had hard work to keep our share of it against our powerful rivals." So the whole commercial influence of your city has been given to sustain slavery! this accounts for its strength; for the city generally controls the country. It contains the leading newspapers, the leading books, the leading statesmen, the leading orators, the leading ministers, and its commerce sustains and controls them all. And so you have controlled the North for the sake of the South, and have perpetuated slavery for the sake of your share of its profits. Denounce slavery no longer. The slaveholders are far more excusable than you, inasmuch as they have far greater motives to mislead them than you. They have about three billions of dollars invested in what they call their slave stock, from which they receive a large per centage.

You city merchants have only a profit on a tenth or twentieth of that small portion of this per centage which is spent on this side of the Atlantic. Happy he who condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth. "But you must not put all the blame on the merchants. Many of the newspapers have led us rather than we them; they have talked to us, day by day, at our morning and evening meals, and we have trusted in their reasoning." Let us go to the editors. Gentlemen, on you lies the blame of leading the North to sustain and extend this accursed evil. "We are anti-slavery at heart as much as you; we abhor the man, who for money holds a fellow in bonds; but necessity was laid upon us; some of us were hopelessly in debt, and were compelled to sustain the party that paid us best; others desired office for ourselves or our children, as we were growing old, and we knew that without propitiating the South we could not obtain it; for no important officer of the general government, from the Supreme Judge of the United States Court to the pettiest consul, could have been appointed if he stood committed against slavery." But what think ye of Pilate, who, merely to retain his office, delivered Jesus, whom he knew to be innocent, to be scourged and crucified? Doubtless he was just at heart; he would rather have given up Barabbas the murderer; his conscience and his wife's dream troubled him, but the loss of the revenue troubled him more. Do you regard him as your favorite hero, and the model for your sons? "Do not, however, reproach us; go to our spiritual advisers, the clergy, who in their prayers, their discourses, and their writings, are either silent on the subject of African oppression, or volunteer Scriptural defenses or excuses for it, or at least admonitions against alluding to it in Church." To these clergy let us go. On you, reverend gentlemen, rests, in great measure, the responsibility of slavery. "We are not favorable to slavery; we regard it as the sum of all villainies; you cannot hate it worse than we; but how can we speak out against it? we are supported by a commercial congregation, and we should soon be without a support if we opened our mouths against slavery." Then why not report your destitution to the bishop and ask another place? "Alas! the bishops would censure us, if we rendered ourselves unacceptable to our congregations on that account, and especially if we were denounced and caricatured, as we should be, in the newspapers; and they would inform us that they could find no places for us. Painful as it is, we must be silent, for we must live." That is not certain; at any rate, it is plain that either it is or is not necessary that you should live; if it is necessary, Providence will secure you a living; and if not, you do not need any. But what think ye of Judas, who, for thirty pieces of silver, betrayed

his Lord? was he worse than he who, for a good salary and the favor of his chief-priests, betrays his Lord's children? What think you of Socrates, whose life was the forfeit of his integrity? and what think ye of the noble army of martyrs, of Pauls, who traversed the earth in perils and woes, and finally laid their heads upon the block? of Luthers, who rose in the strength of God against the world, and who braved fire and sword day by day? of Jeremiahs, who were imprisoned as seditious and aiming to overthrow the government? If they had regarded their salaries, we might be in darkness and bonds. You hold them as examples, why not follow them?

Where is the faith that looks beyond the present world, and gives intrepidity in danger, integrity in office, and disregard of temporal interests? "But why rebuke us inferiors?" Turn we to heads of churches, venerable men, whose crowns are blossoming for the grave, whose lives are irreproachable, whose offices are venerable! with humility, kindness, and profound respect, would we approach you; but we are moved with compassion for three millions of our fellow-men in bondage and in intellectual and spiritual darkness. They are dying daily, and ere our ministry is closed, a whole generation of them may pass to the tomb, while increased numbers will succeed to their chains and sorrows. In the name of Him who said, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me," we ask, Why are ye silent? "We will explain: we abhor the sin of schism, we cannot see the South separated from the North; we should lose our influence in the country, our prestige before the world." But, reverend fathers, are you Protestants? "Our fathers separated from the mother Church for good cause." So, then, separation is allowable for good cause! Moreover, when a proposal was made for a union with the Anglican Church, which you believed to be orthodox, did you favor it? Would not a union of all evangelical denominations be the reverse of schism, and add to the influence and prestige of the Church? Would you favor and advocate such a scheme? "O, no! There are other reasons to be considered; we have mercy upon the poor slaves, and desire access to them, that we may preach to them the Gospel and comfort them with heavenly consolations; but, if we were known to be anti-slavery, we could not get access to them." But are you not opposed to slavery? is not the Gospel? So you must disguise your own sentiments and suppress the spirit of the Gospel, in order to preach to slaves? Is this right? Moreover, would they not have as *much* of the Gospel as they now have, if we should withdraw? But will you apply generally the principle you have laid down? Will you, for the sake of preaching Jesus to the Turks, cry, "Mohammed is a

prophet," or agree not to denounce either him or his worship? You could enlarge the Church greatly by this means, and have you not as much sympathy for the Turks as for the Africans? "Ah, but that would be tolerating a false doctrine, not merely a false *practice*." Will you tolerate any other false *practice* for the sake of church extension? In countries where polygamy prevails, will you tolerate it? There are wives, and children, and fathers, to whom you can have access if you do, but from whom you are shut out if you do not. "O! but polygamy is not tolerated as slavery is by the Pauline code." Not so sure of that. Let there be as much money involved in polygamy, age after age, as there has been in slavery, and you will easily find as much Scripture for it. "Not a word of it." Why what is said of a bishop, "he must be the husband of one wife?" "O, I do not see anything in that!" But you would if polygamy could hold a few million of dollars for an age or two between the eyes of our city commentators and their Bibles. They would cry out, "Exceptio probat regulum." How clearly it is implied that if a bishop must have but one wife, other men may have more. "But, my young friend, it is our duty to preach the Gospel alone, and trust to it to accomplish all reforms. Its silent peaceful influences in the hearts of men will soon overthrow slavery and all other sins." Did you, venerable fathers, favor the temperance movement? Why did you not resist all temperance organizations, orations, newspapers, and sermons, and rely upon redeeming the country by simply continuing the same routine under which it had become corrupted? Moreover, it was under the Christian religion, by a Christian country, and by the agency of a Christian bishop, that slavery was introduced into America. It has existed in America since 1508, near three centuries and a half; it has been in the United States since 1600, more than two centuries and a half, and it is now stronger than it ever has been before; having more money, more social influence, and more ecclesiastical and more political power than ever. It is true that our own free territory has been expanding, and our free population increasing; mark, I speak not of its *relative* increase, but its *positive;* it has more deacons, and elders, and bishops, more governors, and editors, and book makers involved in it. If under our preaching slavery has been gaining strength year by year, and century by century, what hope have we that this means will bring it to an end? The truth is, that Christian doctrine is liable to be perverted and Christian practice lowered by the Church; and, as in the days of Luther and of Wesley, extraordinary means are demanded, and he is not an innovator, but a restorer of the true Gospel, who applies it to the sins of the times. The soft and slippered Christianity that

disturbs no one, is not the Christianity of Christ, who brought upon himself persecution and revilings wherever he went, or of Paul, who turned the world upside down. "Ah! my friend, you have no pity for your fellow-whites of the South, and no pity for your bleeding country." Indeed, you mistake me. I pity slaveholders more than I do slaves; their condition is worse both for this life and that which is to come. God has said: "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord. He shall save the children of the needy, and break in pieces the oppressor. If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth. Shall I not visit for these things, shall not my soul be avenged for such a nation as this? Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Woe unto him that buildeth a town by blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity." Is it mercy to teach such men that they are subjects of grace on the way to glory? Is it mercy to a country to perpetuate a cause of discord, disunion, and, sooner or later, the Divine vengeance? The South will not quit her curse while the North sustains it, the North will not quit her interests in its gains while the Church defends it; the Church will not rise above her pastors, nor inferior clergy above superior.

"Would you be wiser than the apostles? Did they preach anti-slavery discourses, or interfere with civil relations?" Suppose they did not. How different their situation from ours! The governments in which they preached were heathen; over them Christians had no power, and for them incurred no responsibility. How would Paul feel now, to see governments founded by Christians, sustained by Christians, controlled by Christians, executed by Christians, originating, perpetuating, extending, and defending slavery? Think you that he would leave no counsel or warning to utter to magistrates, and no discipline to execute upon slaveholding and slavetrading bishops, elders, deacons, and saints? However kindly they might treat their fellow-Christians, the members of Jesus Christ in bonds, when he saw that the shameful, bloody, and licentious system of slavery was upheld by such examples, would he not apply the principle: "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth?"

"Your spirit is censorious." Have ye never read the prophets? Which one does not speak in plain and often terrible language of the sins of rulers? One compares the princes to roaring lions, the judges

to evening wolves, and denounces the prophets as light and treacherous, and the priests as polluting the sanctuary and doing violence to the law. Another represents the aristocracy as bribing both the executive and the judiciary to a system of iniquity, which they are all to work vigorously. "That they may do evil with both hands violently, the prince asketh and the judge asketh for a reward; and the great man he uttereth his mischievous desire, so they wrap it up. The best of them is a briar, the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge."

"Your doctrines are revolutionary." Nay, verily, we ask nothing inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States. We would perpetuate the Union to the latest generation by removing the only evil that threatens disunion. We would bring all churches and all Christian hearts together by breaking the great wall, which is destined, if not broken down, to break asunder all the churches of the land. We would have this effected without bloodshed, without violence, without confusion, and without dishonor, by an appeal to the conscience of the Church. We would not only remove the cause which threatens disunion in Church and State, but we would cement North and South by new bonds, for we have ever maintained that the former, having participated in the guilt and profit of slavery, should also share in the honor and expense of emancipation. "All this is fanaticism." Do you denounce Wilberforce and Clarkson as fanatics, and sneer at the British nation for declaring that slavery should exist in her colonies no longer?

"Do not be hasty or troubled about this great evil, but remember that God reigns." Do you believe that there is a foot of space or moment of time over which he does not reign? He reigns where the midnight assassin plunges the dagger to the heart of pleading innocence; he reigns where the heathen altar smokes with incense, and the idol infolds the infatuated victim in its arms of death; he reigned in St. Domingo in the bloody insurrection, and in Paris on the night of St. Bartholomew. But he reigns by means, not by miracles, by natural understood laws, not by variable volitions; he reigns over moral agents without suspending moral agency. And the fact that he so reigns should arouse us to prayers and efforts to conform to his laws, and thus escape his wrath. Well might Jefferson say: "And can the liberties of the nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that their own liberties are the gift of God, and that they are not violated without his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revo-

lution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situations, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with us in such a contest."

He has read history to little purpose who does not know that slavery and idolatry caused the downfall of the great nations prior to the Christian era, and that one of the great purposes of the coming of the God-man was to remove these evils. He has marked the signs of the times to little purpose, who has not perceived, amid all the complications of politics, that the last great battle between civilization and barbarism, between those who would free and those who would fetter the human mind, has commenced; that the time when men could be treated as mere animals is passing away; that it is the order of Providence that every nation shall arise; and that he is the true Christian who would have his country walk in this order, and thus take her place in the vanguard of mankind. For Christianity is no mere trade, but a divine science, founded in the nature of things, and working in all the forces of nature. The Church is no mere theater for the display of gorgeous ceremonials, but an active, sympathizing, instructing, redeeming agency. Like the Messiah himself, she is God looking on the world with eyes of flesh, speaking to it through lips of flesh, and touching winds, waters, body, mind, life, death, with hands of flesh, making superstition, idolatry, oppression, and wrong, flee from before her face, and all that is in the earth, and in the sea, and under the whole heaven, cry out: "Blessing, and honor, and power, and dominion be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever;" animating into sons of Abraham, making vocal with praises, the very stones that have been trampled beneath the feet of ages.

Art. III.—MILTON AS A REFORMER.

1. *Milton's Prose Works.* Bohn's Standard Library. London: 1852.
2. *The Poetical Works of John Milton,* with a Life by Rev. John Mitford. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1851.
3. *Johnson's Lives of the Poets.*

The lives of studious thinkers usually furnish scanty materials to the biographer; for their incidents are inward, beyond the observation of history. As the granite beneath the water depths, the life of the great thinker seems to lie beneath the institutions of society,

unheard, unseen, till the strata are uptorn and the fertile island and the heaven-kissing mountain are upheaved. He plies the forge of thought for others, as the Cyclops, shut in his grimy cavern, wrought bolts for Jove to wield.

Many literary men spend their years in selfish seclusion from the toiling, suffering world. Their own minds are to them a kingdom, and they care not if all other kingdoms of the earth fall into chaos. Taste and learning rear for them an Alhambra, where they may revel in delight, while the world shivers and starves around them. The reeking miasma of vulgar suffering would offend their dainty sense, the bloody sweat of the crushed and fallen would soil their scholarly robes.

But there is one life in literary history crowded with the grandest incident. One giant has there been whose sinews were not only bent at the smoking forge, but strung on the smoking field; one who not only wrought, but wore and wielded the arms of heroes; one who built an armory where all the weapons of reform were forged, to be handed from age to age, and then emblazoned on them the fields where he had tried their celestial temper. One man of genius has there been whose "soul was like a star and dwelt apart," yet laid on his heart the lowliest duties, and traveled on his way in cheerful godliness. One man of the world has there been, who for his threescore years breasted the fiercest, foulest floods of earthly excitements, yet kept his soul "pure as the naked heavens." One poet has there been, whose verse is the true embodiment of sublimity, yet whose life is as sublime as his song, and who, by both song and life, has compelled men to recognize a synonym for sublimity in the very name of MILTON.

John Milton was cradled amid revolutions. Sprung from an ancestry who had flourished in feudal rank and opulence, the civil wars had left their deep disfiguring scars on the ancient house. His father was disinherited because he was determined to read and interpret the Bible for himself, and yet by his industry and energy liberally educated his gifted son, and early retired in comparative opulence. When the Mayflower dropped her anchor and discharged her precious freight on the icy shore of a New-England wilderness, Milton, an auburn-haired, enthusiastic boy, twelve years of age, bending over his books in London, looked up wistfully after that solitary little vessel, and knew that England was loosing the ruddy drops from her very heart. For seventeen years from that time he was a diligent, secluded student, while the whole land around him was shivering with the birth-throes of the great revolution; while thousands of anvils rang around him with the din of warlike prepara-

tion, unknown, unheard of in his obscurity, he was quietly tempering and sharpening his weapons. Turning from the troubled present, he voyaged away into the dim past, sought out the continents of ancient lore, trod with the ardor of a discoverer their boundless shores, dug into their golden mountains, washed gems from their sparkling sands, bent his ear to those old harps that have tranced the world to laughter and to tears, laid him down, as he himself tells us,

> "Where the Ilyssus rolls his whispering stream,"

to hear

> "The Attic bird
> Trill her thick-warbled notes the summer long,"

and then, "with prow of beaten gold," laden with the choicest merchandise of the choicest climes, he returned to the storm and strife of his mother-land.

Our noble translation of the Bible had just been made. Bacon's glorious star had hardly begun to burn through the cloud-veil which his shameful life had drawn around it; Spenser had dropped his harp, and the dying notes of the "Sweet Swan of Avon" were lingering on the air, when this eaglet was training his eye for the noon-tide blaze.

From a child, his thoughts seem to have turned toward the Christian ministry; but when only twenty years of age he speaks with disgust of the low state of true religion in the Established Church, and betrays considerable contempt for the superficial attainments and preaching of its ministers. In his treatise against Prelaty, published in 1641, he informs us that, by the intentions of parents and friends, and by his own resolutions, he was set apart to this noble work from childhood; and then, in his own quaint, forcible style, gives the cause of the total revolution in his plan of life: "coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must straight perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing."

Who can measure the change in human history that hung upon this change in Milton's purpose? How bewildering the consequences that rise before the imagination if we for a moment conceive that name as stricken from the list of poets, from the records of civil reform, and added to the muster-roll of the Christian ministry! The Christian pulpit lost a preacher who would have

blended in himself the purest light of her brightest stars, from Chrysostom "the golden mouthed," to Whitefield the flashing and fervent. What a blast would that sea-like voice have rolled through Sinai's iron trump! and then with what solemn and majestic tenderness would it have melted in silvery sweetness into Calvary's immortal tale! But, if the Church has lost her Demosthenes, she has gained her Homer.

It was a time when every true man, every lover of truth and liberty, heard the call to battle; Charles was fighting with his parliament, inch by inch, for the very rags of the haughty Tudor's robes. A pampered aristocracy and a shameless priesthood were fighting together over the wretched populace, like filthy vultures over a carcass. All men were angry over real or imagined wrongs. Old things were passing away, and timid conservatives shrieked in fear, and clutched frantically at every vanishing fragment of the past. New things were coming on; but what they would be, and whence they would come, no seer could divine. Free speech, free thought, free worship, were struggling for their very life in old England, and it was getting plainer every day that either they or the house of Stuart must be overthrown. Young Milton saw liberty bleeding, truth fallen in the streets, all interests dear to a noble nature in peril, and his heart throbbed hard for the fight; he longed to strike some mighty blow for God and truth.

But his arm was made to wield mightier weapons than are forged from brass and steel. A far lower grade of mind than his won the fields of Austerlitz and Waterloo. His brain was made to weave plans vaster than those which engross the thoughts of the statesman and parliamentary leader. A far lower grade of mind than his shines at the council board and in the legislative hall. The path of his soul lay through the very highest regions of human thought and feeling; and there it must travel to move with its native stride. All his strength could not be put forth except in grappling with the deepest, sternest questions of human destiny, and there he must work, or do no more than other men, and permit his highest powers to rust in oblivion. Thousands could hold a musket as well as he; thousands could go through the details of legislation, make statutes, constitutions, treaties, better than he. But there is one man in an age who can dig down and show men the foundations on which states are built; one man in an age who can go out and survey the province of the sword and the statute, run boundary lines, which shall be respected through generations of generations, and set up landmarks which shall eternally say, "Thus far and no farther." Others could take down the worn-out machine of government, when the

man of an age had pointed out the necessity. Millions feel the sore friction of society's machinery, but there is one man in an age to put his finger on the very spot where the friction is made, and show the remedy; and when the whole has become hopelessly clogged and brought to a stand, and men are clamoring for new, the man of an age is needed to calmly point out which parts of the old must be discarded, and which may economically be used in the work; and still more, when the new machinery is set up with the shoutings of millions, he is needed to keenly detect its deficiencies, point out its limitations, and damp the extravagant expectations of the multitude.

When a nation tears itself from the orbit where for ages it has revolved, and plunges into pathless space, a calm observer is needed, who can stand aloof, calculate on immutable principles the curve of aberration, and calm perturbed spirits by quietly mapping out the unexplored path. Thousands in England had drawn the bow upon the monster of civil and religious tyranny, and their arrows rattled harmlessly down from its iron mail; one was needed to march dauntlessly up to the very throne of its power, calmly probe every plate of its armor, find the vulnerable spot, and then, standing amid its hot breath, direct the archers' aim to the joint of the harness. The dust and din of a carnal strife were all around young Milton, a spiritual weapon was his, which smote like the sword of his own Michael, and "felled squadrons at once."

The Arcadian harp pleased his delicate ear far more than the jarring discord of the battle trump; the quiet retirement of the studious solitude had wondrous charms for him, and to engage in the affairs of public life was to leave Castalia's fount and Siloa's brook, and "embark on a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes." To sing of the wars of angels was far more congenial to him than to engage in the petty squabbles of prelates and kings; but some one must do vulgar work, and Milton heard the call. Lofty as the task might appear which the Revolution assigned to him, it could but appear vulgar to him, especially as he knew that the best efforts of his mind would not be heeded and could not be appreciated by that age.

He had discovered that his intellectual progeny "showed by certain vital signs that they were likely to live." He tells us he had "an inward prompting which grew daily upon him, that by labor and intense study, joined with a strong propensity of nature, he might leave something so written to after times that they would not willingly let it die." Friends warned him, and his own judgment warned him, that to write prose was *to use his left hand;* that to engage in the fierce controversies of that time was to spend years

and energies that might be employed in rearing the structure of immortal fame, and, above all, was to draw on his name a storm of opprobrium that might becloud forever all these splendid aspirations of youth. But truth, appearing in all her beauty and power, rolled a burden upon his soul like that which pressed down the hearts of the old Hebrew prophets, and he tells us, in speaking of his feelings at this epoch: "When God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous and jarring blast, it lies not in man's power what he shall say and what he shall conceal." It was inglorious for him

> "To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
> Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair,"

to linger in his olive grove with "his garland and his singing robes about him," while "arms on armor braying horrid discord" filled all the air.

He knew that he must "use his left hand," and in a most ungracious and distasteful work; but he nobly says: "Were it the meanest under-service, if God by his secretary conscience enjoins it, it were sad for me to draw back."

In 1641, when thirty-three years of age, he struck the first blow. It was a little treatise on Reformation in the English Church.* Up to that time the world that knew him, knew him only as a quiet schoolmaster, who had won the admiration of a little circle of scholars and literati at home and in Italy, whither he had traveled to perfect his education, and had written a few Latin and English verses, the Latin deemed by good judges close copies of the ancient models; the English, exuberant in imagination, lofty in moral tone, with here and there a rich and heavy finish, as if draped in cloth of gold. Now he came down into the arena, and boldly flung the gauntlet at the very feet of that religious tyranny which sate like an incubus on the very bosom of his distracted country. He took the high ground at once, that the Church should be cut loose from the State; that a hierarchy is wholly incompatible with civil or religious liberty; that all state patronage is a curse to the Church; that true religion can never flourish except where every man is left to his own conscience. He pours out vials of indignation on those champions of the State Church who blinked the simple truths of the Gospel, which every man might see and feel, and were ever harping on the traditions of the fathers, the bulky and tedious decrees of councils and synods; bids them "doat no more on those immeasurable, innumerable, and therefore unnecessary and unmerciful volumes;"

* Of Reformation in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it. In two Books. Published in 1641.

taunts them with "wasting their precious hours in the endless conferring [comparison] of councils and conclaves that demolish one another, (although I know many of those who pretend to be great rabbies in these studies, have scarce saluted them from the strings and the title page; or, to give them more, have been but the ferrets or mouse hunts of an index,) yet what pastor or minister, how learned, religious, or discreet soever, does not now bring his cheeks both full-blown with œcumenical and synodical, shall be accounted a lank, shallow, and insufficient man; . . . . they fear the plain field of the Scriptures; the chase is too hot; they seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest; they would imbosk; they feel themselves strook in the transparent streams of divine truth; they would plunge and tumble, and think to lie hid in the foul weeds and muddy waters where no plummet can reach the bottom;" he cries out to God's ministers "to urge only the Gospel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of diamond, till it dazzle and pierce their misty eyeballs."

Milton could not strike but with Michael's arm, he could not lift his bow without aiming at the heart and drawing the arrow to the head, and in an instant all men saw that the vital spot was touched. The champions of the hierarchy saw that no common foe had taken the field, and hastened to the defense. They were veterans in fight, resplendent in titles, armed with learning, wealth, and power; but Milton had counted the cost before he went to the war, and he declared that, though young, it would be shameful if he could not strike as heavy blows for truth as could they for tithes; "for my years," says he, "be they few or many, what imports it? so they bring reason, let that be looked on," and he followed up the blow again and again.*

It was a theme that stirred the deepest springs of his being, it brought up all the cherished visions of early years, and touched the tenderest spot in his wondrously sensitive soul. Years before, when moaning for his Lycidas, he indignantly bewails the scattered, starving flocks, whose hireling shepherds "creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold," and when they should be touching the lutes of Zion,

> "Their lean and flashy songs
> Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw."

The next year after this work was written, the youthful champion saw his foe at his feet, for the English hierarchy was abolished by act of Parliament.

* Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apostolic Times, etc. The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty.—1641.

To modern ears the style of these works may appear terribly severe; but we should remember that these words came hot from a volcanic heart, boiling up from the bottom with sublime wrath against abominable sin. Milton's indignation is fearfully grand. Johnson, who so cordially hated him, quotes his own tremendous line to describe his anger:*

"Hell grew darker at his frown."

It makes a man shiver at midsummer, to see him shake his fiery whip over the priests who traded in the reproofs of the Church, using the solemn and dreadful power of excommunication only to "prog and pander for fees"—"a banking den of thieves, who buy and sell the awful and majestic wrinkles of her brow."

And now he set his hand to another task. The Parliament, whose acts in the main Milton so cordially approved, fearful of the abuse of the free tongue and the free pen, unable to cut itself clear from entangling precedents, had enacted no book should be published without a license; and had appointed a committee through whose muddy brains all authors' thoughts must travel to reach the public ear; midwives to preside at the birth of every man's intellectual offspring, and spare or slay as seemed to them good.

The problem then before the English Parliament is one at which the wisest legislatures and philosophers of all ages had toiled. On the one hand, healthy intellectual activity, the immortal vigor of living thought, can never be had except where all restraint is removed; and on the other hand, freedom for good is freedom for evil; error, vice, and folly will rush down the channels opened for truth, virtue, and wisdom; or at least the turbid and the crystal streams will be mingled together. But Milton's keen vision pierced at once the battle smoke that had covered this field of controversy; he saw the center of the enemy's line, and pushed his artillery straight home.† "Truth can take care of herself," that was his battle-cry. "Truth is strong next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, no licensings, no stratagems, to render her victorious. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" "*Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose upon the earth, so truth be in the field we injure her to doubt her strength.*"

These noble words are the tocsin peals of reformation. They rang out a grand cycle on the vast dial of human progress. They crashed

* Lives of the Poets—Milton.

† Areopagitica. Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing: to the Parliament of England.

through Europe upon the drowsy ears of hierarchs and tyrants like the roll of a thousand thunders. Milton saw that mind was awaking all over the kingdom.

"Methinks," says he, "I see a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam, purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance." Prelates and aristocrats were appalled at the sight, and cried out to give opiates to the rousing Samson, to drug the mewing eagle; but Milton shouted a chorus of halleluiahs over the awakening dead, yea, put the trump to his own lips and blew the resurrection blast. He felt the first throb of an earthquake that would topple down every structure not built on eternal foundations, and he was willing that all his architecture should bear the test. He saw that all old opinions were to be sternly challenged and fiercely assaulted, that none were safe unless cased in invincible armor; but he pushed his opinions forward into the very breast of the fight, eager to prove their invulnerable life.

This "*speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing*" would alone have placed Milton at the very head of the columns of reform. Though written two centuries ago, this present age has by no means traveled up to its spirit. It is the arsenal from which the advocates of free tongues and free pens will draw their weapons for ages to come. As we read and ponder, we sigh with Wordsworth:

"Milton, thou should'st be living at this hour."

To-day there are the same childish fears for the safety of truth, religion, Scripture, when men are allowed to do their own thinking; the same officious intermeddling to help the Almighty take care of the universe, to furnish truth with crutches when she not only has healthy limbs, but mighty wings; the same shivering at the whiff of every pamphlet, lest it demolish faith; the same croning away in chimney corners over the "good old times" of blissful ignorance; the same tormenting twinges in rheumatic souls at every change in the atmosphere of opinion. Some weak, squeamish people spend all their years nursing and coddling their faith, feeding it on the pap of antediluvian platitudes—would not trust it to a sniff of fresh air for all the world—drawing the blanket about its ears if the least breeze of controversy blows, warning everybody not to touch it, as if it had gout in every joint. Let a fossil be dug up, whether it be bone, monument, or manuscript, and they fly straightway into hysterics; let a table rap, and they swoon away entirely.

Now if there be a bone or stone upon this planet which incloses in itself the priceless jewel of an undiscovered truth, all men who really possess enlightened faith are ready to go in solid committee to dig it up, and bear it with shoutings into the sun's broadest blaze. And if the pranks of a table can show the world one new truth, let a grand dance be held for tables of all nations and tribes, yea, for every legged piece of timber on the planet. Satan would decline being fiddler at such a dance, if the least real good could come of it.

But when truth and error are allowed to fight out their own battles without hinderance, will not many be deceived and ruined? Yes, alas for them! but the fall of thousands will be the rising of millions. Thousands clamor to be fed on husks before they will taste fruits of celestial flavor; but if you lift a finger to take their husks from them they will cry out that you grudge them their dry, sapless fodder; they must starve; but others who come by afterward and see their bleaching bones will beware. It is the doubting only that are fearful. Real faith glories in trials; pure gold laughs at the furnace. Let man once really see truth, and he never fears error more. Let her matchless beauty once burst on his soul, and he no more fears that her painted harlot rival will steal away his heart than that a vulgar daubed image from the Cannibal Islands will at some time eclipse the charms of the Venus de Medicis.

But multitudes have only half a hold on truth; they totter in the gale and are overthrown, yet even this is best in the end; for, alas! it is the only way that such wavering souls can serve her cause in this stormy life. It is their sad lot to demonstrate to others, by their own ruin, the contempt with which she casts aside those who will not give her all the heart. They who will not tremble at her beauty must tremble at her wrath; they who will not give her the kiss of adoring love must submit to be dashed in pieces by the rod of her anger.

In 1649, Milton found a far heavier task laid upon him as a true reformer. The troubled state had reached a crisis, strange beyond all precedent, bewildering, even to the wisest and most hopeful. The abuses of royal power and prerogative, rolling up steadily through years and dynasties, had become a burden that the people would bear no longer. The royal name could no longer dam up the raging floods; they burst forth in fury, and the throne of England fell. The head of an English king rolled upon the scaffold. Thousands had clamored for the deed while smarting under Charles's tyranny, while daily proving his faithlessness to his solemn covenants; they had cried out that England could never be safe till the Stuart dynasty was wiped out in blood; yet at sight of the blood of a

their choice fell upon Milton. The odds seemed fearful, yet he faltered not an instant.

"*God and his son* except,
Created thing naught valued he nor shunned."

Had he been in the least faint-hearted he might honorably have declined this contest, and even his enemies could not have taunted him with cowardice. Writing was fast becoming an impossibility to Milton. Study and intense intellectual labor had so impaired his sight, that his physicians warned him that such a task as this would insure his total blindness. But he thanked God that he had eyes to give for the defense of his country, and the last days of his waning vision were spent in the production of that treatise which has been styled "the most masterly work in all written controversy." Salmasius stole away discomfited, and Milton's noble utterances for liberty, and his burning invectives against slavish and superstitious despotism, flashed around the European thrones like a chain of linked thunderbolts.*

Prosperity now tried him in her furnace. He enjoyed all that power could give, for Cromwell was absolute; wealth was at his command, and he could hear the plaudits of a European fame. Yet he was the same calm, unselfish, frugal man, as when teaching his pupils for daily bread. How many a noble nature has been intoxicated by such draughts as these, and gone reeling to ruin!

So the years rolled on till the great Protector died. Then the tide began to turn again in favor of the exiled Stuarts. All the timid and wavering, all the court flies who buzz in the blaze of a throne, all the vast throng of political tailors and milliners who live upon the robes, vestments, and tapestries of royalty, all cried out to rear the throne again. Milton was cut to the heart to find his countrymen so unfit for free government. He was disgusted beyond measure with the parasites who licked the very feet of Cromwell, and were now hastening to fawn upon returning royalty. He threw pamphlet after pamphlet among the ignoble throng. He shouted, he sang, he wept by turns, but all in vain. Those deemed wise, in the base use of the word, were hastening with their gifts to hail the rising sun. Dryden and Waller, his brother bards, had sung for Cromwell the glory of the Commonwealth, and were preparing to sing for Charles the glory of the restoration.

Age was creeping on him; the furrows marked his smooth brow; the frost began to glisten on his auburn locks; the blessed sunshine never now greeted his sightless eye-balls; he knew that he should

* Defensio pro Populo Anglicano—A Defense of the People of England in Answer to Salmasius's Defense of the King.

be a target for hate and scorn, no man more marked than he; but he calmly stood in his blindness, and heard the plaudits of the fickle crowd die away in the distance; he heard the footsteps of retreating friends, of retreating honors and emoluments; he heard the sea of hissing hate arising around him, yet still he stood; he knew that his purpled and jeweled vestments were dropping from him, but he knew, too, that Milton's vestments were not Milton; and though left naked in the biting air, to tread in solitary blindness his thorny path through the bleak wilderness of a poor old age, yet his great heart was whole in him, and the great God was mighty over him!

Milton's sonnet on his blindness is well known; but we cannot forbear quoting a few lines from a prose letter, written by him on the same subject, both for its instructive and affecting details, and its unsurpassed moral sublimity. It is a letter written in 1654 to Leonard Philara, the Athenian:

"You would not suffer me to abandon the hope of recovering my sight, and informed me that you had an intimate friend at Paris, Dr. Thevenot, who was particularly celebrated in disorders of the eyes, whom you would consult about mine, if I would enable you to lay before him the causes and symptoms of my complaint. I will do what you desire, lest I should seem to reject that aid which, perhaps, may be offered me by Heaven. It is now, I think, about ten years since I perceived my vision to grow weak and dull. In the morning, if I began to read, as was my custom, my eyes ached intensely; but were refreshed after a little corporeal exercise. The candle which I looked at seemed as it were encircled with a rainbow. Not long after, the sight in the left part of the left eye, (which I lost some years before the other,) became quite obscured, and prevented my discerning any object on that side. The sight in my other eye has now been gradually and sensibly vanishing away for about three years; some months before it had entirely perished, though I stood motionless, everything which I looked at seemed in motion to and fro. A stiff cloudy vapor seemed to have settled on my forehead and temples. So that I often recollect what is said of the poet Phineas in the Argonautics:

> 'A stupor deep his cloudy temples bound,
> And when he walked he seemed as whirling round,
> Or in a feeble trance he speechless lay.'

"I ought not to omit, that while I had my sight left, as soon as I lay down on my bed and turned to either side, a flood of light used to gush from my closed eyelids. Then, as my sight became daily more impaired, the colors became more faint, and were emitted with a certain inward crackling sound; but at present, every species of illumination being as it were extinguished, there is diffused around me nothing but darkness, or darkness mingled and streaked with an ashy brown. Yet the darkness in which I am perpetually immersed, seems always, both by night and day, to approach nearer to white than to black; and when the eye is rolling in its socket, it admits a little particle of light as through a chink. And though your physician may kindle a small ray of hope, yet I make up my mind to the malady as quite incurable; and I often reflect that, as the wise man admonishes, days of darkness are destined to each of us; the darkness which I experience, less oppressive than of the tomb, is, owing to the singular goodness of the Deity, passed amid the pursuits of literature and the cheering salutations of friendship. But if, as

it is written, men shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God, why may not any one acquiesce in the privation of his sight, when God has so amply furnished his mind and conscience with eyes? While he so tenderly provides for me, while he so graciously leads me by the hand and conducts me on the way, I will, since it is his pleasure, rather rejoice than repine at being blind. And, my dear Philara, whatever may be the event, I wish you adieu, with no less courage and composure than if I had the eyes of a lynx."

But the "cheering salutations" and the elegant leisure for which he here expresses his gratitude, had now become things of the past; yet now,

> "Though fallen on evil days,
> On evil days though fallen and evil tongues,
> In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round
> And solitude,"

now, while dogged by poverty and bailiffs from one mean London lodging to another, while his immortal works in defense of liberty and his country were outlawed as the essence of treason, and burned by the common hangman; while tyranny, in the first flush of her power, held him in her grip and brandished the ax in his face—now, when all books are sealed to him forever, and nature's face vailed in eternal darkness, now was the hour, when, for the first time, his genius serenely rose in her native stature, snuffed her native air, spread her broad pinions in a congenial clime, sought with flashing eye the burning beam of immortal light, and, soaring sunward, drew after her the world's dazzled gaze. The work which alone insures the immortality of the English language, yes, and of English history too, for that must live, if for no other reason, as the setting of this jewel, the master-work of the architect, for which all others had been studies, was now to be reared.

The world had stood in amaze at the work of his *left hand;* now, rising in seraphic stature, his *right hand* he stretched forth and took down the harp, unreached since his blind brother bard had hung it there; the bard who sang "Pelides' wrath" on Troy's immortal plain. That harp, tuned in a loftier key, he took and sang God's wrath and Jesus' mercy on probation's world-extended plain. As Troy's walls rose to Orpheus's strains, so, as this harp was swept to its "dulcet symphonies," "rose, like an exhalation," the crystal wall of heaven, the nine-fold gate of hell, the palaces of angels,

> "From diamond quarries hewn and rocks of gold;"

Pandemonium's "fabric huge," where archangels fallen "in horrid conclave sate,"

> "A thousand demigods on golden seats;"

Satan,

> "High on a throne of royal state, that far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind;"

above all, the "throne and equipage of God's Almightiness," where "cherubic hosts stand thick as stars," and vail their vision with their golden wings, when

> "Dark from excessive light his skirts appear."

We use Milton's own words to describe his work, for no other words are equal to the task; Milton only can portray Milton, and still more, *Paradise Lost* can only portray Paradise Lost.

A few significant facts strikingly set forth the "evil times" on which the poet had fallen. It was with great difficulty that a license could be obtained for the publication of Paradise Lost. The bold, free spirit of Christian manhood which rises to the surface here and there through almost every book, was too much for that degenerate age. Milton prayed the muse to grant him "*fit audience, though few*," but it was long doubtful whether even the "few" would be granted, to say nothing of the fitness. And when at last his offspring saw the light, Waller the poet, and no mean poet either, wrote thus to a friend: "The blind old schoolmaster, Milton, has published a tedious poem in twelve books, about the Fall of Man; if its length be not a merit, it has no other!" All that he ever received for immortalizing his mother tongue in Paradise Lost was the paltry sum of *ten pounds sterling;* compare this with the profits of Colburn's Arithmetic!

In a small, poorly furnished chamber, whose walls were hung with rusty green paper, neatly but frugally attired in black, sitting obliquely in his elbow chair, with one leg thrown over the arm, listening to his favorite old authors, as a friend dropped in for an hour to read aloud, hear his comments, and enjoy the rich flow of conversation from a mind fed from every province of human thought, Milton might have been seen in his closing years. He was generally grave, but never morose or melancholy; he maintained his serene equanimity, his unfaltering faith, through all the infirmities of age. His sun set as majestically as it rose, and at sixty-six he died.

It is the *man*, and not the writer, to whom we call attention here, and therefore are saved the presumption of discussing at all the verdict which the world has passed on his poetry; saved also from discussing why the richest, grandest, most exuberant prose in the English language has been so strangely neglected. In a thorough discussion of his merits as a Reformer, it would be unpardonable to pass over his reasonings and opinions on the subject of Marriage and

Divorce. Ranging at ease and fearlessly through the whole universe of human thought and opinion, accepting nothing simply because it was old, rejecting nothing simply because it was new, sternly testing all things for himself, calling up all the institutions of human society and all the most vital doctrines of human destiny before him in judgment, it were a miracle of miracles if his decisions were always wise and right. But that colossal stride with which he marches through all the domains of thought, and that humble godliness which keeps him everywhere a child, mark him as among that choice nobility of human nature which the traveling world brings forth at long and dreary intervals, scarce one in a thousand years. Milton the *man* is among the noblest of studies. His poetry is much lauded, but little read and less appreciated; his prose is read still less, and his character least of all, yet this is the noblest among his noble bequests to posterity.

We come to Milton, not merely to admire a type of the broadest mental and moral culture, not merely to listen to the music from the sylvan pipe of Lycidas, the airy shell of Comus, the rollicking violin and castanets of L'Allegro, the plaintive guitar of I'l Penserozo, the mellow harp of Paradise Regained, the booming muffled drum of Samson Agonistes, or to those rich, solemn organ peals that rose to the heaven of heavens, and sank to the hell of hells, when the minstrel, "rolling his eyes in vain to find the day," laid his hands on keys mortal fingers never dared to touch before; notes in which we hear now the "crisped brooks" of Eden

> "Rolling on sands of orient pearl and gold,"

and now the shout that frightened Chaos and old night, when Satan's hosts

> "Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,"

melting here in wailing tenderness after the retiring footstep of weeping Eve, rolling there in crashing thunders upon the flying tread of the apostate angel, as repentant man and baffled fiend looked back on the flaming brand at the alabaster gate of *Paradise* forever *Lost*. We come to Milton to hear from every line the clarion notes of reform rolling down the ages; to see from every page his finger pointing heavenward; to learn how exhaustless are the resources of our mother tongue, its brawny Saxon strength, its Italian softness and melody, its Gallic vivacity and precision, its Grecian grace and glow and abundance, like the waters that sparkle, bubble, and roar among the Ægean isles; its Roman stateliness and grandeur, like the tramp of iron legions over the Appian pavements; its Hebrew swoop on the wings of cherubim and seraphim; yet more, far more,

we come not so much to see or hear anything that was his as to see and hear him, to hear and feel the vast pulsations of that mighty heart, throbbing on with its tides of thought and feeling; to mark what noble natures sometimes live in this murky, sin-reeking air of earth; we see how sublime a human life may be, and never doubt again that man is immortal.

Art. IV.—THE DOCTRINE OF ASSURANCE.

1. *The Witness of the Spirit:* a Treatise on the Evidence of the Believer's Adoption, by Daniel Walton. New-York: 1847.
2. *Lectures on Romans*, by Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Lecture fifty-four. Romans viii, 16: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." New-York: 1850.
3. *Sermons*, by Rev. Richard Watson. Vol. II, Sermon 104. The Spirit of Adoption. New-York: 1835.
4. *The Works of Bishop Sherlock.* Vol. I, Discourse 8. Romans viii, 16. London: 1830.
5. *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M.* Vol. I, Sermons 10, 11. The Witness of the Spirit. Sermon 12, The Witness of our own Spirit. New-York: 1835.

The Divine scheme of human redemption provides for us the great privilege of becoming the sons of God. Next, in its importance to us, is the privilege of assurance. May we have an assurance that we are his children? Who are the witnesses to our gracious affiliation? What is their testimony? How is it conveyed to the soul? What measure of assurance may it afford? These questions are not new, nor yet obsolete. And they have lost none of their intrinsic interest. Nor have they, after all the disputation respecting them, been settled by a common consent of either Churches or divines. We propose, in this article, a discussion of the doctrine of assurance, with which these questions are intimately connected. It is not our design formally to review the works which we have cited; yet we shall notice them, more or less, as they touch upon the line of treatment which we shall pursue.

What is assurance? We have here nothing to do with the question, as it has been applied to the doctrine of final perseverance and salvation. We shall treat it only in relation to a present state of grace. Assurance is the persuasion or confidence which a Christian has, that he is a child of God. In its subjective character, or as it exists and is recognized in our consciousness, it is of the nature of

faith; faith not in the act of it, but in the confidence which accompanies, or, in the order of nature, follows it. Our consciousness plainly distinguishes between our act of faith, and the consequent persuasion which we feel of the truth of what we believe; the confidence with which we rest in its truth. Both the act of believing and this resulting confidence belong to a proper religious faith. Assurance is such a confidence of faith. There is a propriety in so defining in; for it is received in part, or so far as it respects the witness of our own spirit, through its natural mode, the proper belief of evidence that we are the children of God. Our mind perceives and credits this evidence; then we feel a confidence in the truth of what we believe. This confidence is assurance. We may further observe here that assurance, so far as derived from the witness of the Spirit, is a confidence of the same character, though received in a different mode; a point to be hereafter considered. But being subjectively the same in kind, it, too, may be called the confidence of faith.

Whence this assurance? We have already indicated. It comes from the joint testimony of two witnesses, the Holy Spirit and our own spirit. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." All who allow any measure of assurance must, in reason, consent that there is a witness of our own spirit to our adoption. And there is generally an agreement among evangelical divines as to the nature and manner of its testimony. We shall, in the proper place, consider its mode and measure. And this will sufficiently include the fact of such a testimony. Our first inquiry is directed to the witness of the Spirit.

There is a distinct, immediate witness of the Holy Spirit to our adoption or sonship. In the language of Scripture, the Spirit bears witness *with* our spirit to this relation. But it gives a joint testimony simply in point of time and object, or fact, witnessing at the same time with our spirit to the same relation. It is a distinct and immediate witness, as it gives its own evidence in its own mode; not through the same mode and media with our spirit, but conveying it directly to the soul. Is there such a witness of the Spirit? Holy Scripture must furnish the only sufficient proof of it. Experience may be harmonious to it; even affirmative of it. Reason may be alike harmonious and affirmative. But neither can be alleged as an authority. We appeal to the Scriptures:

"The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Rom. viii, 16.

First, we allege this text in proof that the Holy Spirit is a witness to our adoption. This is disputed. Even all reference to the Holy

Spirit is denied; and it is claimed that by the Spirit we must here understand the filial temper or disposition of the child of God. But surely the careful, unprejudiced reading of this chapter will bring us to a different conclusion. Let us note a few verses: "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Verse 2. "The Spirit of life" is a proper appellative of the Holy Spirit, who "is life," and who "quickeneth," or giveth life. And the Spirit here is not a gracious liberty from the law, or power, of sin and death; but the Spirit whose law or power achieves this freedom for us. This is the Holy Spirit; not any Christian temper. "The Spirit of God—the Spirit of Christ." Verse 9. Have we nothing here but the spirit or temper of a Christian? "If so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you." Ibid. Only a Christian spirit still? Now Christians are "the temple of the Holy Ghost," and "the habitation of God through the Spirit." These phrases must both mean the Holy Spirit, and not any gracious temper of a believer. And they are precisely parallel in sense to the above phrase. "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. Verse 11. The sense of this verse is, that the Spirit was the agent in the resurrection of Christ, who was, in fact, "put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit;" and that it will be the agent in our resurrection. Here there is no Christian disposition or temper, but the Holy Spirit. "But ye have received the Spirit of adoption." Verse 15. And this is not the filial disposition of the adopted child, but the adopting Spirit, the Divine agent who places us in the family of God. Now that the Spirit, as the term is used in these passages, is the Holy Spirit, is thus placed beyond all reasonable doubt. Then why shall we so utterly change its sense when we come to the next verse? Here we read: Αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ, τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit." What reason is there to conclude that here the Spirit signifies not the Holy Spirit, as in the preceding passages, but some Christian temper or disposition of the soul? Plainly, none at all. In no one of them are its personality and agency more fully and clearly expressed. Indeed, they are here noted with peculiar emphasis.

Next, this text contains very conclusive evidence that the Holy Spirit is a distinct witness to our adoption. The Greek verb, συμμαρτυρέω, properly signifies to witness with another, and hence implies two or more distinct witnesses testifying to the same thing. We have not space to cite the many authorities at hand in support

of this sense. It is fully sustained by several of the authors placed at the head of this article.

"The apostle's term, *συμμαρτυρέω*, 'beareth witness with,' is the very term which was used in the Greek language to denote a concurrence of testimony, when more than one witness testified to the same thing; and, as a plurality of witnesses was usually exhibited in courts of justice, those who were joined in giving testimony to the same point were called *συμμαρτυρες*, joint witnesses. . . . . I have never found the word used in a different sense by any writer in any one instance."—*Mr. Walton.*

"As our translators have represented St. Paul's meaning, there is no room for dispute concerning the number of the witnesses, which are evidently two. But the words in the original evidently imply the sense which our translators follow. . . . . *Συμμαρτυρεῖν* signifies to be a fellow-witness, or to witness the same thing that another does; and so the word constantly signifies in Scripture, and is never used but where there is a concurrent evidence of two witnesses. . . . And this being the constant use of the word, there can be no reason given why it should not be taken in the same sense here. . . . . Here, then, are two witnesses."—*Bishop Sherlock.*

We have not space for the conclusive authorities which these writers bring to the support of their position. But we may take the sense of two witnesses as fully established. And hence, beyond all question, the Spirit is one in itself; a distinct witness that we are the children of God.

Now this fact, that the Spirit is a distinct witness, involves the conclusion that it is an immediate witness. Any other interpretation must confound its testimony with that of our own spirit. Yet the two must be distinguished. Here are, in fact, two separate, independent witnesses; two separate, independent testimonies; and joint witnesses and testimonies only in point of time and the relation or fact witnessed to. And to avoid a confounding of the two, we must find an immediate witness of the Spirit. Some have fallen into this very error. And their failure to find any proper witness of the Spirit, while denying its directness, leaves us secure in the position that it is direct.

"The part that the Spirit of God hath had in this matter is, that he both graves upon us the lineaments of a living epistle of Christ Jesus, and tells us in the epistle of a written revelation what these lineaments are. The part which our own spirit has is, that with the eye of consciousness we read what is in ourselves; and with the eye of the understanding we read what is in the book of God's testimony. And upon our perceiving that such as the marks of grace which we find to be within, so are the marks of grace which we observe in the description of that word without that the Spirit hath indited, we arrive at the conclusion that we are born of God."—*Dr. Chalmers.*

Now here is but one witness. All the testimony brought to the heart is given by our own spirit. The Spirit has by regeneration wrought in the soul a new character, and by inspiration described it. But it does not hereby stand in the

office of a witness to that soul of its new character and relation, much less of a distinct witness. It has merely furnished the subject and material for the testimony of our own spirit. This is no witnessing of the spirit. A sculptor has wrought a statue. It must be identified, in order to determine its ownership. Testimony must be had for the identification. The artist has wrought the work and furnished an accurate description of it. He does nothing more. Another compares the statue and the description, observes their agreement, and then witnesses to the identity and ownership. In such a case, is the artist a proper witness, especially a distinct witness? Is he a witness at all? Would any counselor so introduce him? Would any court so recognize him? Surely not. He is not a witness. Yet this is all that is here allowed to the Spirit in the work of assurance; all that can be, upon any theory which denies the directness of its testimony. You may assume that the Scriptures are utterly silent respecting the witness of the Spirit; even that they directly deny it, and yet find all the evidence of adoption, contained in this definition, in the witness of our own spirit. Hence we must see that there is no medium between the direct witness of the Spirit and an utter denial of its office of witnessing. Therefore, from the plain Scripture fact that it is a witness, we have the sure conclusion that it is an immediate witness.

Bishop Sherlock runs into a similar error. He argues most conclusively for two witnesses, and for the distinct witness of the Spirit. But he assigns to it simply—and all of—the witness of our own spirit. He says:

"The power to do good comes from the influence of the Holy Spirit; and therefore the good we do is such an evidence of our being the sons of God, as we stand obliged to the Spirit of God for . . . . The great privileges mentioned in this chapter, (Rom. viii,) such as being made free from the law of sin and death, of walking not after the flesh, but the Spirit, being such as we receive from the Spirit of God, are therefore evidences of the Spirit for our regeneration."

Now this theory excludes our own spirit from its proper sphere of testimony; in fact, leaves it no testimony at all. And every theory which denies the immediate witness of the Spirit, must either confound its testimony with that of our spirit, or else make the one exclude the other, and hence find but one witness. True, the bishop has sought elsewhere for the witness of our spirit, but with an utter failure of success. He has sought it in the mind's approval of the law, in its desires and efforts to obey it, as described in Rom. vii. Now a man conscious of these things in the experience of his own mind, has thereby the evidence that he is a child of God. And but

for the slavery of sin, which prevents his obedience, this evidence would be sufficient. The Spirit supplies the deficiency through the freedom from this bondage of sin which it achieves. Such is the witness of our spirit, in the theory of this author. But according to this theory, and most unfortunately for it, the witness of our spirit precedes the relation to which it gives its evidence. For even the bishop holds this state of bondage under sin to be that of nature, the unregenerate state. Hence he brings his witness to our sonship before the work of regeneration which constitutes us sons. Here, surely, his logic and theology both break down; and he is left with only one witness, after having clearly proved there are two. But he could do no better while denying the immediate witness of the Spirit. Besides, if the Spirit is a witness of our sonship only as the author of this relation, and of the fruits which characterize it, then it is not properly a witness at all. It is certainly a singular mode of witnessing to a relation in the very work which constitutes it; or to the work and its characteristics in the operation itself which produces them. The two are distinct in fact, and clearly distinguished in Scripture; and to confound them seems strange. A composition may have the impress of a particular author; it may be a lively picture of his peculiar modes of thought and style; a portrait or piece of sculpture may display the peculiar taste and skill of some particular artist. Now in any such case it might with propriety be said, that the work bore witness to the author, but not that he bore witness to the work, in the execution of it. Still less could it be said that the author, in the very characteristics which he impressed upon his work, and these characteristics themselves both gave witness to the work. Here is place for but one witness and but one testimony. And thus we reach the same conclusion, that if there be two witnesses—that if the Spirit be a distinct witness, a proper witness at all—its testimony is given, not in the work and fruit of regeneration, and not in the same mode and media with that of our spirit, but separately and immediately.

That the Holy Spirit is an immediate witness in its office of assurance, is the plain sense of Scripture. But for the better understanding of the few texts we have space to consider, let the points already established be remembered: that the Spirit is a witness to our sonship; and that it is a distinct witness, as there are two. We recur to the text from which these points were proved: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Now if there be a distinct, immediate witness of the Spirit, it could not easily be stated more clearly than in these words. A relation is testified to which must exist, in the order of nature,

before the testimony to it. We are the children of God: here is the relation. The Spirit beareth witness that we are the children of God: here is the testimony to the relation. Then surely, as the act of testifying is subsequent to this relation, it must be distinct from, as it must be subsequent to, the work of the Spirit in constituting the relation. And so its continuous witness must ever be distinct from its continuous work of regeneration or sanctification, whence spring the fruits or graces which characterize the children of God. Besides, as we have proved, to find this witness in these fruits is to confound the two witnesses and their testimonies. For it is through these fruits that our own spirit gives its evidence. Hence we must find the witness of the Spirit, not in the work of regeneration, nor in the fruits of that work, but in a distinct, immediate testimony to the soul, of its gracious adoption. "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." Gal. iv, 6. Here is the same doctrine. Again the relationship and the testimony to it are stated as two distinct things. "Ye are sons:" here is the relation. "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father:" here is the testimony to it. This evidence comes after the relationship, and is given to it as already existing, and "because" it exists. Then it cannot be given in the work of regeneration, which constitutes us the sons of God, and which, therefore, must precede it; nor in the graces of the Spirit, which are the fruits of its work of regeneration. This, again, would be a confounding of the two witnesses and their testimonies; rather a dismission of the Holy Spirit from its office of witnessing. The only remaining conclusion is, that the Spirit is an immediate witness. And such is the plain sense of this text. "Because ye are sons," born of God and adopted into his family, "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son," the Holy Spirit, "into your hearts," into the consciousness of the soul, "crying, Abba, Father," not in the sense of a special revelation, but in the mode of an immediate impression, producing therein the assurance of a gracious affiliation to God.

The priority of the Spirit's testimony to that of our spirit is introduced into this discussion. The mere question of its precedence we do not regard as material to the doctrine of assurance. But the argument usually brought in its support is erroneous, both in its philosophy and theology; and misleading in the analysis of the evidence given by the two witnesses. This argument alleges a necessity of precedence in the witness of the Spirit on the ground that the graces through which our own spirit gives its evidence are the fruits of its witnessing. And, therefore, as it must be first, and

produces these fruits by its witnessing, it must be an immediate witness. Such is this argument. And it is a common one with the authors of our own Church which we have cited. As it is with them the same in its principles, and of very similar form, it will suffice to quote from one:

"But is it not obvious to you, that love to God directly implies the knowledge of his love to us, as our reconciled Father? God's love to us is the cause of our love to him, and must therefore be known by us before we can love him. So, too, as to peace. Can we have this before we know whether we have peace with God, before we know that his anger is turned away from us? What is the cause of the distress of that penitent mourner in sin? He tells you, and he tells you truly, that it is because God is angry with him. Now, how do you propose to calm his agitation? You tell him to examine himself, whether he has peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and that if he has, he may then infer that God's anger is turned away from him; that is, he feels he has not either peace or joy, and you tell him that, in order that he may obtain them; he is to construct an argument whose basis is, that both peace and joy are already in his possession. Brethren, love, and peace, and joy are all fruits of the Spirit, 'given unto us,' on our 'being justified by faith,' as the Spirit of adoption. The graces which the apostle enumerates constitute 'the fruit of the Spirit;' but his very first work, on our believing, and that by which this fruit is produced, is, to bear witness to our adoption into God's family, and thus to enable us to call God our father. The fruits of the Spirit flow from the witness of the Spirit."—*Mr. Watson.*

Now the entire basis of all this argument for the direct witness of the Spirit is an error. This basis is, that the fruits of the Spirit are in fact, and of necessity, from its work of witnessing. They are, in fact, the fruit of its work of regeneration; the instant out-growth of the new life thus wrought in the soul. The witness of the Spirit cannot produce them. And for this sufficient reason, it is not renewing or sanctifying. It is a witness of sonship, and hence supposes the previous work of regeneration, which constitutes us sons. And without this moral renovation, the clearest assurance of adoption could not yield us one fruit of the Spirit. As the works of the flesh spring naturally and freely from its depravity, so do the fruits of the Spirit spring from its regeneration of this corrupt nature. Hence its witness is not causatively, nor even conditionally necessary to these fruits. Regeneration is a mighty work, at once manifesting itself in the consciousness of the soul, even in love, and peace, and joy. Let us, with these authors, instance love. Their argument is, in substance, that, as the forgiving love of God is the necessary cause of our love to him, we cannot love him till assured by the Spirit's witness of such love to us. But this is only one of many reasons for our love; only one of many manifestations of Divine love to us. And this general conclusion from only one of so many particulars is illogical. Besides, upon our regeneration our own spirit, as we shall see, brings prompt assurance of God's forgiving

and saving love. In this very work his love is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost given unto us, and instantly flows back in love to him. And the Spirit's "very first work, on our believing, is," not "to bear witness to our adoption," but to renew us in the image of God. We have their appeal to the case of the penitent, agitated and alarmed under a sense of God's anger. "You tell him that he is to examine himself, whether he has peace and joy," in order to assurance of God's favor. No, we do not so direct him. And we say another thing: The Holy Spirit will not, as this argument claims it must, tell such a one, struggling with sin and trembling under the Divine wrath, that he is forgiven and adopted. He must first believe in Christ, and be forgiven and born of God. But, with this mighty change, whence the fruits of the Spirit so promptly spring, he is no longer the trembling, soul-crushed penitent, but a child of God. And his own spirit will be instant with the Spirit in witnessing to his gracious affiliation.

This argument has other errors. It misinterprets the witness of the Spirit by ascribing to it too much of detail in its testimony. According to it, the Spirit gives direct assurance to the soul of its forgiveness, of the love of God in that forgiveness, of its heavenly heirship, and so on. Now Holy Scripture is very definite in the declaration that the Spirit witnesses to our sonship, or that we are the children of God. We find nothing else than this relation. And whether we may go beyond, and include other things, is at least questionable. True, if assured of sonship, we have assurance of all these things; but not without the witness of our own spirit. Again, if, according to this argument, the fruits of the Spirit are from its witnessing, and if it manifests its testimony in the removal of a sense of guilt, in peace with God, in joy in the Holy Ghost, and in the consciousness of a great moral change, it is but a short and easy step to the logical conclusion that its witness is given in and by these fruits and manifestations. But then its evidence differs nothing from that of our spirit. There is, in fact, no further evidence for our spirit to give. But the witness of the Spirit has no such fruits and manifestations.

What, then, is the witness of the Spirit? It is a *confidence produced by the immediate agency of the Spirit in the mind of a believer, that he is a child of God.* It is nothing else, nothing more. Any other analysis must deny its immediateness, or confound it, more or less, with that of our spirit. Such is the sense of the texts which we have brought to the proof and exposition of this witness. It has no fruit or manifestation, except in this confidence, apart from regeneration or the witness of our spirit. It is a con-

fidence of sonship manifested in our consciousness. And being such a confidence, subjectively, as that of faith, the operation of the Spirit in producing it by an immediate agency may, with propriety, be called a witnessing. By such an agency is this confidence produced. It comes not through the consciousness of a gracious moral change; nor through any reasoning upon the fruits of the Spirit. There is no outward or inward voice; no direct communication to the intelligence; but an immediate operation in the consciousness. The work of the Spirit in producing this confidence is as immediate as in convincing of sin. There is surely a witness of our own spirit that we are sinners. And the Spirit may aid this testimony by making manifest the truth, and arresting our attention to it; by producing in the conscience a tender susceptibility to that truth. But all this does not include or supersede the direct witness of the Spirit (I may so express it) that we are sinners. It does by immediate agency produce in the soul a conviction of sin. This is one office of its mission, the work of which it is constantly performing. And to interpret all this as wrought through our own reflection upon our character in view of the truth, would contradict alike the sense of Scripture and the facts of experience. Often conviction of sin seizes upon the soul when the truth is not in our view, when we are utterly void of all reflection upon our moral character, and when the circumstances have no tendency seriously to impress us. Here is the immediate agency of the Spirit. Such is its agency in its work of assurance.

We have no concern to inquire further into the Spirit's mode of operation. This is a mystery. But it is a matter of no moment, as the measure and comfort of assurance in nowise depend upon its comprehension. There is an utter mystery of mode in the mind's hearing and seeing. Yet sounds are just as sweet and scenes are just as beautiful as though we fully comprehended their mode. So of the witness of the Spirit. We know not its mode. We allow no intellective recognition of its presence and operation. It has to us no mode. We receive the confidence of affiliation to God. We have it, we feel it, we rejoice in it. This confidence is the witness of the Spirit.

The witness of our own spirit. There is generally an agreement among evangelical divines, not only as to the fact, but also as to the nature and process of its testimony. The witness of our spirit is mediate or indirect. It may receive, but cannot give immediate evidence of adoption. It derives its testimony from a comparison of our experience and life with the word of God. The Scriptures note various things as characteristics of his children. We are cog-

nizant of these things as facts of our own experience and life. We find, upon comparison, an agreement of these facts of experience and life with these Scripture characteristics. Our own spirit hence derives to itself the authorized inference, the sure persuasion, that we are the children of God. Such is the process by which our spirit witnesses to our sonship; such the nature and mode of its evidence. Let us further develop its testimony.

The children of God are delivered from condemnation. "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus." Rom. viii, 1. Here are moral states and a moral charge which manifest themselves in the consciousness of the soul. Whoever will look into this and the previous chapter, and study, as the apostle has drawn it, the portrait of the slavery of the soul under the bondage of sin and the body of death, of the felt condemnation of the law under which the awakened conscience labors, and of the change from all this to a state of approval and peace with God, will plainly see that they are such as clearly to manifest themselves in the consciousness of one who has the experience of them. Now such a one, fully cognizant of these facts of experience, and rejoicing in freedom from condemnation, and in "the peace of God," comes with his experience to the Scriptures, and finds in these things an exact agreement. Hence his spirit brings to him the evidence and assurance of his affiliation to God. "And hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God."

The children of God love him. "Love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God." Here is another plain characteristic of his children. Love is an affection of which the mind is conscious. We know when we love, and whom we love. One knows that he loves God. He comes with this experience to the Scriptures, and reads: "The carnal mind is enmity against God." But he knows, he feels that his mind is not enmity against God; and hence that he is not now carnal, sold under sin. He reads again: "Love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God." And hence his spirit, conscious of this love, brings to him the assurance that he is born of God, and therefore the child of his adoption.

The children of God love one another. "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us." One feels that he loves his fellow Christians; and that, because they are Christians. He is just as conscious of this as of any other affection, parental or filial, or fraternal, that ever glowed in his heart. Then he reads in the Scriptures: "If we love one another, God dwelleth in us;" and "We know that we have passed from death unto life,

because we love the brethren." Now finding this love in his own experience, he has the assurance that God dwells in him, that he has passed from death unto life, and, therefore, that he is a child of God. Thus, again, his own spirit bears witness to his sonship.

The children of God are obedient to his will, or righteous in life. "Every one that doeth righteousness is born of him." In view of this test, the Christian prayerfully studies the word of God, as the rule of life. He carefully and closely searches into his own conduct to see if it conforms to this rule. He examines closely his purposes and principles, and the ruling motives of his life. After all this, and upon the most honest and enlightened estimate which he can form, he feels that he does conscientiously and cheerfully obey God. And, comparing this fact with the declaration that "every one that doeth righteousness is born of him," his spirit witnesses to him that he is born of God, and, therefore, his child. "This is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and Godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world."

The children of God are led by the Holy Spirit. "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." Here is another plain test of our gracious affiliation. By this criterion may every man determine his relation to God. Connect with it the words of St. Paul: "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace," etc.; for we shall bear all these fruits if we be led by the Spirit. Then look at these fruits as they stand in contrast to the works of the flesh, described in the same connection. We shall thus find the difference so great, the contrast so wide and striking, that we can easily determine whether we yield and cherish the one class or the other. But without this comparison or contrast, note more particularly some of these fruits. We have already spoken of love in another connection. Peace: this is a fruit of the Spirit, and a blessing of Christian experience. Till the gracious change which redeems us from sin, and especially during the period of penitence, the soul is full of unrest and disquiet, full of agitation and trouble, like the sea swelling and tossing under the tempest-winds. But when changed by grace, trouble and agitation give place to peace. God speaks to the winds and the waves, and there is a great calm. Now the soul is full of peace. Joy: this, too, is a fruit of the Spirit. As a sinner, as an awakened sinner, man has no joy. Sorrow fills his heart, and words of mourning dwell upon his lips. But when born of the Spirit, gladness and joy spring up in his soul; and while led by the Spirit, he continues to have this fruit of joy. Now one finds in his experience all these fruits of the Spirit, all these evidences that he is

led by the Spirit. He comes with this experience to the Scriptures, and reads: "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." And he hence has the witness of his own spirit that he is a child of God.

Such is the witness of our spirit, such the mode and media of its testimony. But we must not hence infer that usually a long course of reasoning must be instituted before we can receive its evidence. The fact is far otherwise. There are states of mind when its reasoning processes are exceeding rapid, and its logical conclusions reached as in an instant. Such is eminently the fact here. Let us instance in conversion. We know its characteristics beforehand. We wait in penitence for it in the manifestation of peace, and joy, and love, in the clear sense of a great and happy moral change. Regeneration comes suddenly with all these manifestations. It instantly reveals and identifies itself in the consciousness of the soul; and we have as instantly the assurance that we are the children of God. There are exceptions. We know nothing of a gradual regeneration; there may be such. But its manifestation in our consciousness is sometimes gradual. Here our spirit will of course move more slowly in its induction. Nor is the manifestation of the Spirit's witness, in such instances, more rapid. It is but reasonable, and in nowise contradicted by experience, that the two witnesses proceed together. And we must not conclude that, because the Spirit's witnessing is immediate, it is therefore instantly full in its manifestation. This would contradict the facts of experience in the instances of a gradual assurance. And usually, in the progress of a true Christian life, our spirit is equally prompt in its witnessing. When the religious state is low, and Christian affections and motives but feebly felt, its evidence, while less conclusive, will be more slowly given. The evidences being feeble, we need more of them, in order to assurance, and hence, must institute a wider and more careful comparison of our experience and life with the Scripture notes of the children of God. Hence the process of testimony must be more lengthy and tardy. The same may be requisite in times of sore temptation and trial, whereby the soul is brought into heaviness and doubt. But usually, with a true and lively state of grace, our spirit will require a period of time scarcely appreciable for the process of its witnessing. Nor is the certainty or sufficiency of its testimony hereby in the least impaired.

There is from the witness of our spirit a resulting confidence of a gracious adoption. This is properly the confidence of faith, because it results from the belief of various evidences that we are the children of God. Now upon the belief of these evidences, we rest

with confidence in the truth of the relation which they prove; in the confidence that we are the children of God. This confidence is assurance, as we receive it from the witness of our own spirit. But we must not infer that there is in assurance a twofold confidence, one from each witness, and such as our consciousness may discriminate. The two, if we may speak of two, blend into one. Consciousness recognizes no distinction. Subjectively, there is but one confidence, and hence no distinction to recognize.

Such is assurance, and such the witnesses and evidence whence it must be derived. May we hence have assurance? Or what measure of it may we have? But before we attempt a direct answer to these questions, we must give attention to a few points or facts regarded as difficulties or objections.

One fact is the denial, on the part of good men, of the immediate witness of the Spirit. That such men, and withal closely observant of all the facts of their religious experience, of all the cognitions of their consciousness, have made this denial is not to be questioned. We may instance Dr. Chalmers: "I could not, without making my own doctrine outstrip my own experience, vouch for any other intimation of the Spirit of God, than that which he gives in the act of making the word of God clear to you, and the state of your own heart clear to you." Now how is such a denial reconcilable to the fact of an immediate witness of the Spirit. Very easily, upon our analysis of its witnessing. Its witnessing is the producing of a confidence of sonship. But, as we have seen, our mind does not recognize the Spirit, nor distinguish between this confidence, subjectively considered, (the only light in which it can be here regarded,) and that from the witness of our spirit. Now Dr. Chalmers did not deny assurance. He claimed the confidence of sonship, and rejoiced in it. Hence his experience, being the same subjectively that it would have been upon the fact, and upon his belief in the fact, of the immediate witness of the Spirit, can allege nothing against it as a fact. And all such difficulties have weight, not against such a witness itself, but against false theories respecting it.

Another such fact is the denial, on the part of good men, of assurance. This is more difficult of solution. But to what extent is the denial of such? It only reaches to an uncertainty of a gracious state; rather, to a want of certainty. They will not deny to themselves a regenerate state. Then, further, their denial is a matter of theory rather than of experience. Talk with them of their experience; let them tell you of their comfort and hope; of their confidence in God as their friend and father. Now you ascertain hereby that the language of their experience is a profession of assurance,

and that their denial of it is a matter of theory, proceeding, not from their experience, but from their creed. Look again to the facts of their experience and life, as they will give them to you, and you will find them such as to warrant some measure of assurance. Then their denial makes nothing against so much of assurance, as a privilege. Besides, assurance is, conditionally, greatly under our influence. As we believe it, and look to God in prayer for it, so will its evidences be manifested to the heart. This is true even of the witness of the Spirit. The want of such faith and prayer must greatly lessen this manifestation. Then the disbelief of assurance as a privilege must, by direct influence, weaken the perception of the remaining evidence for it. And, still, there is in the mind a power to reject what remains of assurance, as such, or, at least, to place it in uncertainty.

It is objected to the doctrine of assurance, that many have been deceived in the profession of it, and that others have been fanatical respecting it. These are not valid objections. What would remain as true in religious experience, if fanaticism respecting it would disprove its truth? And the false profession of assurance makes nothing against its truth; certainly nothing, if such profession is dishonest. But suppose it sincere, still it makes nothing. Error is very common, even when it might be avoided, and truth obtained. In such case error is not the fault of the subject, nor of the evidence, but of the person who assumes his proposition or conclusion without due regard to the evidence which must support it. Thus it is here. One claims to be a child of God, assuming, without due consideration, that he has the witness of the Spirit, and considering but little or nothing whether he has the witness of his own spirit. Such a one may have the confidence that he is a child of God. He can but have this confidence, if he fully believes, however falsely, that he is his child. His error, and the fault of it, are his own. Hence his self-deception is no objection to the doctrine of assurance.

Assurance admits of degrees. And there are sufficient reasons why it should have its gradations in the experience of believers. In the instance of regeneration, there are many things to influence the measure of its manifestation in our consciousness. Our past lives are different in the character and measure of sinfulness. Our temperaments are very different. Some have much gentleness, and others great intensity of emotion. Our conversions are different, in the suddenness and intensity of conviction, and in the instantaneousness and manifest power of regeneration. All these things must have great influence in determining the measure of assurance for our regeneration. Then our temperament must carry its in-

fluence through the experiences of our Christian life. Some, with their pensive spirit and gentle affections, their timid, doubting turn, their hesitant belief of anything respecting their own spiritual good, will have less confidence of their gracious adoption. Others, with their joyous spirit and fervid affections, their hopeful, trusting turn, will have greater strength of assurance. Then, as a general principle, the measure of assurance must correspond to the measure of religion. The higher attainment in grace and fuller devotion in life must afford clearer and stronger evidences of adoption than the lower attainment and the less devotion. The Spirit, in its witnessing, will usually observe the same principle. It could not produce its fuller measure of confidence where the religious life is low, without serious detriment to such soul. It is far better and safer for the soul that it should give assurance according to the religious state and life.

But with all these things to influence the measure of filial confidence, a comfortable persuasion of adoption is the common privilege of true believers. Report to two persons some good tidings, equally concerning them. Both believe it, and rest in its truth. Confidence, however, is far more forcible and joyous with the one than the other; yet both have a comfortable confidence in the good tidings. Go with another and look upon a landscape. While you both look, his emotion of the beautiful is far more intense than yours. Yet you are as certainly sensible of the beautiful as he. Or, two persons have conviction for sin; but one with far deeper pungency than the other; yet both have a felt persuasion of sinfulness. And so of assurance. It may range through many degrees of confidence and joy, while the soul has, through all, a comfortable persuasion of its adoption. The character of the witnesses and the nature of their testimony both warrant the position of a comfortable assurance as the common privilege of true believers.

The Holy Spirit is an all-competent witness. This none can reasonably deny, or even doubt. It is the Author of our regeneration and adoption; knows the truth of our gracious affiliation; and can easily produce, by an immediate agency, the confidence of it in the consciousness of the soul. As the Spirit communicates Divine truth, or the knowledge of past or future events, to the mind by an immediate inspiration, and in entire independence of all the usual or mediate processes for its acquirement; as, by direct action upon the conscience, it produces conviction of sin and a sense of the Divine displeasure, so, by an immediate agency, it can and does produce in the soul a confidence of sonship. In such an economy God has surely designed, and provided for us, the blessing of assurance.

And equally is this blessing provided for in the witness of our

own spirit. We have before explained the media and mode of its testimony. It is by a comparison of the facts of our religious experience and life with the Scripture notes of the true Christian character. Now these Scripture notes are infallible; and they are so fully and distinctly given, as to be easily and clearly discerned and known. Then the strength of this testimony will depend upon the certainty with which we may know the agreement between these Scripture notes and the facts of our religious experience and life. And this, again, will depend upon the measure and certainty of our knowledge of these facts. Beyond this all is easy and plain. Now may we surely know these facts? I think we may; and for the very reason that they are facts of experience and plain observation. Look at the change wrought in us at our conversion, and at the fruits of the Spirit developed in the new life. Conversion is a recovery from guilt and condemnation into a state of justification; from the bondage of sin into the liberty of the Gospel; from darkness to light; from death unto life; from fear to hope; from hatred to love; from the unrest and trouble of sin to peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; from a fearful sense of God's displeasure to a reposing trust in his love; from the indifference of the soul's slumber to wakefulness to its spiritual welfare; from profanity or thoughtlessness to prayer; from rebellion to obedience; from selfish and earthly motives and pleasures to benevolent and spiritual ones. Surely these states, which so fully enter into our experience, are such in themselves, and so widely different, that we can clearly distinguish them, and determine which we are in, or whether we have passed through this great and gracious change. Then the experiences of this new life are carried forward through its progress, with continued power for manifesting and identifying themselves in the consciousness of the soul. And all the while the outward life lies under our open inspection, enabling us to determine whether it conforms to the Scripture requirements of the children of God. Now, with the knowledge of these facts of our religious experience and life, we may bring them to a comparison with the word of God, and clearly discern their agreement with the Scripture notes of his children. Thus we shall have strong evidence from the witness of our spirit for our sonship, and, in its witnessing, ample and safe ground for assurance.

And the joint testimony of the two witnesses greatly enlarges and secures this ground of assurance. Their testimonies strengthen each other, and unite in securing us against error, and in increasing our confidence. See how they co-operate. The Holy Spirit renews us in the image of God; develops in us all the parts and features of

the new man; leads us in all the ways of obedience; then it witnesses immediately to the soul of each, Thou art a child of God. And now the Christian, cognizant of this new life in himself, seeks in the Scriptures for the portrait of the children of God, and finding his own character answering to it as face to face in a glass, his own spirit, in harmony with the Spirit, witnesses to him, Thou art a child of God. Or, here is a good man, with a good and happy family. Friendship and love unite him and them. They love one another, and find pleasure in their father's will. This good man takes a child of orphanage, of poverty and wretchedness, and, at his earnest seeking and prayer, adopts him into his own family. Now, he says to him, Thou art my son. Here is the direct witness. Then this child reads from under this good man's own hand, thus: "I love all my children, and grant them free access to me; provide for them and protect them. They all love me and cheerfully obey me. They love one another, and find pleasure in each other's fellowship." But he knows, he feels that all this is true of himself. And now his heart responds, in the language of confidence, I am his child. Here is the indirect witness. And these two witnessings confirm each other, and furnish ample and safe ground for assurance. Such is the joint witnessing of the Spirit with our spirit, that we are the children of God.

Art. V.—THE NATURAL REVOLUTIONS OF LANGUAGE.

The Natural Revolutions of Language, traced through the Indo-European Tongues, the Greek, the Latin, and the Decomposition of the latter into the Dialects of modern Europe, by M. Fauriel, in a course of Lectures to the Faculty of Letters of Paris. 1854.

The origin of languages at any time, however recent, is not a simple, an isolate, an absolute fact, to which a date may be affixed as to a war or to a revolution. Slow, gradual, and nearly imperceptible at first, the transformation is observed but at the end of many ages. It is of the class of those phenomena which escape ordinary notice on account of their generality, continuity, and necessity. The generations that concur to them remain unconscious of their existence, much as they do of the life that animates them or the atmosphere they breathe. And when the language has at last attained a

prominence to strike attention, it is then too late to go in quest of the origin.

The escape from this dilemma is through the history of languages, interpreted by the philosophy of society. The former, as the earliest and continuous instrument of sociability, must have been subject to a like succession of revolutions. There are also other changes and entire extinctions in the fate of languages as in the destiny of the communities who speak them. But these, proceeding from extraneous causes, may be here discarded as accidental, to pursue but the intrinsic and the natural evolution.

This evolution has a double aspect, exterior and interior; exterior as regards the principles of the progressive concentration whereby the multitude of local idioms are at last resolved into a national tongue; interior as respects the grammar, the organic constitution.

The former point of view, the propagation of language from individual to family, from family to tribe, from tribe to petty nation, is that which lies within the dark alluded to; but indirectly, we may deduce it, in its general order and distinctive stages, from the known history of the political agglomeration of the speakers. By thus prefixing the restored section to the earliest fully-formed national idiom, of course the earliest that remains to us in the integrity of its constitution, and which offers, on the other hand, the most extended affiliations, or influences most deeply the greatest number of posterior languages, we have the broadest historic basis for a philosophical investigation. The Sanscrit, with its long line of Indo-European derivatives, presents the national development and requisite conditions, and the preliminary section may be had from living savage idioms. Such are then the basis and the method of procedure for investigating language generally, in its interior revolutions.

In this respect, the rudest idioms present us with a strange phenomenon. Instead of being, as one should fancy them, extremely simple, poor, and formless, the more barbarian will be found the richest, if not precisely in syntactic forms, at least in forms queer, complicated, and apparently ingenious. The idioms of the American savages afford a signal example. In these the verb marks not alone, as in our languages, the general circumstances of the action or the state, such as the tense, the mood, the person; but, moreover, a multitude of accessory particulars, accidental shadings, minute modifications, going all to specialize or individualize the state or action. The Peruvians go still further, having distinct forms of the verb to express action by a single person, by two reciprocally, or by several;

also to denote the different directions of motion, upward, downward, inward, outward, etc. So, too, with the negro idioms of Africa. In fine, the valleys of the Pyrenees present an instance still more curious, to the same effect, in the antique language of the Biscayans.

Is this seemingly grammatical, nay, metaphysical refinement to be accepted as implying advancement in the idiom or its speakers? The mere statement of such a notion must exhibit its absurdity, although it still remains the current doctrine more or less explicitly upon the subject. The tatooings of the savage would as well evince superior taste. Not the number and intricacy, but the simplicity and generality of grammatical forms mark the progress of language. This progression might be traced already in those rude idioms, had we their history. The ancient languages which we have records of, at distant intervals in this career, present us all this universal tendency from the more complicate to the more simple. In growing older they drop off gradually their original forms. "*Synthetic* in the beginning, they undergo a decomposition, of which the result is to render them progressively more analytic."

On this last statement of the author, which involves a fundamental error, it becomes imperative to interpose a word of caution to the reader. The condition called *synthetic* is neither the primary state of languages, nor could it properly be named synthetic in relation to the whole development. We know of several savage idioms almost devoid of the forms mentioned; for example, among the Polynesian islanders. The spoken language of the Chinese is a fossil remnant of the same epoch, and yet it is not very famous for grammatical inflections; the author himself instances, we saw, the idioms of the Peruvians as still more complex than those of even the North American savages; and yet the former were a highly polished, a civilized people in comparison. There is at first, then, a progression of syntactic forms or agglomerations, on the contrary, from the simple to the complex.

Nor could this species of complexity in its highest maturity be called synthetical, in any adequate conception of a scientific distribution. By synthesis, which is precisely, because exclusively, a technical term, is or ought to be understood, not a mere *taking* together, but a *putting* together, deliberately, systematically. It is, therefore, a procedure for an age of science in any subject, and above all subjects, that of language, which is the latest to be brought to science. Accordingly, the author omits entirely from his theory this great future of the development of language, thus curtailing his conception at the last as well as first extremity. We should observe,

that he is not by any means alone in the double error; he partakes it quite in common with the larger portion of the reactionists against the puerile supposition of the perfection of the savage idioms. These new philologists, although incomparably in advance of the preceding, yet take in turn, like all reactionists, but an imperfect view of the subject. Having noticed and established the analytic phase of evolution, which is that through which, since history, the riper languages have all been passing, these pragmatical inquirers infer the future must be like the past, in the well-known terms of an axiom of the sect, although the starting-point of their opposition presents a point-blank contradiction. For the state of language they call synthetic, and which is a form of the *past*, is yet not like, but the very reverse to the relative *future* of their own analysis. But their habitual scope of reasoning does not extend to even this amplitude, and savors of the geographical horizon of the primitive man. Like him, they summarily fancy, to elude the contradiction noted, that their "synthetic" state of language is the mountain ridge that bounds the earth; that it sprung up instantaneously, there being no trace left of progression; that it is a *lusus naturæ*, like the fossil plants in the Dark Ages.

Not that this is done by sophistry or with intention of evasion; we are transcribing not the spirit of the men, but of their method. It has been seen that M. Fauriel makes a quite formal recognition of a progressive complication that must be anterior to the state in question. Accordingly, it is not his admissions that we complain of, but his arguments and theory which run thereafter counter to them. Most, the rest of his school of thinking do not even admit vaguely; and this, undoubtedly, because they do not see so far as M. Fauriel. They all retire through real despair, but with an air of prudent resignation, from the two extremities of this vast subject, plunged in the past and in the future. They do not seem to know that nature, in the most restricted of her revolutions, revolutions thus directly within the span of man or history, presents a method for the exploration analogically of her whole economy. For if the future be not always, and is strictly never, like the past, it is certain at least that nature is always like herself; for things quite different in the *terms* may be quite identical in their *relations*.

But nature teaches that in language as in all the other arts and sciences, it is the final state that is synthetic, and not the primitive. The latter might be named agglomerative, or, as sometimes, "agglutinated," the term given it by the celebrated William Von Humboldt, who was too much the philosopher not to distinguish it from strict synthesis. Or it would better still be named *Inductive*, both be-

cause its nature is really such, as well as also for its correlation to Analytic and Synthetic.

Of these three necessary, complemental, and progressive periods of formation in both the art and science of language, just the same as in all others, the middle only is the phrase included in our author's theory and illustration. So that, while rectifying the former, we have also defined the latter, and may proceed in the analysis without much future interruption.

The author then goes on intelligently, to explain the reason of the priority of the state of complication which he improperly names synthesis. Languages do but obey the general laws of the intelligence in the formation of all its ideas and its acquisitions. From its first glance upon the outer world, the mind "takes all things *by masses, wholes*, of which it does not *discern the details*. The earliest result of its action is *synthetic*." [Here is, in the author's own words, the radical error just exposed, and which amounts, we see, to complete contrariety; for "wholes," *as such*, so far from being synthetic, are not even complex, but purely simple; and the procedure upon wholes is *in*ductive.] But on reviewing, the author continues, this first survey of things by aggregates, the mind distinguishes and separates what was before confounded: "it decomposes *to recompose*; it analyzes." (P. 13.) The decomposition is the analysis; but where is the "recomposition?" The author had preoccupied the term synthesis at the foremost end, and was thus led to comprise crudely this final process in analysis. It would be difficult to meet a fundamental error betrayed so fully by the well-informed but ill-digested intelligence of the maker, or a correction more precisely justified, by even the blundering, than that submitted.

Passing now to trace the progress of this analytic evolution from the condition of induction or inflection, we commence with the Sanscrit fountain of the series as delineated. The Sanscrit and its European and even Asiatic affiliations are now, and have for ages back been all dead. They survive but in the liturgies of religion or dead literatures. They are succeeded by a class of idioms derived from them immediately, and uniformly by the same tendencies and processes of the intelligence. Accordingly, these secondary idioms all resemble in the main features of their formation and their procession from the principles. The character of this procession is a progressive "simplification, truncation, and impoverishment" of the mother tongue, affecting chiefly the declensions and conjugations. The mode of operation of the decomposition is as follows:

In the declension, what were called cases or terminations in the primitive idiom, are in the secondary substituted by prepositions and chiefly articles. In conjugation, all the circumstances, noted similarly by the primitive verb, are in the second stage denoted by conjunctions and by auxiliaries. This is the characteristic feature of the transition. It is traceable through the whole family of languages called Indo-European. Though in different degrees, it is exhibited in distinct progress in the Celtic, the Gaelic, the Gothic, the Slavic, the Sanscrit, the Greek, and the Latin. To pursue it in the last only is the main object of the author; but to this end, he thinks it proper to premise a survey of the Greek and Sanscrit.

The Hindoos are not originally of the Indian peninsula, but came from the Northwest, with their religion and their language formed. They found a native population with their languages in great variety. The latter had not been subdued with the same completeness as the speakers; they left some traces in the close-compacted texture of the Sanscrit. A proof that religion and nationality are less tenacious than language.

The Sanscrit appears, in fact, to be the most elaborate of all tongues in ingenuity, in abundance, and even euphony. It is this that suggests the question if it ever was a spoken language. The question is absurd, but touches others much more serious.

If a language so artificial and so learned as the Sanscrit can ever really have been common over so extensive a range of territory, it must inevitably not have been for a long time. Another cause of degradation would be the diversity of classes. The pariahs and trade castes cannot have spoken Sanscrit accurately. We must therefore suppose the distant and the degraded portions of the people to have made use of other idioms, either native or *patois*. An application of this fact will be made afterward to the Latin.

Of the *patois*, or degradation of the main idiom, there is direct evidence. Even in the dramatic literature of the Brahmin caste itself, there was already a divergence from the noble idiom, named the *Pracrit*. It is the dialect of women, even goddesses, and mere mortals; the gods employ Sanscrit, as do the men, except buffoons, whose under part upon the stage was deemed to class them with the women. The difference between the Sanscrit and the Pracrit is, however, slight; it turns not at all upon the complication, which remains the same; the change consists in greater freedom of pronunciation and accentuation, which made the *Pracrit* more adapted to the ear and stage, as to the sex.

Besides the Pracrit, which is found but in the dramatic literature, the Sanscrit had another dialect, still more curious, named the *Pali*,

and which was the sacred idiom of the Buddists. It is the least agglomerative or agglutinated of the three preceding forms; had already, some five centuries before the Christian era, relinquished the dual form, and reduced the number of the declensions. The alteration from the Sanscrit is still more marked in the conjugation; the passive voice has, in the *Pali*, lost a number of its tenses; the active, some; and several affixes of personality are either damaged or detached. The pronunciation is also modified by alteration of the syllables from the rigid regularity of the Sanscrit. The change in general is likened, by the late M. Burnouf, to the passage from the Latin to the Italian. The full exactness might, however, be with reason called in question, if we remember that the Buddists were a philosophic sect; whereas the change into Italian was a barbarous degeneration.

The only dialect of the Sanscrit, become fully popular, was the *Bengali*, spoken in the northeast India, on the banks of the Ganges. Possessing a rich literature, and long cotemporary with the living Sanscrit, the Bengali has, on cessation of the mother tongue, assumed its place throughout the region which bears the name of Bengal. It is, doubtless, since this substitution (which, it is thought, may have been caused by the subversion of the government on the Mohammedan invasion) that the Bengali acquired its literature and its polish. Our author will revert to its grammatical construction, after tracing down the decomposition of the Greek language to the like condition.

A first remarkable distinction between the Sanscrit and the Greek is, that the former, at whatever epoch, presents internally no dialects; whereas the latter is well known to have had four at the dawn of history; and it is certain that these were summaries of perhaps several dozen others, that had been gradually merged in them respectively. This concentration went hand in hand with the political, as usual; it even followed the predominance among the independent states. The four dialects, at the period of the Peloponnesian war, had been substantially reduced to two, the Attic and the Doric. With the conquest of the Macedonians, the Attic dialect ruled alone, or rather the principle of the supremacy was placed more worthily in Attic *literature*.

This renowned literature was that which vanquished to science, eloquence and taste, the Roman conquerors, in turn, of Greece. It became throughout the Roman empire much what the French is now in Russia. Throughout the whole Grecian East the Attic dialect was the common tongue, and so continued till the fall of Constantinople; the common tongue, that is, of literature and the refined

classes of society. But these being scattered into ruin or exile by the calamity of the capital, the popular dialect was left alone to take its place. Hence immediately the present idiom, which the nations call *Romaic.* The question is how it proceeded from the antique form of the language.

The grammatical decomposition commenced as early as the poems of Homer. For an example in the auxiliaries, this poet describing, in the Iliad, a herald who is going in haste to fulfill an urgent message, says: Βῆ δε θεειν; "that is, he *went* or *walked to run,* instead of *he ran.*" In this expression the word Βῆ, in the opinion of the author, discharges evidently but the function of an auxiliary. We must take leave again to differ from him, not alone as to the instance, but also in the loose notion which he seems to form of the auxiliary. His construction of the example is evidently wrong. The true import, in fact, is neither that the herald "went" or "walked to run," either form of which runs quite closely to the confines of stark nonsense. The plain meaning of the phrase is that the herald "went *by* running." It is θεειν that is *adverbial,* and not Βῆ that is auxiliary. The learned author had been spared this blunder by a proper notion of the auxiliary. It is not every verb, as he imagines, that, however general, can play this part. There are and can be, as far at least as human languages are yet developed, but three auxiliaries, the same in all, and the same in order of origination. They are the verbs expressing *existence, volition,* and progression or *relation.* Any others are but certain aspects of these three typical forms, which have their origin in this order in the history of all languages.

Accordingly, the author notes the rise of two of these forms, Εἶμι and Ἔχω, (*to be* and to *have,*) successively with the logographs and the dramatists. In the latter, Sophocles has ἐκβαλοὺσ' ἔχεις, for ἐκβέβληκας, and Plato, Θαυμάσας ἔχω, for τεθαύμακα. The auxiliary of volition also, he notes some germs of in even Homer, where ἐθέλω is used, he thinks, to analyze the second future. But here again we think he is mistaken, as even εἶμι, which precedes it, is not employed as an auxiliary by Homer. Indeed, he has himself the candor to concede it in this instance. "Grammatically speaking," says he, "it may be contested that it is an auxiliary, and we may regard the verb θέλω as a principal verb, having a proper and explicit value." (P. 56.) Just the same, in truth, as Βῆ had, but less clearly, in the previous instance.

The decomposition, which went on thus in the Greek language from Homer downward, presents an exact parallel to that of the Sanscrit in the Bengali. The Greek and Sanscrit, of the same

family, and very probably the same antiquity, have a large number of words in common, and a scheme of grammar the same substantially. Though brought to form and perfection, each completely apart, and in two literatures so independent as to be opposite in their main characters, yet they have followed the same course, assumed the same forms, and produced, in the same order, the corresponding mental monuments. Thus both the literatures begin alike with religious poets and theologians; that of the Hindoos, by the Vedas, that of the Greeks by the poems of Orpheus, of Musæus, of Linus. After follow the primitive epics, at first in fragments and detached lays, and compiled subsequently in extended compositions. Such are the Ramayana and Mahubharat in India, the Iliad and the Odyssey in Greece. A little later, the epic subjects, the heroic reminiscences, are treated in dramatic form and transferred upon the stage, an evolution that attained its acme, in the respective countries, in Sophocles and Kuladasa, King Œdipus and Sacontala.

We cannot let the author on without supplying a grave omission, alike historically and philosophically glaring. Between the epists and the dramatists there was a whole poetic epoch. In Greece, for instance, Alcæus, Tyrtæus, Simonides, Anacreon, Pindar, and, in short, all the great lyrists, were long anterior to the age of Sophocles and of the drama. And though unable to cite from memory, we dare affirm with the utmost confidence, that such was also the succession in Hindoostan. The strict necessity of the thing is demonstrable from the nature of the human mind, and of the three poetic forms, Epic, Lyric, and Dramatic; if it were requisite and proper to so incidental an occasion. But without history or philosophy, the present writer would be reprehensible for this omission of the intermediate division. He had written books on the lyric poetry of modern Greece and of his native Provence, where he found that the transition, more especially in Provençal poetry, was from the epic to the lyrical form; while neither country had attained a notion of the third and dramatic degree. Should not the merest empiricism have suggested him these "precedents?" Is it not melancholy to observe a man of vast learning and fine discernment unable, for the want of views, to use the rudiments of reasoning? For toward the herd of those who fumble likewise, but with no redeeming qualities, the only sentiment that one can feel is a contemptuous disgust.

At last, continues M. Fauriel, with the exhaustion or enervation of the two countries and of their tongues, comes the age of imitators and of commentators. Apollonius of Rhodes, Coluthus, and Triphiodorus have had also their analogues in India.

In the languages, as in the literatures, the serial fortunes are exactly similar. The two idioms, though now both dead, are studied beyond any living tongue, as the repositories of the two richest (!) of the literatures of mankind. The immediate cause of their extinction was a political catastrophe, connected in both cases with the conquests of Islamism. Each is substituted by a vulgar dialect which is derived from it, and coexisted with it; the Sanscrit by the Bengali, and the classic Greek by the Romaic. Now for the comparison of these two living dialects, at first in the vocabularies, after in the grammar.

The vocabulary in each is almost wholly from the mother language; the sole accession to the Bengali is a few Persian and Arabic words, to the Romaic as few Turkish and Albanian. Comparing both with the old idioms, they are found impoverished in the vocabularies; many classic words have been excluded, others altered in shape, sound, sense; not, however, so as not to leave the descent visible at a glance.

In point of grammar, the modern Greek retains the three genders of the ancient, but does not note them so distinctly, having dropped the neuter ending. The Bengali has done precisely, in both particulars, the same. The modern Greek retained the ancient article, and adds a second or indefinite *ἑνός*; exactly like the *un* of the French and other neo-Latin dialects. The case is somewhat otherwise in this instance in the Bengali; the Sanscrit having, like the Latin, had no distinctly developed article, it could not have been introduced into the popular dialect; but the latter has, like all the modern European dialects, supplied itself with the identical indefinite *one*, (*èka.*) Both the Sanscrit and the Greek had three numbers in nouns; their dialects have both rejected the dual number, like the Latin successors. They have also reduced the number of the ancient cases and declensions. The five cases of the classic Greek are passed to three or even two in the modern. The Bengali retains some seven of the eight cases of the Sanscrit. But this is only nominally; really there are but five, for of the eight terminations there are four that spell and sound identically. Furthermore, the use of the five really distinct cases prevails but in the literature and among the educated classes. The people have another system of declension, by detached particles; or, rather, not by particles analogous to prepositions, but (says our author) by substantives and adjectives. For example, in the instrumental, the ablative, and the locative cases, instead of particles like our *with*, *from*, *in*, the Bengali employs, by the *means* of, *proceeding* from, in the *place* of. But the author does not say how this new set of

prepositional adjuncts, with which our idioms are obliged to render the alleged expedient of the Bengali, has been provided for in this dialect, or if provided for at all. If not, it is quite manifest the difficulty is only shifted. A less equivocal advance is, that all its adjectives are indeclinable.

In conjugation, also, in which the fountain tongues were alike complex, the two derivatives are modified analogously. In both, the middle voice of the Greek and Sanscrit is rejected, and the passive is extended, more especially in the Bengali, where it is conjugated by the means of an auxiliary, as in the Latin dialects. Entire moods, such as the optative, have disappeared from both. Others have lost several tenses, and some tenses their dual number, precisely as was noted in the declensions. In both, also, all the verbals, gerunds, and supines, have been suppressed. The active voice, it is remarkable, retains in both the ancient forms in complete integrity, in the indicative mode. In the subjunctive, they are maintained but in the present tense and aorist; the other tenses are analyzed by the auxiliaries *will* and *have*, (*θέλω*, *ἔχω*.) The reason is, that the indicative regards the positive and the unchangeable; while the subjunctive is contingent, variable, more especially in the oblique tenses. In Bengali, the active voice is, says our author, less intact; for all the tenses of the indicative, except the present, *may* be decomposed. The elements are the auxiliary verb *to be*, with the past participle, just the same as in the neo-Latin dialects. It would appear that the analysis is even more minute. For instance, *I do* (which is the utmost extent of the latter idioms) is expressed, in Bengali, by *mòui Karistètchi;* that is to say, literally, *I doing am*, which is equaled in minuteness but by our English, I am doing. The inverse order of the collocation is right or wrong in both alike; for all the terms should be freely changeable to meet the exigence of different shadings. In a word, in the whole conjugative systems of the ancient tongues, the decomposition has been effected by conjunctions and by auxiliaries. "The auxiliaries adopted, always abstract and extremely general, are the verbs TO BE, *to become*, TO HAVE, *to go*, TO WILL." We will reiterate, without pretending to know a syllable of Bengali, that neither *going* nor *becoming* are employed by it as real auxiliaries. They are mistaken, through the vagueness and generality of their denotation, as was shown in the citation above presented from the Iliad. And if they should be so employed, it would be for the verb *to be;* just as *existence* is expressed, in savage idioms, by this verb *to go*, before the mind has got mature enough to conceive fully that abstract notion. But in a language that has reached this point, and thus employs the verb

to be as auxiliary, the prior form cannot coexist save as an archaism or a vulgarism. And by the way, we fear the author often mixes up these two matters, in ascribing all linguistic progress to the dialects of the people. But this consideration would be too extensive for our space, and we moreover are too good democrats to say a word about it.

This long series of exact concurrences between two independent languages, throughout these primitive and modern forms, and the intermediate transformations, cannot be other than the consequence of systematic and general laws. The same conclusion will be confirmed by a similar survey of the Latin.

This language in its general form had approached or remained nearer than even the Greek, to their supposed parent, the Sanscrit. Its direct origin in Italy is a question fraught with difficulty. M. Fauriel disputes with reason the explanation of Niebuhr, and prefers to sift the history of the Italic idioms generally. The principal of those anterior to the introduction of the Latin stock, were, besides the Greek, which was perhaps later, the Oscan, the Umbrian, the Sabine, the Etruscan, supposed a germ of the modern Tuscan; and toward the frontier, the Venetian, the Ligurian, and the Gaelic. All these have left their impress, in various measures, upon the Latin; but the particulars, although curious, are not essential to the argument.

One, however, must be noticed as both a novelty and a probable error. Our French author holds the Celtic and the Gaelic to be distinct languages; not merely one, as is the common doctrine, a simple dialect of the other. The opinion is supported mainly on the authority of Cæsar, in his designation of the Belgæ and the Celts as speaking different languages; the former people corresponding to the Gauls. But this loose geographical distribution of the Commentaries, by a man who could not judge himself between two unknown and barbarian idioms, should not be seriously alleged in a discussion of linguistics. Cæsar encountered the Celtic portion of the nation, who occupied the central regions of Gaul, and also, with the variety and rivalry so common among barbarians, had the pretension of being superior to and distinct from the northeast Gaels. Of course, they would exaggerate this difference to Cæsar, who must have naturally got his information from such sources. Strabo, a good deal later, and when the Gauls were better known at Rome, asserts, accordingly, that the whole race spoke substantially the same language. But M. Fauriel picks a flaw in the expression of the old geographer.

In fine, the Gaelic still subsists in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales,

and enough remains of the Celtic also to decide the question by direct comparison. But on this basis, we know of no writer to divide them radically, save our author. In fact, we note some cause to doubt his full acquaintance with the subject. He adduces, for another purpose, a list of vocables from each language, the portion given to the Celtic counting ten. But of these ten we can ourselves, with but small knowledge of the Gaelic, recognize no fewer than four that belong also to the latter idiom. The first of them is *vas*, a grave, which is synonymous, if not permutative, with *bhas*, which is, in Irish, the term for death. The second, *dorn*, the fist, is also familiar in the same idiom. The two remaining are *prim* and *fell*, which we can trace but indirectly, from their adoption into English in the exact sense of the original. But the English must have rather met them either in the ancient Gaelic of the island, or in the Welsh, or Scotch, or Irish, than in the Celtic of central Gaul. Now, of all this our learned author does not appear to have had a vision. We submit, then, if he be entitled to create a heresy on the subject.

But to return to the evolutions of the Latin language and of its literature. This language was the special idiom of the last conquerors of Latiam, a tribe which history distinguishes by the appellation of Aborigines. They appear, in fact, to have descended into the plains from the adjacent mountains, several ages before the founding of the city. In this long interval, the shepherd idiom was, no doubt, extended by amalgamations, as well as regulated by some culture after the establishment of civil government. Yet it is singular that down so late as to the sixth century of the city, the Roman tongue remained unfixed in even its grammar and orthography.

As to its literature, known as such, it had its origin from Greek contact, and therefore toward the end of the Republic. Long previously, however, there was a sort of "native literature," and its petty products present the order traced above in the Greek and Sanscrit. In fact, the earliest, of course in verse, were hymns addressed to the rural deities. These "rural hymns" had even assigned them an institution of twelve priests, of which the policy was doubtless to subdue the shepherds to agriculture. They appear to have consisted but of a few lines, from a specimen discovered at Rome in 1778. This, inscribed upon a marble tablet, consists of only six lines, entirely disparate in measure, and uninterpretable to this day. An Œdipus would throw much light by it on the infant history of the Latin language. Another species of this primitive poetry were the funeral chants called *nenia*, a sort of laments not more extended nor more important than the hymns. But the destiny of Rome, as Virgil owned, was not to sing, but govern.

Passing to the syntax of the ancient Latin, we find our author express some wonder at a particular mode of composition. He cites, as an example, the expression *soloccasos*, that is to say, *occasus solis*. the setting of the sun. He finds an analogue in Sanscrit, in the term *suryastam*, i. e., *surya*, (sun,) and *astam*, (setting.) He finds this sort of composition also in the few fragments that remain of the primeval Italic idioms in general, and thinks that this must go to argue their affinity with the Latin. M. Fauriel can scarce have known our famous Anglo-Saxon idiom, or the word *sunset* would have presented him an obstacle to his induction.

But these verbal or grammatical investigations of the ancient Latin would not be of sufficient interest to our readers. The changes are, besides, the same precisely, in proportion, as those already exposed more fully in the Sanscrit and the Greek. Suffice it then to state the result in the terms of the author. "It is," says he, "that when the Latin had begun to be cultivated by the poets, that is to say, by artist writers, it had already been deeply modified it its primitive system, and that several of its grammatical forms, *originally* synthetic, had been decomposed into more analytic and more simple." P. 205. But these poets, or "*artist* writers," in the author's happy term, were but the consequence of the acquaintance, above alluded to, with Greek literature. This it was that brought a complete revolution in the Latin language, and gave it character and polish to pursue the conquest of Roman arms.

It was only, in fact, at this period that the Romans first bethought them of enforcing the adoption of their language throughout the empire. How far they had succeeded is a question going directly to the derivative formation of the neo-Latin dialects.

That the success was not complete is the opinion of M. Fauriel, and it has certainly the weight of reason, if not of documental evidence. With the indulgence allowed for centuries by Rome to all her conquests in the full retention of their religion, their usages and their language, and with the special pertinacity of the latter even against force, it is not possible that a vast empire, composed of hundreds of distinct nations, could be induced, in two or three centuries, to the adoption of the same language, and the oblivion of the native idioms, much more suited to their state of culture.

Our author, then, will have those idioms all, or most of them, to have survived. He places first a popular dialect beside the classic one in Rome itself; but, we think, principally on the warrant of analogy. It is not meant, however, that the ancient idioms survived in any such integrity, at least within the precincts of Italy. The system is that they died tardily, and that in this way the latest frag-

ments descended low enough to strike fresh root in the new dialects of the decline. It is admitted that the Gallo-Celtic of Cisalpine Gaul gave way quite early. The author is more doubtful respecting the Ligurian, which he considers as the primitive idiom of the peninsula, and even of entire Europe, and of which we have a living sample in the Basque of the Pyrenees. He even questions the strict accuracy of Varro's express testimony at the total disappearance of the Sabine in his time. And, in truth, the Sabine was perhaps the most vivacious of Italic idioms, as the race that owned it was the most vigorous among the vanquished populations. The Oscan still survived, at least at the destruction of Pompeii, as is attested by some relics from the ruins. The Etruscan, which had the aid of a religious liturgy to preserve it, remained, accordingly, in the day of Livy, the prevailing language of Etruria, and was still spoken there, (says Aulus Gellius,) in the second century of our era. It may be well presumed then to have lingered out much later. But the Greek language in Calabria and Sicily was last of all, having continued to be spoken there down to the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

When the extinction of the ancient idioms was so incomplete in Italy, beneath the ear and the immediate influence of the government and capital, it would be naturally still much less so toward the extremities of the empire. It is known, in fact, that through the entire East, where it came in conflict with the polished Greek, the Latin, though the governmental language, made no impression, not even on several others of the Oriental tongues. As Greece continued to speak Greek, so Egypt spoke Coptic, Syria Syriac, Palestine Hebrew, Galatia Gaelic. The only portion of the East of which the Latin took complete possession, was Illyria, Panonia, and the rude regions along the Danube.

For a similar reason, it had like success in the Western countries of the Empire. In Great Britain, the Latin was completely transplanted; it was also established firmly in Africa, Spain, and Gaul. But its fall with that of the Empire deprived it of the time to ripen, and thus enabled the local idioms to maintain the struggle with more effect. Accordingly, in even Africa, where it is known to have prevailed most thoroughly, it was resisted by the Carthaginian among the people, to a quite late date. In Spain, the fact of the survival of at least one and her most ancient language is placed beyond all question by the living relic of the Basque. As to Gaul, of the three languages into which Cæsar had divided it, the Aquitain, the Celtic, and the Gaelic, it offers still a spoken remnant of the two former of these idioms, the Aquitain or Basque in Gascony, and the Celtic in

Brittany. The Greek also of the powerful city of Marseilles and its dependencies maintained its ground, not only there, but in a number of the Gallic cities, down to the fourth or fifth century of the modern era.

But no more did, on the other hand, the Latin expire suddenly, on the destruction of the government by the barbarians. It continued to be the language of the laws and the religion, and even of the higher classes of society who had used it theretofore. Its fall was gradual, and not by violence, but the corruption of growing ignorance. When thus degraded to the level of the popular remnants of the ancient idioms, the latter entered upon equal terms into the formation of the modern dialects. Such is, briefly, our author's theory of this much-disputed transformation.

He refutes, we think, the two rival hypotheses in vogue. The one and oldest represents both the destruction of the Latin and the formation of the modern dialects to be the work of the barbarians. M. Fauriel, who, as the author of a special history upon the subject, must be well informed of the moral influence of the German conquerors at least in Gaul, affirms positively that the poorest remnant of the pettiest idiom of ancient Europe has left more traces in the new formations, than the whole Teutonic dialects. This is clear indeed by the facts, and also natural, however singular. The only influence of these conquerors lay in their battle-ax and their brutality; barbarians may be obeyed, but never imitated, by the civilized. Perhaps, however, this response mistakes the precise point in issue. It could scarce have been pretended that the revolution was effected by a mixture of the German with the Latin; it was too palpable that no such mixture does exist in the new dialects. The meaning was, we think, that the corruption of the Latin was promoted by the attempts of the barbarians to speak and write it in their acts of government. But even this was an exaggerated and inadequate solution.

The other system as to the origin of the neo-Latin dialects is the more celebrated and quite recent one of M. Raynouard. This gentleman supposes the existence of a rustic tongue, cotemporaneous and coextensive with the classic Latin throughout the empire, and from which he would derive immediately the modern languages of Europe. But the proofs which he adduces of the mere existence of such a language, to say nothing of the derivation, are quite futile. Besides, the position itself is fundamentally unphilosophical; still more so than the preceding hypothesis. In the latter the extent of the transgression against philosophy was to ascribe a great social revolution to an accident. But the notion of a *universal popular*

idiom belongs effectually to the predicament of that of a *round square.* The essence of a popular idiom is, to be particular, local.

Our author proceeds next to sketch the neo-Latin dialects, successively in the vocabulary and the grammar. The main body of the vocables is drawn, by all of them, from the Latin, although there is some variation as to number and selection. Besides this principal stock of words, a close inquiry will detect some others, of a distinct origin and appertaining to the ancient idioms of the locality. This latter class occurs especially in large number in the Wallachian, which all our readers may not have known to be a sister dialect of the Italian, etc. Of the non-Latin vocables some are Turkish, others Sclavonic; but beneath these upper and more modern layers, there is found a stratum of the strangest structure, and which offers not the least analogy with any other known vocabulary.

With respect to the grammatical construction of these dialects, it is in all substantially the same. Their elements of syntax, such as the pronouns, the articles, the verbals denoting abstract existence or its modifications, are also in all essentially the same. They have consequently all borrowed them from one and the same idiom; and as, consequently, this one idiom was the most refined, was then the Latin: for the syntax is the climax of grammatical development. But in thus borrowing from the Latin most of their substance and all their forms, they have all likewise diversely modified and sometimes altered the original.

If we neglect these minor shadings of diversity among the dialects, and take them at the maximum of their reciprocal divergence, the number of the principal may be reduced to seven, under which the rest may fall as mere subordinate degrees. These seven neo-Latin dialects are: the Provençal, the French, the Castilian, the Portuguese, the Catalonian, the Italian, and the Wallachian. This is not, certainly, the order of their promixity to the Latin source; and it would need a long discussion to arrange their series in that respect. It is not difficult, however, to assign the two extremes, which are, in nearness, the Italian, and, in divergence, the French.

We have not space to pursue the author through his critical survey of these seven dialects, to note the singular coincidence of their grammatical innovations. In all, the system of declension is very nearly the same, and the Latin endings have been substituted not alone by prepositions, but by precisely the self-same prepositions. The resemblance of those dialects in the main features of the conjugations is still more striking from the higher complexity and extension of this system. There are certain of the tenses that remain

agglutinated or inflexive, and are noted by inherent forms of the radical verb itself; there are also tenses formed by auxiliary verbs. Thus far the case is simple, and there is nothing to excite surprise. But what seems strange is, that in all the dialects it should be just the same tenses that are formed by the two methods respectively. Of all the moods, for instance, the indicate, imperative, and subjunctive, the present tenses, the imperfect, as well the positive as the conditional, and finally the relative perfect, are all uniformly inflexive. The complete perfect and all the other tenses of all three of the moods are decomposed and formed by the combination of an auxiliary with the passive participle of the principal verb. The author says:

"Here arises a succession of grave questions: how is it that the different peoples of Europe, formerly subject to the Romans, have come to coincide in all these various features of their grammar? Have they had before their eyes some common grammatical type, to which they each of them conformed, because it lay before them and was the most commodious for their purpose? This suspicion at first presents itself; but it is soon rejected. And, in fact, where could the peoples, who spoke or wished to speak the Roman dialects, have encountered this common type, this fixed measure of the mixture of synthesis and analysis which constitutes a main character of their idioms? This type could not have been the Latin, at least the grammatical Latin. No more could it be any of the original idioms which had preceded the introduction of the Latin into the provinces; for in whichsoever of these tongues it might have possibly existed, it would by no means form a rule for other provinces and other idioms.

"There remains, then, but one alternative to be adopted: it is, that in composing for themselves a system of conjugation, the Roman nations did but instinctively obey some natural necessity, some one of the compulsory laws which govern the intellect in the process of the formation of languages. But the question is thus but shifted; it still subsists entire. For it remains to be asked what was the metaphysical law of language, which the former subjects of Rome thus followed in utter unconsciousness, and in yet tallying with each other upon points apparently secondary of the complicated system of their conjugations. In what consisted the necessity to which they thus conformed by instinct, and without having any need of concert with each other, to the end of applying the Latin to their intelligence and their use?"—Pp. 290, 291.

The author does not answer, but says he will at a future time. We do not know that he has ever made the attempt, as he has recently been lost, at a ripe age indeed, to philology. But if the attempt has been made, we do not hesitate to say that we should greatly be surprised at its success. We have shown, in fact, that M. Fauriel had not the elements of the solution. The service he has rendered, and a signal service it is assuredly, is to have stated the problem, shown the *necessity* of the law in question. This he has done fully in a comparison of the three languages the most enduring, the most extended, and the most cultivated of humanity.

These three idioms, to wit, the Sanscrit, the Greek, and the Latin, he has contrasted in their earliest known, if not their quite original, construction. He has shown that this construction, although formed independently, was in all three almost the same amid its multifarious complications. Then, again, when these complications began to drop away in each successively, the manner and the order were found equally analogous. Besides, they were alike accompanied by popular dialects, or stunted remnants of the primitive idioms of the country, and into which they partly dropped upon their fall from power and polish. Finally, their very fall had been occasioned by the same cause, the invasion, violent or pacific, of a new religion; as if some destiny would push the parallel into the very accidents of history. But history has no accidents; what we so call are but the fragments of a whole too ample for the paltry compass of our conception.

Again, the dialects which they left to substitute them, are not only products of like catastrophes, but are phenomena themselves identical in nature. The modern Greek, the Bengali, and the neo-Latin dialects were shown to be not mere derivatives from three languages of the same origin, but dialects which have followed in their derivation the same tendency, and have adopted in their renovation the same grammatical constitution. All this has been exhibited by M. Fauriel with fair ability, and with much learning, although less profundity than polish. Enough has been, however, done to press an answer to the question put by him: What are the laws that must have steered those vast yet regular phenomena? We have endeavored, for our humble part, to re-enforce, in this analysis, at once the argument and interrogatory by addition and arrangement. It seems time that the philologists should leave off burrowing in vocabularies, and ascend to see what they have been about for the past century.

Art. VI.—PHARMAKIDES AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE.

Ὁ Συνοδικὸς Τόμος, ἢ Περὶ Ἀληθείας. *By Professor Pharmakides, Athens.*

The ecclesiastical revolution by which that part of the Greek Church at present included in the Hellenic kingdom has, within our own day, shaken off the yoke of subjection to the patriarch of Constantinople, is one of the most significant occurrences of this eventful period. As an evidence of advancement, and a triumph of en-

lightened policy, we cannot but consider it worthy of attention; while its results may prove most important in their bearing upon the final success of the efforts now made for the evangelization of the East.

In the history of this branch of the Christian Church, we look in vain for any recent convulsion, similar to that which, in the sixteenth century, visited the western portion, and effected the separation of the purer elements from the mass in which they had hitherto been exerting merely a resistance to prevailing corruption. With less departure from the type of primitive Christianity than the Latin Church exhibits, we yet behold little tendency toward reformation. Not only have the same doctrines and practices prevailed for upward of a thousand years, through the entire body of the Greek Church, but even the form of external unity (if we leave out of the account the insignificant successes of Romish proselytism) has only been partially disturbed in two instances, and these in great measure rendered necessary by political revolutions. It is to the more recent of these that we shall confine ourselves, after a cursory view of the well-known circumstances that led to the present attitude of the Russian Church.

From the year 1072, when the Patriarch John Xiphinus sent George as metropolitan to the court of the Czar Isyaslaff, the Russian Church continued for several centuries to be governed by a succession of prelates of the same rank, who, according to the vicissitudes of the empire, resided at Kieff, Vladimir, or Moscow. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the entire subjugation of the Eastern Christians that either preceded or followed it, induced a new and anomalous condition in the Russian Church. The metropolitans of Moscow, for nearly a century and a half after that calamitous event, continued to be elected by a synod of native bishops; but their nominations were not confirmed by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, whose spiritual authority they still acknowledged. This "irregularity in that subordination of the hierarchy, which is so necessary to the unity of the Catholic Church," while it is lamented, is also palliated by the native ecclesiastical historians,* who urge, as a partial excuse, the acquiescence of the patriarchs, and the troubled condition of the East.

It was evident that the new posture of affairs demanded a corresponding change in the relations of the Church. A patriarch of reduced consideration, and subject to an anti-Christian ruler, was ill-qualified to govern the Church of Russia, a distant country of vast extent, and of daily growing importance. To the Czar Theodore

* Mouravieff, History of the Church of Russia, p. 126.

is generally attributed the first entertainment of a plan to elevate the Metropolitan of Moscow to the highest rank in the Eastern Church, as a fifth patriarch, to occupy the place of the Bishop of Rome, who was regarded as having fallen away. It happened in the year 1586, that Joachim, Patriarch of Jerusalem, visited the imperial city of Moscow: but when consulted in reference to the czar's favorite scheme, his reply was, that a matter of such vital importance could only be decided by an œcumenical council, or a synod at which the four œcumenical patriarchs should be present. But the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah, who came in person in 1588, to beg assistance from the czar, either being of a more pliable disposition, or having previously consulted his colleagues of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, was less scrupulous; and, while he refused Theodore's offer to transfer his own residence to the old capital Vladimir, he consented to elevate the metropolitan Job to the Patriarchate of all the Russias. The pompous ceremonial of the Greek Church was taxed to its utmost extent in order to grace the consecration; and to enhance its solemnity, the entire service for Episcopal ordination was repeated over the candidate, already a bishop, but now to be invested with supreme dignity. By this means, it was imagined that "the double portion of grace requisite for the chief pastor of the church" was secured to the patriarch elect.* At the same time extraordinary precautions were taken by the Czar Theodore, lest the primate of Russia should in any way yield in point of rank to the consecrating prelate. Jeremiah and Job were seated on thrones of equal elevation in the Church; Job was instructed not to lay his crozier aside, unless Jeremiah did the same; and when, after the termination of a splendid pageant, the two patriarchs withdrew from the church, they issued from separate doors, lest either should be compelled to yield the precedence to the other.

The Russian Church, in this manner, became independent of the Greek Church of Constantinople; for the individual act of the œcumenical patriarch was ratified by the other patriarchs of the Eastern Church, (with the exception of the Patriarch of Alexandria, who had recently died,) and by a full synod of metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops. The primate of Russia was assigned the fifth place in the hierarchy, much against the wishes of the Czar Theodore, who desired for him the *third* rank, only yielding to the pretensions of the Patriarch of Alexandria in his quality of *Œcumenical Judge*.† There were not wanting those who maintained that

* Mouravieff, History of the Church of Russia, p. 129.

† The frivolous origin of this title is narrated at great length in a note to Mouravieff's History, pp. 390–391.

Jeremiah had been an unwilling instrument in the consecration, and that his return to Constantinople would have been impossible had he refused submission to the will of Theodore. Be this as it may, the unanimous consent of the Greek Church removed all objections to the validity of the consecration arising from this source, and ratified what might have been viewed as an unauthorized act on the part of Jeremiah.

For a century or more, the Russian Church continued to be governed by its patriarchs; but on the death of Adrian, the tenth dignitary, in the year 1700, Stephen Yavorsky was appointed guardian of the patriarchate, an office which he occupied twenty years. Peter the Great, who had ascended the imperial throne, and was now firmly seated upon it, became convinced by his success in the establishment of a senate, of the superior efficiency of a single executive body intrusted with political power. He determined to model the ecclesiastical government after the same pattern. Accordingly, in 1721, he created "the Most Holy Governing Synod" in place of the patriarch, inserting its name in those passages of the public litanies where his had been previously made the subject of prayer. This alteration of the established form of Church government was acquiesced in without a murmur by the devout of Russia, and was formally sanctioned, two years later, by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the other heads of the Eastern Church. That prelate, who, by a singular coincidence, bore the name of Jeremiah, wrote in the following terms, respecting the Russian Synod, in a letter dated September 23, 1723:

"Our humility, by the grace and authority of the all-holy and life-giving Spirit, the sole author of governance, ratifies, confirms, and proclaims the Synod established in the great and holy kingdom of Russia, by the most pious and pacific autocrat, the holy king, etc., etc., the Lord, Lord Peter Alexæevitch, emperor, beloved in the Holy Ghost, to be and to be styled 'our sister in Christ, the Holy and Sacred Synod,' by all pious and orthodox Christians, both clergy and laity, rulers and subjects, and by all official persons. And it has authority to do and perform all that is done and performed by the four apostolic and most holy patriarchal thrones. Moreover, we put it in remembrance, we exhort and enjoin upon it, to preserve and hold fast the customs and canons of the seven holy and Catholic Councils, and all other things which the Holy Eastern Church observes; and may it stand unshaken forever."*

Such being the independent position obtained by the Russian Church through the sagacious policy of the Czars Theodore and Peter the Great, we turn to Greece, which, at the commencement of the present century, acknowledged the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople, as it had done ever since the first enlargement of the powers of that see in the fourth century of the Christian era.

* Mouravieff, pp. 287–288. Pharmakides, pp. 143, 144, where the original Greek is given.

The outbreak of the Revolution in 1821 proved at once, to every reflecting mind, the necessity of some modification of the ecclesiastical relations of the new Hellenic state. Germanos, Archbishop of Patras, heading the inferior clergy, unfurled the standard of revolt in Peloponnesus. During the conflict, the Church of Greece was cut off from all communication with the Synod at Constantinople, which arrogated the title of the "Great Church of New Rome," and claimed the oversight of the whole body of orthodox Eastern Christians. But the cessation of intercourse was due not to the necessities of the times alone. The Archbishop of Constantinople had, for centuries before the fall of the empire, enjoyed extensive civil power, together with the ambitious appellation of Œcumenical Patriarch, and the first rank in the hierarchy. The Turkish sultans were unwilling to dispense with an office which, from the sanctity attaching to it in the eyes of the masses, might become a powerful engine in the government of the most important Christian communion. The patriarch, soon after the capture of Constantinople, was constituted the political head of the millions of Greeks under the Ottoman sway, and became responsible to the government for their good order and submission. From that moment until the present, the patriarchs have served as ready tools in the hands of their Mohammedan ruler, deriving their authority from him, and liable to be removed at his pleasure. As an indication of the entire subjection of the patriarchate to the infidel power, it may be mentioned, that to a document emanating from the "Great Church" in the year 1850, to which we shall have occasion to allude frequently in the course of this examination, there were appended, besides the signature of the acting patriarch, the names of five others who had formerly enjoyed that dignity for a longer or shorter period.

When the first tidings of the revolution reached Constantinople, the patriarchal throne was occupied by Gregory, a man, it is said, of a mild disposition and unaffected piety, and possessed of great abilities, which had more than once been exhibited in the service of the Turks. Being an ardent lover of his country, he was suspected, no doubt with good reason, of sympathy with the insurgents; and on Easter Day, 1821, at the conclusion of the most august religious service of the year, the white-haired old man of four score and ten was seized in his palace, to which he had just returned, and ignominiously hung from the lintel of his own door.* A man far in-

* A most graphic and faithful description of the tragic fate of the beloved patriarch, and of the subsequent atrocious massacre of Christians at Constantinople, is contained in *Tricoupes'* admirable History of the Greek Revolution,

ferior was appointed his successor. At the dictation of his master, the new patriarch issued proclamations to the inhabitants of Greece proper, as well as the islands of the Archipelago, summoning them, upon pain of the highest ecclesiastical censure, to return to their former allegiance. We have before us the decree of the "Great Church," dated May 1, 1821, pronouncing sentence of degradation upon the seven bishops of Patras, Kernitza, Euripus, Talanti, Samos, Nauplia, and Ægina, who had actively espoused the cause of their nation's liberty. They are declared "with Jewish unthankfulness and ingratitude to have lifted up their heel against our common benefactress, the potent government, and to have filled their provinces with disturbances and scandals." They are stigmatized as the most abandoned of men, unworthy not merely of the episcopal, but even of the Christian profession; and the faithful are warned to abstain from any recognition of their sacerdotal character, either by kissing their hands, or by officiating with them, "under pain of irrevocable interdict and unpardonable excommunication from Almighty God." The patriarch closes by pronouncing the most fearful curse that can well be imagined, upon all their followers that shall persist in the rebellion against the sultan.*

Nor did these denunciations cease even when the cause of Hellenic independence was well-nigh won. As late as the 20th of February,

now in course of publication. It may be found also among the valuable *Selections from Modern Greek Writers* by Professor C. C. Felton, pp. 33–47. This account differs essentially from that given by Col. Gordon and others.

* The entire decree is republished in the Athenian Ἐφημερὶς τοῦ Λαοῦ of May 17, 1852. We cannot better give an idea of its general character than by stating that the compiler gratified his petty malice by the incorporation of the epithet *bad* (κακός) with the proper name of each of the revolted towns; and by transcribing a few sentences from the imprecation with which it terminates. "Let their possessions and their goods go to destruction and complete ruin. In one generation let their name be blotted out with a noise, and let there not remain to them one stone upon another. Let them be cut off before their time from this life, and be damaged also in that which is to come. When they shall be judged, let them be condemned, and let their prayer become sin, and let Satan stand at their right hand. Let their wives become widows, and their children fatherless. Let their dwelling be laid waste, and let there be no inhabitant in their tents. Let the heavens over their heads be brass, and the earth iron under their feet. Let the Lord smite them with cold, fever, blight, and pallor. Let them be groaning and trembling upon the earth, like Cain. Let the earth cleave and swallow them up, like Dathan and Abiram. Let the angel of the Lord pursue them with a fiery sword, and let them never see prosperity. Let them, like Nebuchadnezzar, be turned into oxen. Let them have the curses of all the saints that have been from the beginning, and of the holy and inspired fathers of Nice and the other holy councils, if they perform not resolutely that which we have written."

(March 3d, N. S.,) 1828, the patriarch was put forward anew to try the weight of his authority, where the arms of the Turks had proved unsuccessful. A letter which he now addressed to the rulers, clergy, and laity of Peloponnesus and the islands of the Ægean Sea, opens with the assurance that he had lost none of his solicitude for the salvation of the Greeks, notwithstanding their previous indifference to his reproof and counsel. From the time when the sentence of excommunication had been issued, "the Church, that common mother," had been anxiously awaiting their return. Accordingly, no sooner did she detect a disposition to repent, among the inhabitants of the parts outside of Poloponnesus, than she received them into her maternal embrace, freed them from ecclesiastical censure, and obtained for them "repose beneath the shadow of the ever-green tree of the sultan's mercy and justice." Reminding the Greeks of the happiness and security they once enjoyed, the patriarch entreats them to put no confidence in the deceitful support of foreign powers, which have seduced them from "the allegiance due to the *lawful Ottoman Empire protected by God.*"

The ostensible object of this communication, however, was to assure the Greeks of the readiness of the Turkish government to pardon their past offenses and restore them to its favor. The patriarch, therefore, states that, in order to be better able to allay their fears, he had ventured into the royal presence, and presented an humble petition in behalf of his misguided countrymen. In reply he received from the sultan himself a document officially signed and sealed, which, after recapitulating the "*mild measures*" that he had continually employed during the war, to bring back the Peloponnesians to dutiful submission, offers full amnesty to all who should lay down their arms within three months. Their property, although rightfully forfeited to the state, shall be secured to them. No indemnity will be required for injuries inflicted upon the Turks, nor will the arrears of taxes due for six or seven years be demanded. They are, in a word, to be permitted to enjoy the same laws, institutions, and religious toleration as before the revolution. The patriarch concludes by once more reminding the Greeks that this is the time of grace and repentance, and warning them not to squander precious moments which they may afterward seek in vain to recover. "But if," he exclaims, "we should again meet, which GOD forbid! with stubbornness and disobedience, arising from the delusive notions that mislead you, *the ax is laid at the root of the tree. . . . . See you to that.*"

If the menaces of the Great Church, as it proudly styled itself, had proved ineffectual at the commencement of the revolutionary

struggle, when the success of that movement was involved in doubt and gloomy forebodings, it is not astonishing that they were equally abortive when Hellenic independence had been firmly established by a war almost unparalleled in ferocity. The *people* of Western Europe had at length vindicated the sincerity of their professions of sympathy with bleeding Greece, and compelled their unwilling governments to interfere in behalf of a nation as brave now as in remote antiquity. During the previous summer, a treaty of pacification had been entered into between England, France, and Russia; and four months had elapsed since the entire annihilation of the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the land-locked bay of Navarino. Under such circumstances, it is almost superfluous to say that the efforts of the patriarch completely failed of accomplishing their end; but they served a useful purpose in augmenting the disgust already entertained by the Greeks for the ecclesiastics who could so prostitute their high calling as to become willing instruments in the attempt to renew the bondage of their brethren.

The ecclesiastical independence thus acquired in fact, was formally proclaimed by law, on the 23d of July, 1833, and a synod was constituted the highest authority in the Hellenic Church under the sovereignty of the king.* The principle there asserted became the fundamental law of the land in the Constitution of March 18, 1844, whose second article is as follows: "The Orthodox Church of Greece, acknowledging our Lord Jesus Christ as Head, is inseparably united in doctrine to the Great Church of Constantinople, and every other Church of Christ that holds the same faith; observing, precisely as they do, both the holy canons of the apostles and councils, and the holy traditions; yet it is independent, exercising its sovereign functions free from the control of every other Church, and governed by a holy synod of prelates." This synod was constituted by a law of the same year, to consist of five members, four of whom are bishops or archbishops, taken consecutively for the term of three years from the entire body of prelates. Two alternates are also chosen; but the president or moderator is selected by the king.†

No attempt seems to have been made, until the beginning of the year 1850, to renew the intercourse between the Church of Greece and that of Constantinople, which had been interrupted by the revolution. On the 16th of December of the previous year, Jacob Rizos, the Hellenic embassador at the Sublime Porte, died at Constantinople, and his remains were accompanied with great pomp to their

* Pharmakides, p. 309.

† Pappadoukas, Commentary on the Greek Constitution, p. 140.

last resting-place. A remarkable feature in the funeral ceremony was the presence of the Patriarch Anthimus, by permission of the sultan. Such extraordinary condescension was deemed worthy of signal reward on the part of the Greek government. Accordingly, in February, 1850, the archimandrite, Misael Apostolides, was appointed by the king to carry to Anthimus the honorary cross of the Order of the Holy Saviour, with which it had been resolved to invest him. This was a rare opportunity for endeavoring to obtain from the first bishop of the Oriental Church a recognition of the independence of that of Greece; and forthwith the same royal messenger was provided with a letter from the Holy Synod of the Hellenic kingdom to the œcumenical patriarch. By this cunning device, that party, which for nearly thirty years had been sadly troubled with the fears of schism, hoped to obtain such an indirect acknowledgment of their churchly position as would quiet their disturbed consciences. But Anthimus was too astute a politician to be entrapped by arts in which he himself knew no superior. Prevailed upon by the importunity of the embassador, he was allowed by the sultan to accept the honorary decoration, the gift of King Otho; while he respectfully declined so much as to touch the missive of a synod whose erection he was accustomed to represent as uncanonical.*

Undaunted by the failure of its first attempt, the ministry of Londos was induced, by the representations of its agents at Constantinople, to hope for better success in a second. A draught of a letter from the ministry to the patriarch was forwarded to the Greek embassador, and the special messenger, Misael Apostolides, by whom it was modified to meet with favor from the Great Church, and returned to Athens. There it was engrossed, signed, and again dispatched in a single night, accompanied by a letter from the Greek Synod. Respecting the latter, it is worthy of note, that the stated clerk of the synod, although at the time present in the capital, neither was summoned to the session nor signed this official document, being purposely neglected because of his well-known hostility to the entire scheme. The two letters were signed on the 30th of May, (O. S.,) 1850, and were received by the Greek embassador, who hastened to announce the fact to the patriarch, on the 4th of June. The latter consequently convened "the Great Synod in the great council chamber of the patriarchate of the Great Church of Christ," on the sixteenth day of the same month; at which time the newly-arrived documents were read, and formed the subject of deliberation.

* Pharmakides, p. 13, etc.

What were the contents of these letters? What did the ministry seek to obtain from the patriarch and his associates? The inquiry is important, as it affects the question of ecclesiastical independence. After an introduction expressive of reverence for the patriarch as first pastor (ποιμενάρχης) and spiritual father of the Catholic Orthodox Church, the ministry advert to the establishment of the independence of the Hellenic Church, a step dictated by the political events of 1821. The need of a national synod, they proceed to remark, next made itself felt, and it was accordingly constituted by law, similar to that which exists in Russia, to watch over the interests of the Church. It is composed of five prelates, who, when inducted into office, swear to preserve the doctrinal unity of the Church. This legislation was also confirmed by the second article of the Constitution of 1844. Under these circumstances the ministry, in the name of the king, the clergy, and the laity, request the Great Church, "having approved this ecclesiastical legislation, and recognized the Holy Synod of the Hellenic kingdom erected in accordance with it, to receive it as a sister in Christ, blessing the work of the pious Greek nation, and to notify the other most blessed patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, of the same, that . . . . . they may acknowledge and receive our Holy Synod as a sister of the same faith and to be held in equal honor." The letter of the Holy Synod was conceived in very similar terms, but at less length.

From the record of the proceedings of the "Great Church," which lies before us, we learn, that after an examination, in secret session, "of the *grounds* on which it was proper that the Orthodox Church of Greece should be *honored with the privileges possessed by Independent Churches* according to the canons," "it seemed good to the Great and Holy Synod *to free* the metropolitan, arch-episcopal, and episcopal sees at present forming the Hellenic realm, dependent until now upon the most holy œcumenical see of Constantinople, from such dependence in future, and to proclaim them an independent Church *on certain most just and necessary conditions*." A committee of three archbishops was appointed to draw up these conditions, which were reported, seven in number, to a subsequent meeting. They were approved, and the same committee was charged with the drafting of a Synodical *Tome*, or official decree, proclaiming the independence of the Hellenic Church, in which the same conditions were inserted. To the principal provisions of this highly interesting document we shall advert hereafter.

The precious missive, engrossed on parchment, was signed by all the members of the Great Church that were present; Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople, with five of his predecessors in that

office, Cyril, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and thirteeen other prelates. It was received by the Greek envoys with the greatest demonstrations of veneration, and carried in triumpth to Athens. It was made the subject of panegyric by clergy and laity alike. Some styled it "the holy tome," others, "the most holy" or "the most holy and worshipful tome." A considerable party, it is true, opposed its reception as degrading to the dignity, and subversive of the independence of the Hellenic Church; but a change of administration happening at this time, placed its advocates in power. Mr. Deliannes, the new minister of foreign and ecclesiastical affairs, so firmly espoused its adoption, as even to violate the 25th article of the Constitution, which ordains that treaties of the nature of the Tome shall be of no force until they receive the concurrence of both branches of the national legislature. Assuming the previously existing law respecting the church to be annulled, a royal proclamation was issued conflicting with it, and carrying out many of the provisions of the Tome. The appointment of members of the Holy Synod was made in an illegal manner. A letter of thanks was written to the patriarch, and a solemn service was celebrated in one of the principal churches of Athens, expressive of gratitude to the Most High for his goodness to the kingdom of Greece. Nothing now remained to complete the success of the Tome, but its approval by the senate and house of representatives; and although every step thus far taken had been a gross violation of the fundamental law of the realm, it seemed not improbable that a large majority in both chambers could be secured in its favor.

It was at this juncture that a new and formidable opponent arose. Early in May, 1852, an anonymous volume appeared, entitled, "*The Synodical Tome; or, Concerning Truth.*" Upward of six hundred pages were here devoted to an analysis of the Tome, and to the discussion of the various topics it had started. In its masterly treatment of the subject was visible the hand of Theocletus Pharmakides, a man of liberal culture and ripe scholarship, and Professor of Theology in the University of Otho. Although he held the post of clerk to the holy synod, he had long been known to be hostile to the party advocating close union with Constantinople. Entertaining the views which he did of the hierarchy of the Eastern Church, he resolved not merely to act on the defensive, but to strike a blow at the corruptions which had gradually crept into the government of the church. He arraigns them at the bar of Scripture, reason, and ecclesiastical history. No longer can they take refuge in the prescriptive rights acquired during ages of ignorance and superstition. They must stand and be judged upon their own merits.

Whatever the hierarchy has gained by an alliance with the civil power, or usurped contrary to the clear dictates of the word of God, is exposed with fearless determination. Every one in Athens was amazed at the hardihood of the old professor who ventured, single-handed, to oppose, or rather attack, the interests of so powerful a class. Many confidently expected that a decree of excommunication would be hurled at the book and its author; and his friends, he tells us in the preface, had attempted to dissuade him from its publication. But he laughed at their fears. "The book, we answered, contains nothing deserving of excommunication and cursing. But if it be indeed excommunicated and cursed, its anathematizers themselves will repent of it; because, *first*, we shall show, from the holy canons, to all the body of the orthodox, who those are that excommunicate and anathematize; and, *secondly*, we shall explain what excommunication and the anathema are, upon whom they are inflicted, what are their results, etc., and this does not suit their interests, for these are their means of subsistence."*

Our limits will not permit us to examine in much detail this valuable production, whose claims to a careful perusal are not confined to its important influence in determining the present posture of the Hellenic Church. Professor Pharmakides maintains, in the first place, that the Tome was not what the Greek ministry and synod had sought. They asked a friendly acknowledgment of the independence which they had enjoyed for nearly thirty years, and of the validity of the rites that had been performed, and the enactments that had been framed. Far from granting such a recognition, the patriarch had impliedly denied their validity, and re-affirmed that, until the publication of the Tome, the Hellenic Church was still subject to his ecclesiastical authority. Presuming on these premises, he had proceeded, in virtue of the rights he claimed, to constitute this portion of his jurisdiction independent. Even this concession, however, was not absolute, but was made upon certain "most necessary conditions." These were principally the following: 1. The establishment of a perpetual synod consisting of bishops, succeeding one another according to seniority of ordination, to be the highest ecclesiastical authority, and to govern the affairs of the church, free from all secular interference. 2. The sending of the customary communication to the Patriarch by the President of the Synod when elevated to that station. 3. The insertion of prayers for the patriarch and the whole body of the orthodox in the public litanies. 4. The "holy anointing oil" used in baptism to be brought from Constantinople as often as required. 5. The framing

* Pharmakides, p. ix.

of regulations by the Synod of Greece respecting the number and choice of bishops, priests, and deacons, and respecting marriage, divorce, monasteries, the education of the clergy, the preaching of the word of God, and the censure of improper books. 6. The consultation of the patriarch and his council in all difficult matters where advice was needed.*

It was evident to the Athenian Professor that the turning point in this discussion was the claim of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Synod over which he presided, to a superior rank and authority in the Christian Church. For if that claim were founded on an adequate basis, the Hellenic Church, in declaring itself independent, assumed a schismatical attitude, and nothing but his sanction could give validity to any of its acts. To the examination of this subject therefore, our author devotes a considerable portion of his work, from which we shall make a few extracts.

The Synodical Tome, in a preamble wherein the unity of the Christian Church is set forth, thus discourses respecting the origin of its officers: "The Holy Ghost which gave some, apostles; some, prophets; some, pastors and teachers; as by the imposition of hands of the holy apostles He hath appointed in the ministry of the faith, some, bishops; some, elders; and some, deacons: so the same Spirit, by the determination of the holy œcumenical councils, hath also in the dispensation of Unity established some, patriarchs; some, archbishops and metropolitans; some, arch-presbyters and arch-deacons," etc. "What, therefore," exclaims Professor Pharmakides, "all sensible men, of former ages and of this, all that are familiar with the ancient polity of the church and with ecclesiastical history, attribute to human vain-glory and ambition, this the senseless [compiler of the Tome] impiously ascribes to the Holy Ghost."†

Our author enters fearlessly into an extended examination of the constitution of the Christian Church, beginning at the time of its foundation. "The government introduced into the church by the holy apostles was democratic, and this is acknowledged by sacred history itself."‡ "No other form of government befitted the Church of Christ, founded on equality and fraternity. At that time there were neither metropolitans, nor archbishops, nor exarchs, nor patriarchs, nor popes. Each church, whether ministered to by a bishop and an elder or elders, or by an elder or elders alone, was then independent and governed by itself. The subjection of one church to another was unknown in the time of the apostles. None had any authority over another. But equality and brotherly kindness are displeasing to human vain-glory and ambition. Wherefore,

* Pharmakides, pp. 33, 34. † *Ibid.*, p. 174. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

scarce had the apostles died, when these [vices] overturned the primitive form of government, and changed it into an aristocracy. This occurred probably at the commencement, or in the first half of the second century."*

In this revolution, Professor Pharmakides represents the bishops of the cities as the chief instruments. Besides the influence which the greater size of their spiritual flocks naturally gave to them, they were favored in their attempts to subject the neighboring inferior churches, by the councils or synods, which began to be convened between the years A. D. 160 and 170, first in Phrygia, and afterward in other provinces of the Roman Empire. As these bodies met in the principal city, the bishop of that church obtained without opposition the office of permanent president; and hence, in process of time, a certain superiority came to be accorded to him. The powers of the archbishop or metropolitan were not *derived*, says our author, from the canons of any council; but after they had been conceded by custom, they were *confirmed* by the councils. To prove this assertion, he cites the express words of the Council of Antioch, A. D. 341: "The bishop residing in the metropolis should know (or recognize) the bishop in each province, and assume the care of the entire province, *because all that have business assemble from all quarters to the metropolis*." "The reason, therefore," says Mr. Pharmakides, "for the creation of metropolitans was not divine, but human. Habit led the way, and the canon was subsequently framed."†

Yet even after this period, Professor Pharmakides proceeds to remark, while each metropolitan possessed a certain superiority over the other bishops of his province, he was himself independent of all other metropolitans. This is proved by a quotation from Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch, one of the great authorities of the Greek Church on canon law; who in the 2d canon of the 2d Œcumenical Council observes, "that it will be seen from the present canon, that of old all the metropolitans were independent, and were consecrated by their own synods." The very name *metropolitan* was unknown during the first three centuries, and appears for the first time in the records of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325.‡

The Athenian professor traces the progress of the hierarchy, in the distinctions of rank that arose in the next place between the metropolitans. To this result, he tells us, various circumstances contributed. The Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Corinth, on account of the superior political importance of those cities, assumed authority over other metropolitans, and thus extended their own jurisdiction. "Again we say, and shall often have oc-

* Pharmakides, p. 177. † *Ibid.*, 180. ‡ *Ibid.*, 183.

casion to repeat the remark, that vain glory and ambition know no bounds. This fraudulent appropriation of more extensive authority and jurisdiction occurred in accordance with usage. But usage is readily changed into law, when opportunity is afforded it. An opportunity *was* afforded, and this usage actually became a law." Taking the Archbishop of Alexandria as an instance, we find that he had, of his own accord, seized upon the ecclesiastical government of the whole of Egypt, and that all the churches were subject to him. When a single bishop ventured to question his right, and dared to ordain without his consent, the Council of Nice was called upon to settle the dispute between the two prelates. Its decision was given in these words: "Let the *ancient usages* prevail in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, so that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have authority over these; since this also is *customary* for the Bishop of Rome." Professor Pharmakides well observes, that "the prerogative of the Apostle Peter is not even taken into consideration in this canon. The precedence of the bishopric of Rome is due to the precedence of the city, and not to the fabulous precedence of Peter, who never was Bishop of Rome, or even of Antioch."*

The changes introduced into church polity consequent upon the remodeling of the civil government of the empire by Constantine the Great, constitute the next topic of inquiry. The bishops of the capitals of provinces and exarchies assumed powers analogous to those of the governors, and even mimicked their titles; "acting," says Professor Pharmakides, "as though our Lord had said, 'Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority over them: so shall it also be among you.' "† The second General Council found these alterations already consummated; and, making a virtue of necessity, recognized their existence, only that it might set bounds to the ambition of those higher dignitaries, who were simultaneously seeking to aggrandize themselves by invading the provinces of their neighbors.

The growth of the power of the Bishop of Byzantium was singularly rapid, and this again is made the subject of special investigation. At first subject to the spiritual authority of the metropolitan of the Thracian city of Heraclea, when Constantinople succeeded imperial Rome as the seat of government, he became independent of his former superior; and not long after, the second General Council, by request of the Emperor Theodosius the Great, exalted him to a rank inferior only to that of the Bishop of Rome. But by this decree he obtained no jurisdiction. "What he did not obtain

* Pharmakides, p. 185. † *Ibid.*, p. 187.

at that time in a canonical manner, he afterward obtained uncanonically. And what is uncanonical is readily changed into canonical, when an opportunity is offered, and the violator of the canons is powerful."* During the seventy years that intervened between the Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, the newly-elevated archbishop succeeded in securing a practical superiority over his neighbors; and, at the latter, it was no difficult thing to obtain an acknowledgment of his supremacy over the three provinces of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace.

The title of patriarch, which the author of the Synodical Tome ascribes to the Holy Ghost, manifesting his will through the holy œcumenical council, Professor Pharmakides demonstrates from ecclesiastical history to be of much later invention; citing the words of the distinguished historian and metropolitan of Athens, Meletius, who says of the titles of patriarchs, archbishops, etc., that "they were invented—as would they had not been—by the vain-glory and ambition of subsequent ages."†

"If, therefore," observes Professor Pharmakides in conclusion, "the œcumenical councils did not appoint patriarchs, archbishops, and metropolitans, how did they appoint arch-presbyters and arch-deacons, according to the silly compiler of the Synodical Tome? Is not all this evidently empty babbling? How does he venture to attribute to the Holy Ghost what is the invention of man, the offspring of human vain-glory?" "If we too possessed the impiety of the compiler of the Synodical Tome, we would say that he also wrote under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. But far be from us such blasphemy! He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness."

Having thus disposed of the arrogant pretensions of the see of Constantinople, in virtue of which it claimed the right to exercise authority over the universal church, Mr. Pharmakides proceeds to a minute examination of the circumstances attending the drafting of the Tome, of its own character, and of the condition it contains respecting the recognition of the independence of the Hellenic Church. The latter he condemns as destined, if acquiesced in, to establish an *imperium in imperio*. He justly ridicules the synod which, while it directs the government of the Church of Greece to be administered by a *perpetual* synod of prelates, permits this very decree to be signed by five *ex-patriarchs* of Constantinople. But when the Tome goes on to stipulate that this synod is to be supreme, and free from all secular interference, it is shown to array itself in direct opposition to the national law of July 23, 1833, which places

* Pharmakides, p. 191. † *Ibid.*, p. 203.

it "under the sovereignty of the king;" and to the constant teachings of ecclesiastical history in reference to the practice of the church. Professor Pharmakides considers this point of so great importance, that he devotes over one hundred pages to the illustration of the immense influence which, from the days of the first Christian emperors, the civil government has exerted in the Church. Respecting the obligations imposed by the Tome upon the Synod of Greece, our author shows that they are unwarranted by the customs of the Church, and derogatory to the dignity of an independent body. For instance, the patriarch directs the Hellenic Synod to submit to his judgment all difficult cases in which counsel is required, but makes no mention of reciprocity on his own part. The holy anointing oil, which, according to the Tome, must be obtained from Constantinople, is proved to be destitute of a Biblical origin, though its use is now necessary in the Greek rite of baptism; but its composition has never by any canon been forbidden to the priesthood, much less to all except the patriarch.

We consider worthy of special attention the remarks of Professor Pharmakides on pages 570–577, in reference to the deplorable neglect of the preaching of the word of God in the Oriental Church. This duty he conceives as belonging exclusively to bishops, one of whose great qualifications, according to St. Paul, is aptness to teach; and to such presbyters and deacons as are authorized by them. And he states that while the Church of Constantinople has made no efforts to remedy the almost total neglect of this essential obligation, steps have been taken in that direction by that of Greece.*

The work of Professor Pharmakides was destined to prove the final blow to the Synodical Tome against which it was directed. The fruit of so much artifice and priestly craft was quietly dropped, and a law completely at variance with its provisions was introduced,

* We cannot forbear transcribing a few sentences from the indignant description of the Oriental hierarchy given by Professor Pharmakides in this connection. "But, unfortunately, the word of God is bound among these pastors! The tongue of these holy pastors cleaves, dry and immovable, to the roof of their mouths! Why? Is it because the spiritual authority is in captivity to the civil, as some wise dignitary foolishly asserts? But the word of God has never been bound by the secular power among the pastors either of Greece or of Turkey. The mouth of the teachers of the faith has, therefore, been stopped, and their tongue has cleaved, dry and immovable, to the roof of their mouths, not because the spiritual authority is in captivity to the civil, but because the teachers are wholly ignorant and unlearned. . . . . The so-called bishops of the Eastern Church being of such extraction as this for the most part, having generally no education, and having as their sole occupation the amassing of gold to minister to their luxury, how can they preach the word of God according to their sacred obligations?"—Page 174.

and passed by both chambers of the legislature, with scarcely a dissentient voice. The entire kingdom was now to be divided into twenty-four dioceses, to be filled by one metropolitan, ten archbishops, and thirteen bishops. The Holy Synod retained its former constitution, and new bishops were to be chosen and consecrated as soon as practicable, the king, in each instance, selecting one of the three candidates presented by the Synod.*

By the rejection of the Tome, the ecclesiastical independence of the Hellenic kingdom has been established on a firm and, humanly speaking, immovable foundation. The yoke of the patriarch had, indeed, been shaken off nearly thirty years before, and the independence of the church formally proclaimed by the law of 1833, and re-affirmed in the constitution of 1844. But the emission of the Tome was designed to renew its subjection to a foreign court and an alien primate. In proportion as the attempt was adroit and insidious, the rebuff was signal. Where so many in the community were at first disposed to favor its acceptance, in the end it numbered a very few supporters.

The principal agent in the accomplishment of this result was, as we have seen, Theocletus Pharmakides. Having studied in his youth for several years in a Protestant University of Germany, under the influence of evangelical professors, he there imbibed more correct views than most of his countrymen possess, of the nature and government of the Christian Church. A profound study of ecclesiastical history has opened to him an exhaustless arsenal from which to draw weapons for demolishing the baseless fabric of superstition and priestly assumption. In their use he is free and almost reckless. His opponents are treated with an unsparing severity that is justly deserved, but not always necessary. Not a flaw in their arguments remains unnoticed, and so complete and thorough is his demonstration, that the candid reader rises from a careful perusal of his work fully persuaded of the impregnability of his more important positions; a persuasion which none of the numerous rejoinders by G. A. Mavrocordatos and others can shake.

At the same time, it should not be forgotten that Pharmakides is a reformer only in respect to some externals. While, from his education, we cannot doubt his personal conviction of the correctness of that system of truth which, in its essential features, is common to the whole Protestant Church, on doctrinal points he maintains an entire and significant silence. We are not aware that a single corruption of the Christian faith is unmasked, and when we watch the

* Ἐφ. τοῦ Λαοῦ, pp. 999, 1002.

masterly ability with which the growth of a lordly hierarchy from primitive equality is exhibited, we regret that the still more important doctrinal defections and loss of spiritual life are left untouched. The place of a Luther in the Christian Church can be filled only by one who, like him, has been led by the Divine Spirit from dependence on forms and works of righteousness, to a clear and vital apprehension of the doctrine of justification by faith. This, not learning or native talent, is the test of the reformer, as it has been said to be that of the church. May men trained in the school of Luther soon arise, to commence in Greece, by the blessing of God, a work similar to the Great Reformation of the sixteenth century in Western Europe!

Art. VII.—FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE EARTH BY FIRE.

The final destruction of our world by fire is a doctrine of revelation. Nothing can be more clear or definite, nothing more unequivocal, than the language used by St. Peter touching this subject: "But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men. . . . But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Seeing, then, that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat?" 2 Peter iii, 7–12. Although no clear statement is made of this doctrine in the Old Testament Scriptures, yet the Jews held it among their traditions. According to Josephus, it was revealed to Adam, who predicted that the world would be twice destroyed, once by water, and ultimately by the force of fire.—*Antiquities*, book I, chap. ii, sec. 3.

That such a revelation was made by Jehovah to some of the antediluvians, is probable from the tradition which prevailed quite generally among the ancient nations, among all the history of whose opinions have come down to us. It was believed and taught by the Greek philosophers, especially the Stoics and Epicureans.

That it pervaded the Eastern philosophy may be inferred from the distorted traces of it which may still be found in the various forms of religion that have sprung up in the same lands, inheriting the opinions of antiquity.

Ovid, a distinguished Latin poet, who flourished about a quarter of a century before the Christian era, expressed, in his immortal verse, the tradition of the Roman Empire relating to this subject, which is thus translated by Dryden:

> "Remembering in the fates a time when fire
> Should to the battlements of heaven aspire;
> And all his blazing world above should burn,
> And all the inferior globe to cinders turn."

The scene of the above is laid far back in the past. Jupiter is about to destroy, with his lightnings, the existing race of men, on account of their great wickedness; but calling to mind this ancient prediction, he lays aside his wrathful thunderbolts, and determines to destroy them by a flood. Thus we see that among the heathen, both ancient and modern, in lands widely separated from each other, among nations not only ignorant of the Scriptures, but without intercourse with each other since the confusion of tongues, the opinion has prevailed in common with Christians, that the world is to be destroyed by fire. Admit that it was revealed from heaven to some of the patriarchs when "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech," and the prevalence of this belief is easily and sufficiently accounted for. Deny it, and all is inexplicable mystery.

It may be gratifying to the Christian to recognize the existence of this tradition among pagan nations, and to trace it through devious windings back to the source whence it came—the source of all true revelation; but he has a more sure word of prophecy on which to found his belief of the final dissolution of all things. To him the declaration of an inspired apostle is "the word of God." He is convinced by this most substantial of all arguments: "God hath said so, therefore it is true." To an intelligent faith, this is moral demonstration, and secures an unwavering assent.

Yet there are those who reject, wholly or in part, the doctrine referred to, of the final and complete dissolution of our world. Such a superficial skepticism may be founded, partly upon a corrupt desire of the heart that it may not be so, and partly upon a false conception of the intellect that it is either impossible, or contrary to the nature of things. Such a skepticism exists, and is lurking around the outskirts of the Christian Church, and to some extent, we fear, within its pale. It affects, at least in some localities, a class of well-meaning young men, who would shudder at the idea of be-

coming, or of being called, *infidels*. It is for this class more especially that we submit this paper. Representatives of this class of persons existed even in the days of the apostles. Their descendants, the scoffers, will, doubtless, to the end of time, continue to come in the same spirit. In the preaching of that day, as now, the destruction of the world was associated with the second advent of Christ. Some unwisely fixed the time of his coming as near at hand, and when the appointed season had passed, the ancient skeptics tauntingly replied: "Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation."

The uniform stability of nature was to them a sufficient assurance that the present order of things would continue forever, that the solid foundations of earth could not be shaken, that its mighty masses of rock and sea could never be overcome by fire. For such a conclusion as this, there is, doubtless, some outward seeming. So stable and uniform is nature in all her movements and operations, that the skillful mathematician can tell the exact moment of an eclipse of the sun or moon; of the transit or occultation of a given star, which occurred six thousand years ago; and if the same state of things should continue so long, he can exactly calculate every similar event for ten thousand years to come.

Observing this uniform regularity and precision in the operation of nature, the young novitiate in science and philosophy is strangely prone to lose sight of God, and forget the power that first made and still moves the universe. Amazed and bewildered by what he contemplates, he mistakes *effects* for *cause*, and the uniform *law* of movement for the constantly *moving force*. How true the remark of Bacon, that prince of philosophers: "A little philosophy inclineth men's minds to atheism;" and no less true when he added: "But *depth* in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion."

We are of those who believe that science, truly so called, when rightly understood, nowhere presents any real obstacle to the fulfillment of any prophecy in the Scriptures, or contradicts any truth therein revealed. We believe that the testimony which nature and science are now giving, independent of the Scriptures, amounts to strong presumptive evidence that the world is approaching its final conflagration. To some points in this testimony we wish briefly to refer.

1. If this globe should be finally destroyed by fire, it is nothing more than we have reason to believe has already happened to other worlds which were once in sight of ours.

It is said that, "in the year 1572, Tycho Brahe, on passing from

his chemical laboratory to his observatory through the court of his house, observed in the constellation Cassiopeia, at a place where he had formerly seen but very small stars, a new star of uncommon magnitude. It was so bright that it surpassed Jupiter and even Venus in splendor, and was visible in the daytime. It seemed to be a world on fire; and for sixteen months it continued to blaze and shine, until at length it faded away and ceased to be visible." Never since that time, as the telescope, while exploring the heavens, has stopped to gaze upon that place, has any trace or remains of that star been discovered. Recent improvements in the science of optics have vastly augmented the power of the telescope to penetrate the azure depths of heaven. The distant nebulæ, which La Place, and many modern astronomers, thought to be but gaseous clouds, floating in the depths of ether, and the materials out of which worlds were formed, the telescope has recently resolved into magnificent suns, the centers of new solar systems, so remote from us that their commingling rays of light made them appear to our optics like extensive beds of star dust. But when sought by all this augmented, far-reaching, space-penetrating power, no traces have been discovered of that *lost world*. Was that, think ye, the day of judgment to the inhabitants of some distant sphere, whose probation being ended, its heavens were wrapped in fire, and its elements were dissolved by fervent heat? It is stated that, within the last three centuries, thirteen fixed stars have, like that one, disappeared from the heavens. Blank desolation now reigns where once they swept through the mighty cycles, joining their harmony with the music of the spheres.

With these analogies from nature, who can say that a similar event may not overtake this planet, when being on fire it shall go flaming through the void, a beacon light of destiny to other spheres, and when, exploding like a rocket, it shall go out in darkness, adding another to the catalogue of extinct worlds? Analogy, tradition, and Scripture, say that it will be so. We should, therefore, "be looking for," as we are evidently "hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat."

2. Such an event will appear still more probable, if we turn our attention to the geology of our globe. The probability that the interior of the earth is a molten mass of matter—a vast ocean of liquid fire—is now generally admitted by geologists and scientific men in both hemispheres. A great variety of experiments made in different parts of the earth, proves that heat increases as we descend from the surface toward the center. In delving for mines of coal, iron, salt, lead, and other ores, the earth's crust has been penetrated

to the depth of two or three thousand feet. Although the increase of heat is not uniform in all places where experiments have been made, yet its average rate is about one degree for every fifty feet in depth, as we descend on a line perpendicular to the surface. With this rate of increase, at the depth of seventy miles, there would be more than seven thousand degrees of heat. This would probably be sufficient to melt, and to keep in a liquid state, any material substance either known to the chemist or to be found in the mineral kingdom.

Geologists differ considerably in their opinions as to the probable thickness of the earth's crust, which separates us from the fiery sea within. Some think it is not more than thirty miles; others, fifty; a few much further than that. One has calculated that we are at least eight hundred miles from that seething caldron. The truth is doubtless somewhere between these extremes. But suppose the crust be eight hundred miles in thickness; we should then have a globe of fire within the earth more than six thousand miles in diameter. What an ocean that would be, six thousand miles long by six thousand wide, with a mean depth of three thousand miles. The probability would seem to be that the crust of the earth is less than one hundred miles in thickness. On either supposition, what a mass of fire is pent up beneath our feet! perhaps eating its way slowly toward the surface, rolling and tumbling in its fury and wearing away something from the lower strata at every revolution of the earth. Here surely are prepared material for a future conflagration. The testimony of geology already given, is sufficient at least to raise the presumption, that the train may now be laid, the match already lighted, and the slow fires creeping stealthily along, like a thief in the night, toward the magazine of the world, for a final and terrific explosion. Why all these fires within? Who can say that they are not kept there by the Omnipotent hand, for the very purpose mentioned by St. Peter—the ultimate dissolution of our world?

But there are other natural phenomena which greatly strengthen, if they do not demonstrate, the truth of this theory of a vast interior ocean of fire. Volcanoes, or burning mountains, have been known in all ages of the world, and in nearly every section of the globe. From their open craters issue smoke, steam, and sulphurous gases, sometimes cinders, and flames, and torrents of red hot lava.

Three hundred of these volcanoes are known to have been in operation in modern times. These craters may serve as smoke-pipes and safety valves, to carry off steam from that vast boiler within, which otherwise might endanger the safety of our planet.

But for these numerous vents, for aught we know, the globe would be rent into fragments before its appointed time.

The amount of lava occasionally poured forth at a single eruption, is sufficient to prove that there is an immense supply of it somewhere beneath the surface.

"At an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 1794, the flowing lava spread over five thousand acres of beautiful vineyards and cultivated fields. At another eruption of the same mountain, in A. D. 94, the cities Herculaneum and Pompeii were completely overwhelmed by the ashes, cinders, and red hot lava. The sun's light was totally obscured for two days throughout Naples. Great quantities of ashes and sulphurous smoke were carried not only to Rome, but even beyond the Mediterranean Sea into Africa, a distance of more than three hundred miles."—*World's Progress*, p. 580.

But the most tremendous volcanic eruption ever known to have taken place, occurred in Iceland, A. D. 1783. For a time it was feared that the whole island would be rent in pieces. Three fire spouts broke out of Mount Scapta Jocul, which, after rising high in the air, formed a torrent of burning lava, that flowed steadily for six weeks, and ran a distance of sixty miles to the sea, in a broken breadth of nearly twelve miles, and in some places sixty feet deep. Twelve river beds were completely filled and the rivers dried up. Twenty-one villages were wholly destroyed by water or fire, and thirty-four others greatly injured. We have not space to refer to others that have occurred. There are many of them on record. Enough already has been shown to prove, that there is an immense fountain of burning molten matter somewhere, which supplies material for these numerous eruptions. The fact that they occur in nearly all latitudes and longitudes of the earth, that they are continually in operation somewhere, seems to point, as with a finger of demonstration, from every quarter, toward a central sea of fire, pent up within the bowels of the earth.

In close connection with the foregoing are the phenomena of earthquakes. Like volcanoes, they have occurred in all ages, and their shocks have been felt in all parts of the world. At such times the earth is seized with a violent trembling, the surface rises and falls suddenly, as if lashed by the billows of an underlying tempest-tossed ocean. Occasionally these shocks are so great that houses are demolished by them; the walls of cities are thrown down; sometimes the earth opens, flames of fire and boiling water gush forth, while thousands of unfortunate victims are swallowed by the yawning cavern below. In Sicily, in 1693, fifty-four towns and cities, and three hundred villages were overturned by an earthquake, when the whole city of Catania, with its eighteen thousand inhabitants, entirely disappeared. In A. D. 742, an earthquake occurred which

shook Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. Five hundred cities were destroyed, and the destruction of life surpassed all calculation.* Sometimes a whole continent feels the dreadful sensation, for thousands of miles around. The theory that now prevails among scientific men, and one consistent with the known facts in the case, is, that earthquakes are caused by the action of a liquid fiery ocean somewhere within the earth. An ingenious French philosopher, M. Alexis Perrey, Professor in the Faculty of Sciences at Dijon, has recently submitted to the French Academy a paper "On the Relations which may exist between the Frequency of Earthquakes and the Age of the Moon," and "On the Frequency of Earthquakes relative to the Times of the Moon's passing the Meridian." In this paper the learned professor would account for the phenomena of earthquakes, by the action of a *tide wave* on the internal ocean, produced by the joint influence of the sun and moon's attraction, acting upon and through the crust of the earth, similar to that produced by the same influences on the exterior ocean. It was very natural and easy for a philosophic mind to perceive, that if the center of the earth is in a pasty or liquid state, the same influences which cause the tides, must affect, though not so powerfully, the yielding mass within. We have neither time nor space to discuss the merits of this question here. We would simply add, that the theory already has the sanction of great names, and is now attracting the serious attention of scientific men on both sides of the Atlantic. Professor Perrey has made out tables of all the earthquakes which have occurred since 1801, and finds that the time and place of their occurrence closely corresponds with the position of the moon, and also that the greatness or lightness of their shocks have their explanations in harmony with his theory. He has been requested to extend his investigation, and make out tables of earthquakes which happened prior to 1801.

We do not claim in this paper that it is fully demonstrated, as yet, that the interior of our globe is a mass of liquid fire. We only claim that in the present stage of the argument, founded upon the facts and principles of science, the presumption and probabilities in that direction are very strong. Hence, we say, from the testimony of nature and science, it is quite evident that there can be no want of fire, and of fire in sufficient quantities to produce the predicted conflagration.

3. The probability of a complete dissolution of the earth is still more increased, when we take into the account the chemistry of the globe. According to the known principles of chemistry, is the

* See Earthquakes, World's Progress.

earth capable of such a dissolution by fire, as is set forth in the language of the apostle? From the experiments which have been made, it is now universally admitted by chemists, that any and all inorganic substances found upon the *surface* or *in* the earth, can, by heat, be reduced to a liquid state. Seven thousand degrees of heat are supposed to be sufficient to accomplish this, to *melt* any mineral substance. Recent experiments prove that the solid granite, and the quartz rock, by the application of heat, can be reduced to a liquid, as clear and transparent as the purest spring water. It is also universally admitted, if not fully proved, that when any substance has been reduced to a liquid state, it can be still further dissipated into *gases*. To reduce the whole to a single proposition we would say: by the application of a sufficient degree of heat, all inorganic mineral substances can be reduced, first to a liquid, and then to a gaseous state. All vegetable and animal substances readily fall a prey to fire, which consumes and dissipates them. Thus far science presents no obstacle to the complete dissolution of the solid portions of the earth. But how shall we dispose of the *water*, which covers about three fourths of the earth's surface? Besides this, large quantities are held in solution in the upper air in the form of mist, vapor, and clouds. Can this universal extinguisher of fire be made to burn? If not, we do not *see how* the declaration of the apostle can be accomplished, though we might still implicitly believe the inspired word. To this question the recent developments of science presents an easy solution. It has long been known that water is the composition of two elements or gases, oxygen and hydrogen; that water can be decomposed or separated into its original gases; and that when thus separated, hydrogen is highly combustible, and oxygen is the great supporter of combustion. Also oxygen may be burned in an atmosphere of hydrogen or sulphur, as well as sulphur and hydrogen in an atmosphere of oxygen.* In a word, oxygen and hydrogen are each combustible and mutually supporters of combustion. All that is wanting to wrap the earth in flames, is simply to separate the great bodies of water in the earth and air, into their component gases, and then to ignite them. No rational theist can doubt the power of God to produce in a moment such a change in the elements which compose the waters of the globe, if he saw fit to do so. None can doubt, that in the twinkling of an eye he could then set the heavens and earth in a blaze by his lightnings. These gases, when unconfined, are very expansive. Suppose the whole waters of the globe at once decomposed, the heavens on all sides filled to the top of the atmos-

* See Kane's Chemistry, pp. 178, 238.

phere with the expanding oxygen and hydrogen, and a sheet of flame fifty miles high, kindled around this earth, would it not prepare the way for a sublime and awful conflagration? According to the testimony of science on this point, the waters, though so vast in extent, constitute no obstacle to the burning up of the world; but, on the other hand, are materials in waiting, evidently prepared for the occasion. Yet they are so in God's keeping that we need have no fear of man or even of Satan's applying the torch, to precipitate that day of fire upon us before the appointed time.

The chemist knows that water may be decomposed, under some circumstances, by the agency of electricity. It is also known that the earth is a great electrical battery, in which electricity may be elaborated and stored up in vast quantities. What part electricity now plays in the great economy of nature, and what part it will then play in the world's dissolution, of course must be left chiefly to conjecture. For aught we know, God may employ it as the agent for destroying the equilibrium of nature, for changing the organic laws of combination, for dissolving the mysterious union between hydrogen and oxygen, and for precipitating those inflammable gases at once upon the world. It is very evident from the Scriptures, that lightnings will be actively employed on that day of physical doom. The apostle says that "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise." We can readily conceive that it will be so. It would be difficult to conceive it otherwise. When the electricity which has long slumbered in the bosom of the earth shall, at the voice of God, dart forth in every direction through earth, sea, and air, have we not at hand materials for such a concert of thunders as never yet broke upon the human ear, nor shook the earth and heaven? When this shall take place, when the new-made flames without shall vie with the imprisoned fires within the earth, when God shall give the signal by his awful thunders, we may well imagine that the earthquake will lift up its mighty voices, while the whole globe is rending into fragments. It would seem that God has often given intimations of what the inhabitants of earth might expect and fear. The mighty throes within, that so frequently shake our globe, find relief and rest only by the terrible eruptions of volcanoes or immense openings of the surface. Suppose these vents should be suddenly closed, or the internal explosive gases should rapidly accumulate, how easily, if God so willed it, the crust of the earth, the solid globe itself, might be shivered into atoms. The deep-rooted mountains, torn from their rocky beds, may literally fulfill this line of the poet's,

"And mountains are on mountains hurl'd;"

when the everlasting foundations of granite are breaking up and melting amid the judgment fires. As mass after mass, fragment after fragment, mountain after mountain, shall fall back from the distant point to which it had been thrown by the exploding force, into the liquid ocean now bereft of its external covering, all will doubtless melt down and mingle together in one common mass.

4. A question may here be raised as to the extent of the destruction which awaits our globe. Some have thought that utter annihilation of the matter, as well as of the form, of the earth would take place, that all would return back into the original nihility from which God called it. Others have supposed that great fires would be kindled about the earth, that all combustible materials upon its surface would be consumed, that the soil to a few feet in depth would be burned up; but that the solid structure, the great mass of the world, would remain. That it would come out of the fires, like gold, purified, and be constituted the permanent home of the saints; that here Christ would take up his everlasting abode, and the heaven of Scripture, with its indescribable glory and bliss, would be located on this little planet. There are doubtless many who thus believe at the present day. This opinion seems to have been influenced very much by the imperfect ideas of science which have prevailed, rather than by the plain teachings of Scripture. It has been taken for granted that water was incombustible; that the metals, though melted, would remain; that the deep and extensive beds of igneous rock would not feel the touch of fire. As it regards the *first* opinion, the principles of science, so far as they are known, give no encouragement to the idea of the annihilation of a single particle of matter. On the other hand, the presumptions are all against it. We do not call in question the power of God to annihilate matter, if he were disposed to do it, any more than we question his power to annihilate souls or spirits. To the Divine mind, there may be the same reasons for annihilating the one as the other; and as the Scriptures guard us against believing in the annihilation of souls, even the souls of the wicked, so analogy and science would make us slow to admit the slightest probability of the annihilation of matter. The forms and combinations of matter are constantly changing before our eyes; and all the changes which inspiration calls for may take place, without involving the destruction of a single particle. "Heaven and earth *may* pass away," as the Saviour teaches us, and yet not a particle of matter be lost from the universe, any more than a principle of the Divine law shall fail.

The *latter* opinion may be as far from the truth in the other direction. If we carefully read the Scriptures, we shall find that

God says, "Behold, I create all things new." Therefore Peter says: "We, according to *his promise*, look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." Before the eye of the revelator, New Jerusalem, the city of the saints, comes "down from God out of heaven," "for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea." The apostle says: "The heavens shall *pass away*," "and the *elements* shall *melt* with fervent heat." The language of Scripture calls for much more than external burning, which leaves the great mass of earth in the same relative position in the universe, unaffected by the fire. It seems, at least, to call for a complete melting down, if not an entire dissolution of its elements; for a passing away from its place, if not a complete dispersion of its original gases. In the phrase "the elements shall melt with fervent heat," we understand the term *elements*, στοιχεῖα, to be used by the apostle in its true philosophical sense, meaning the first and simplest principles of matter, the primordial elements out of which all material things were originally formed. It was in this sense that the Greek philosophers used it, and chiefly in reference to the component elements of the earth. The modern chemist would make a similar use of the term, only he would make it comprehend sixty-four elements instead of the four which constituted the whole chemistry of the ancients. How many, or rather how *few*, simple elements enter into the composition of our earth and atmosphere, is yet an open question. Modern chemistry has reduced them to sixty-four. But the prevailing conviction among chemists is, that what have been regarded as simple elementary substances, may be themselves but compounds of elements still more simple. The probability is, that as the science becomes better known, and new experiments are tried, the number of elements will be proved to be much smaller than has been supposed. Man may be able to push his conquests till nearly all which are now called simples, may be known as compounds. And yet, for wise reasons, God may never permit him to enter into the inner temple of nature, to behold the utmost simplicity of his works. It may be among the lessons to be learned in eternity, to know with how few elementary principles God has produced this immense, endless, and almost infinite variety which he has spread before us. What chemist, with all his experiments and learning, can modestly affirm that the sixty-four elements, now talked of in laboratories and lecture-rooms, may not be reduced to a very few, perhaps even to three, and a trinity be found in material nature, as well as in the Godhead?

These are as yet mysteries, of which we may *think* with much

more propriety than we can *affirm* or *deny*. Whether few or many, the apostle affirms that "the *elements shall melt* with fervent heat." The verb here rendered *melt*, is λυθήσονται, future passive from λύω, or λύειν, the radical signification of which is, *to loose, release, set free*, or *dissolve*. The elements combine according to certain organic laws, and are held together in composition by the invisible and inexplicable bands of elective affinity. Overcome this organic, cohesive force, and the elements fall apart and resume their separate, original identity. The original word here rendered *melt*, and in the following verse, *dissolved*, aptly expresses the idea of this cohesive power being overcome, which being overcome, dissolves the elements, detaches them from each other, and leaves them free to follow another law, and even to escape. No word can be found in the Greek language which could express more happily, or more scientifically, this idea, than the one here selected and used by inspiration. May not, then, the destruction which awaits our earth be complete? May not the bands of material fellowship be so dissolved, that the primordial elements, be they few or many, which now compose the globe, will separate into their simple and original gases, and these literally pass away? Man sins, and the contamination so penetrates and permeates his physical constitution, that the wisdom of heaven decrees, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." The noble structure of his body must be taken down, and taken to pieces, particle by particle, and dust must mingle again with its mother dust, and then God will raise it from the dead before its purification is complete for heaven. Has the earth been contaminated as the polluted dust returned to its bosom, as it has drunk up the blood of murdered *billions*, and also the blood consecrated to idols? and does it not need a similar process of purification? Must not the elements be completely separated, and, if need be, re-organized and re-constructed, before heaven can consecrate them as the home of the saints? Let us carefully observe, that the dissolution spoken of is produced by the agency of heat. "The elements shall *melt*," or be *dissolved*, by "*fervent heat*." We have already seen that chemistry teaches, that all inorganic substances can, by the application of sufficient heat, be reduced not only to a liquid, but also to a gaseous state. It is quite clear that this view of the subject, this interpretation of Scripture, does not call for anything more than chemistry teaches us can be done, and that, too, by the very agent, *heat*, that is mentioned by the apostle. Is there not assigned an adequate cause for this? Who can calculate the degree of heat to which the mass of the earth will be subjected on that day, when the heavens shall be on fire? Who can tell what that heat may not be

able to accomplish? We do not think that the internal fires of the earth could accomplish this alone. But another force incalculably great is to be brought to bear upon it from the burning heavens. We suppose that this burning may be supplied principally, if not wholly, from the decomposition of the vapors in the air, of the waters upon the surface, and from the gases that may be set free by the action of the internal fires. How long the heavens will be on fire, how intense the heat will be, and what the full effects of that heat will be upon the solid or liquid earth, are just the things that man cannot calculate. Consequently no man can intelligently affirm that the destruction will not be complete, that it will not amount to perfect decomposition of the elements, and the dissipation and passing away of all that once was earth. Nor should we affirm positively that it will be so. The question is simply, what do the facts and principles of science in their present state of development warrant, taken in connection with the fair interpretation of the language of Scripture relating to this subject? Whatever the apostle affirms must be *true*, when interpreted as the Holy Spirit intended. With this, science must not attempt to interfere. When properly understood, we believe it does not, and will not, conflict with revelation. Science, in some instances, may help to correct false *interpretations* of Scripture, which man, under the influence of prejudice, in his ignorance and haste, has given to the holy oracles.

If the new heavens and the new earth, mentioned in Scripture, are to be understood in a literal sense, and, as some think, referring to what this earth will be after the last fire, we do not think that any patching up of the old world, or burning it down, and making it smaller, will quite answer the conditions described. It does not seem to be in accordance with God's usual magnificent scale of procedure. True, it is economical; but that is a great objection to it. It savors more of *human* than of *Divine* economy, to give the glorified saints a smaller home and a more limited sphere of action, than they had while living in sin. In some respects it would seem to have this appearance, if the solid mass of the earth, after such a burning, is to be assigned to them as their eternal abode. True, God could amplify it, and beautify it, and make it a perfect paradise. But would it not be more consistent, and more like what we know of God, more in accordance with his determined course in reference to the human body, to collect together the dissipated elements of the old world, after undergoing the process of purification by fire, reorganize and reconstruct them into a new and beautiful world, made and fitted up expressly for the saints? Can any one doubt the power of God to do this? And would not such a re-creation

more fully answer the figures and the declaration of Scripture, than the one before referred to? That new heaven and new earth may be such as literally to justify the magnificent and poetical descriptions given them by the revelator. May there not be in that world a capital city, New Jerusalem, on which may be lavished all the magnificence and splendor described in the twenty-first chapter of Revelation? Could not the Almighty produce, out of the elements of this earth, the very metals, precious stones, and pearls, which are represented as adorning the walls, gates, and streets of the New Jerusalem? We do not think that God is dependent for materials upon the old world. He has infinite resources at his command. He might dissolve Jupiter or Saturn, Uranus or Neptune, for materials out of which to form the new heavens and new earth; or he might create materials anew, or call them out of nonentity, if he saw fit to do so. But it may be pleasing to the Divine mind to have the future abode of the saints, or the New Jerusalem, bear a relation to the present world similar to that which the resurrection body will bear to our present body. Of course where the Scriptures are silent, we must not affirm; we can only conjecture. But if the saints are to have this earth at all for a residence, which the Scriptures do not affirm, we believe it will undergo as great a change as their bodies will, and be as well adapted to their new estate, as their resurrection bodies will be to their glorified spirits.

Art. VIII.—LIFE AND TIMES OF WILLIAM III. OF ENGLAND.

Perhaps the British Channel never exhibited a more magnificent spectacle than on the third day of November, 1688. A fleet of six hundred sail, including men-of-war and transports, with canvas freely spread to the gale, were seen sweeping westward round the southern headlands of England. So extended was this grand armament, that in passing the Straits of Dover, it reached within a league of the shore on either side. The multitude of gazers that swarmed along the beach of Picardy on one hand, or darkened the chalky cliffs of Kent on the other, saw distinctly the troops under arms on the decks, and heard the mingled sounds of trumpet, drum, and cymbal, that floated in jubilant concord on the breeze. From the war ships on the two wings of the fleet, salutes were fired simultaneously as they passed the fortresses of Calais and Dover. On board

the gallant Brill, which led the van, was the individual who was the author and soul of the expedition. He sought a landing in England. His motives were sufficiently indicated by the flag at his topmast, which bore upon its ample folds this motto: "I will maintain the liberties of England and the Protestant religion." This individual was William, Prince of Orange. And the device on his pendant that hour, furnishes no unfair index of the man, and prompts to further inquiry as to his character and objects of life.

William Henry, Prince of Orange, Nassau, was partly of English and partly of Dutch descent. The grandson of Charles I., on his mother's side, he was son of the Prince of Orange, whose titles and estates he inherited. Elected Stadtholder of the United Provinces at twenty-two years of age, he had become distinguished as a statesman and warrior at twenty-five; and in his twenty-eighth year, connected himself more nearly with the British nation, by his marriage with Mary, daughter of James II. In 1688, when William had reached his thirty-eighth year, the exceeding tyranny and stupid perverseness of his father-in-law, then the reigning monarch of England, alienated the people from his person and government, and led them to invite William and Mary to the throne. They were crowned King and Queen of England the following year.

After expelling James and his French allies from Ireland by force of arms; after successfully resisting upon the Continent, at the head of the Protestant coalition, the powerful assaults of France and the artful encroachments of Romanism for many years; and after he had seen the kingdom of Great Britain liberated from despotism, fortified against popery, and enjoying social peace, commercial prosperity, and national dignity among the European powers, to a degree unknown to her before, William III. died in his fifty-third year; the warrior of twenty battles, the guiding mind in a great revolution, and, on the whole, in war, in statesmanship, in diplomacy, and in weight of political influence, the greatest man of his times.

There were marked traits of excellence in William's character. He was decidedly religious. A sincere, enlightened Protestant, of the Calvinistic school, he maintained, aside from some youthful improprieties, a firm, abiding, practical faith in God. In our introduction we glanced at him on his voyage to England. On landing his army in that kingdom, whither he had come by invitation, to effect a most important revolution, the last regiment was no sooner disembarked, than the whole army was brought to a halt, and by command of the Prince of Orange, public thanks were reverently offered up to God for the gracious providence which had thus far attended the enterprise. In writing to his confidant, just previous

to the fall of the fortress of Mons, where, with fifty thousand men, he was about to measure swords with the King of France at the head of a hundred thousand, he remarks: "The risk is great, yet I am not without hope. I will do what can be done. The issue is in the hands of God." Religion is the great regulator of human character. This had a conspicuous illustration in the case of William III. His character was exceedingly well poised. And his lion-like courage in battle, his unbroken fortitude in cases of defeat, and in reverses of fortune, his decision, his impartiality, his great and noble intentions, his tenderness of heart, deep hidden though it might be under a stern exterior, and that moderation in government which would not in any case permit him to be cruel, nor allow of persecution and violence in one portion of his subjects against another, are striking proof of the healthful influence of Christianity upon the human mind.

There were vicissitudes in his ever active, ever changing life which developed all these characteristics. In those hours of peril when others quail, he was the most animated and self-possessed. Thus, at the battle of the Boyne, where the papal power was effectually broken in the British empire, when his right arm had been wounded by a cannon ball aimed at him personally, he was seen soon afterward, in the van of his embattled hosts, fording the river in the face of the enemy, in high spirits, holding the sword with his left hand, and managing the bridle with a bandaged arm. And again, at the hard-fought and disastrous battle of Landen, which had lasted from sunrise till four o'clock in the afternoon, when his troops, after repulsing the French in four bloody and successful engagements, were at length put to rout by superior numbers, William, with a few veteran regiments, threw himself between his flying battalions and the enemy, and rushed sword in hand upon his flushed and wondering conquerors. And when he saw some signs of shrinking among his own ranks, he exclaimed: "That is not the way to fight, gentlemen! You must stand up close to them; thus, gentlemen, thus!" By such cool intrepidity the enemy's progress was arrested, and the forces of the king brought off without further detriment.

We named also the unbroken energy of this prince in times of adversity. This was exemplified after the present defeat. With some men, a single misfortune casts the gloom of despair over a whole enterprise. They are unmanned. They look upon all as lost; and not unfrequently all *is* lost for that reason. Not so with William of Orange. It required just such a conjuncture as we have described to bring out all his greatness. He had in this instance

suffered a terrible overthrow. And had Luxemburg, the opposing commander, improved the advantages of victory, William would have been undone, and the cause of the coalition ruined. But while Luxemburg paused to take breath, the elastic William, buoyed up by broad views of providence, and by high motives of duty, was on the alert. Instant and indefatigable in collecting his scattered forces, in a few days he presented as bold a front to the enemy as ever, and Protestant Europe was again safe.

The firmness of King William in adhering to positions which his judgment approved, was often and thoroughly tested in the relations he sustained to the British Parliament. After the compulsory abdication of James, and his flight to France, it became a grave question with the Lords and Commons, who had called the Prince of Orange to their assistance, and to assume the government, whether it should be in the form of a regency, or if William and Mary were crowned, whether the former or latter should administer the government. When the parleying had continued for a considerable time, William invited some three or four of the chief personages of the realm to a conference. Here he stated to them distinctly that he could not act as regent; and that, though his affection for the Lady Mary was true and devoted, yet such was his constitution that "he could not consent to be tied to the apron strings of even the best of wives." If the nation were disposed to bestow upon him the crown for life, he would accept of it; if not, his duty to Holland would require him to return to that country.

Previous to the accession of William and Mary, a spirit of violence and persecution had prevailed between the different parties in the state, the barbarous relic of those bloody times when the alternate ascendency of Papal and Protestant rule had filled the kingdom with corresponding alternations of outrage and retaliation. In the preceding reign the Tories had wielded the rods and the ax without mercy against the Whigs; and now that the latter were in power, they thought it a fit opportunity to take vengeance upon their oppressors. But though William was a stanch Whig, he would listen to none of their violent counsels. And when they attempted to coerce him into their vindictive measures, he put a quietus upon the whole matter by proroguing the Parliament. On three or more occasions he vetoed bills of the Legislature when he saw that the design or tendency of such bills was to restrict the just prerogatives of the crown. His veto of the "Place Bill," which aimed to exclude from Parliament all persons occupying places of honor and power in the government, raised a great storm in both houses. The winds and waves of angry feeling raged about the throne for two days with

great violence; but finding its occupant immovable, the Parliament yielded the point with tolerable grace; chafed, indeed, at their disappointment, but appreciating in their sovereign that decision, without which no man was able to wield the government.

The conduct and strength of William as a leader among the nations is thus eloquently expressed in one of Macaulay's paragraphs:

"The French statesmen judged of William's faculties from an intimate knowledge of the way in which he had, during twenty years, conducted affairs of the greatest moment, and of the greatest difficulty. He had even, in 1663, been playing against themselves a mixed game of most complicated chance and skill for an immense stake. They were proud, and with reason, of their own dexterity at the game, yet they were conscious that in him they had found more than their match. At the commencement of the long contest every advantage had been on their side. They had at their absolute control all the resources of the greatest kingdom in Europe, and he was merely the servant of a commonwealth, of which the whole territory was inferior in extent to Normandy or Guienne. A succession of generals and diplomatists of eminent ability had been opposed to him. A powerful faction in his native country had pertinaciously crossed his designs. He had undergone defeats in the field, and defeats in the Senate, but his wisdom and firmness had turned defeats into victories. Notwithstanding all that could be done to keep him down, his influence and fame had been constantly rising and spreading. The most important and arduous enterprise in the history of modern Europe had been planned and conducted to a prosperous issue, by him alone. The most extensive coalition the world had seen for ages, had been formed by him, and would be instantly dissolved if his superintending care were withdrawn. He had gained two kingdoms by state craft, and a third by conquest, and he was still maintaining himself in possession of all three, in spite of both foreign and domestic foes."

One would hardly suppose that in a mind so disciplined to self-restraint and diplomatic reserve, and under an exterior so inflexible and soldier-like, there lay hid a delicate sensibility, a tender heart. Yet what was ever expressed more touchingly than William's reply to the English lords at the Hague, when they listened with proud surprise to the hearty shouts of the Hollanders on the arrival of their beloved Stadtholder, who, after an absence of two years, had now come back among them the king of three kingdoms? The lords congratulated him on his popularity. "O yes," said he, "but I am not the favorite. The shouting was nothing to what it would have been if Mary had been with me!" The warm sensibilities of his kind nature were drawn out on the same occasion in a different way. While he moved along in stately procession from the dike to the town, the masses of his humbler fellow-countrymen lined the road for the entire distance; and as they pressed toward him to catch a glimpse of his well-remembered face, William exclaimed to the officers who repelled them, fearing possible assassination, "Do not keep the people off; let them come close to me; they are all my good friends!"

When Archbishop Tillotson died, William said with visible emotion, "I have lost the best friend I ever had, and the best man I ever knew." In the last sickness of Queen Mary, the king remained night and day near her bedside. The sight of his sorrow was enough to move every heart. "There was nothing left," says Macaulay, "of the man whose serene fortitude had been the wonder of old soldiers on the disastrous day of Landen, and of old sailors on the fearful night among the sheets of ice and banks of sand on the coast of Goree. The very domestics saw the tears running unheeded down that face of which the stern composure had seldom been disturbed by any triumph, or by any defeat." There were several of the prelates in attendance. The king drew Burnet aside, and gave way to an agony of grief. "There is no hope," he cried. "I was the happiest man on earth, but now I am the most miserable. She had no fault—none; you knew her well; but you could not know, nobody but myself could know her goodness."

William III. was made the providential conservator of liberty. Up to the time of James II.'s expulsion, and the elevation of William and Mary to the throne, the opinion implied in *Dei gratia Rex*, that it is the divine right of kings to rule the nations of the earth, was the prevalent opinion of Englishmen. The Church taught them, and they believed, that hereditary monarchy was of God, and inviolable. That while the right of the House of Commons to a voice in legislation was merely human, the right of the king to the obedience of his people was divine. That the Great Charter, the Constitution, was a statute which might be repealed by those who enacted it; but that the right of the princes of the blood royal to sit upon the throne of the nation in the order of succession was from God; and any act of Parliament inconsistent with that regulation was a nullity, a breach of the higher law, a sin against Heaven. That if the king dealt justly and mercifully with his subjects, very well; but if he oppressed them and tyrannized over them, they must submit to it as a providential calamity. There was no redress. He must answer for his fault to God, and not to the people. Now it is plain that in a nation where this high-toned Toryism prevailed, there could be no safeguard to freedom. A king who felt that his prerogatives were derived directly from God, would not be scrupulous about trenching upon the rights of a legislature whose authority was only from men. And such was the actual state of things. "For four reigns one half of the energy of England had been occupied in counteracting the other half." Whereas, in a good government, the ruler is employed in taking care of the nation, under the Stuarts the nation were employed in taking care of their king; and they

often had more than their hands full at that. They could not endure his abuses, for that was beyond the power of human nature. And they dared not dethrone him, for this were rebellion against God. Hence they were occupied in various expedients to manage him, and to mitigate the evil of his doings. They presented very much the appearance of a well-disposed but afflicted family, one of whose members is a maniac; and all the rest of the family are patiently engaged in trying to keep him within bounds. The English had, indeed, in one instance, when driven to desperation by the recklessness of Charles I., risen by a sudden impulse and beheaded the tyrant; but in a little time they were thunderstruck at what they had done, and humbly begged the son to come and repeat upon them the tyranny of the father. And down to the time of which we are now speaking, they looked upon themselves as a guilty nation of regicides. A Whig party had, however, risen up in the interim, with principles more enlightened and more favorable to freedom. James II. was the most despotic and the most stupid of all the Stuarts. His despotism drew upon him the hatred of all classes of his subjects; and his stupidity made it easy for a bold, energetic opposition to exclude him from the kingdom. On the other hand, the Prince of Orange, nurtured under the influence of the Reformed religion, which is friendly to liberty, and being practically familiar with the workings of a constitutional government from the relation which he held to the United Provinces, was admirably adapted to guide a revolution, destined to explode forever in England the senseless superstitution of the divine right of kings.

But this is not all that was gained by the Revolution of 1688. It was an era in the general progress of English liberty. It was a Revolution which led to religious toleration, to the supremacy of law, to the freedom of the press, to the independence of judges. It brought the royal prerogatives within safe bounds, and made it impracticable for government, henceforward, to pursue any course of policy not consonant with the views of the representatives of the people. Nay, there was then given to the English mind an impression, an impulse, which it never lost. The noble ideas of civil and religious freedom which then obtained in Great Britain, spread to her North American colonies. The Revolution of 1688 contained the germ of the Revolution of 1776. And whoever reads the Declaration of Rights, published by the convention that called the Prince and Princess of Orange to the government, will be struck with its resemblance to the Declaration of American Independence. They complain of almost the identical crimes in King James, which the colonies complained of in King George; and in the very spirit

of our Declaration, they insist upon the right of petition, the right of the governed to have a voice in the government, the right of free speech, the right of the nation to be governed by the just administration of its own pure and merciful laws. These things the Convention claimed in the name of the whole nation, as the birthright of Englishmen. So that the fault of our American fathers seems to have consisted in supposing it lawful that the same warm and generous pulsations of liberty should beat at the extremities, which were thus early beating at the heart.

But we cannot conclude this subject without remarking that William III. was a chosen and prominent instrument in the hand of Providence to protect the Protestant religion. God designs the final and universal spread of Bible Christianity in the earth. And state revolutions, and the rise and fall of dynasties, are made to promote this end as effectually as do the direct labors of the Church. Seldom is this great truth more clearly illustrated than in the elevation of William of Orange to the British throne. The juncture was critical. The Protestant cause was periled. In Great Britain the reigning monarch was a bigoted Catholic, and no exertions on his part would have been wanting to secure the ascendency of the Catholic religion in the realm. On the continent a Catholic king was contending strenuously for universal sovereignty. Louis XIV. was a prince of great capacity and of boundless ambition. Ruling the powerful kingdom of France by right of succession, and claiming Spain as his inheritance by marriage, he set no bounds to his plans of conquest. Fancying himself a second Charlemagne, whose ambition he inherited without his magnanimity, he designed that all Europe should bow to his sway. And what favor Protestantism was likely to receive at the hands of the despot who revoked the Edict of Nantes, and thus, by a stroke of his pen, exiled from their homes a quarter of a million of his best subjects, may easily be conceived. And to increase the danger, James and Louis were acting in secret concert.

But "He that keepeth Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps." He that raised up Cyrus to restore his ancient people, was now interposing in a manner equally striking in behalf of his own cause. God had prepared William by the endowments of his mind, by education, by religion, and by the discipline of events, for just such a part as he was now called upon to act in the great plans of Providence. The political position in which he had been providentially placed, pointed him out also as the natural head of the coalition against Romanism. In him, England and Holland were united; as he continued through life, chief ruler in both countries. And the

Republic of Holland being the nucleus around which the other Protestant powers of the continent clustered, King William was better prepared than any other man to act as leader, and to impart unity and strength to the entire confederacy. William seemed fully sensible that in defending the Protestant cause he was doing a work to which God had called him. While he was yet only in the subordinate office of stadtholder, this impression nerved him to exertion, both in the cabinet and in the field. And in his bold and chivalrous descent upon England, his object was not so much the British crown, as the acquiring of a permanent and powerful ally to the Protestant coalition. When firmly seated on the throne, this impression still shaped his policy. This was what rendered his policy unintelligible to many of the English nobility. They wondered why they could not fix his attention upon their petty feuds and rivalries. They looked that he should govern England as an end; but he was governing it as a means. They looked that he should prize England for its own sake, but he prized it for the sake of Europe. They remembered the first clause of his motto, "I will maintain the liberties of England;" but they had forgotten the second clause, or, in their application, narrowed it down to the British Islands, "and I will maintain the Protestant religion." But it was never forgotten by William. He remembered it in its largest import. It was the central idea of his administration. It explains his whole reign. For the simple plan of his whole reign was, so to govern England, that she should be in the best possible condition to lend her great strength, by land and by sea, to the mighty league of Protestantism against the common enemy of liberty and religion. This thought, deeply graven upon his ardent soul, that he was acting in the order of Providence, and for the highest good of the Christian world, was, no doubt, the sublime idea that sustained him under his indefatigable efforts in holding together the discordant elements of the coalition for twenty years. It was this zeal for God, this broad view of his designs, this faith in their accomplishment, that bore him up amid great reverses of fortune, and inspired him to the last with that heroic boldness, and that superhuman energy he so often exhibited upon the ensanguined field.

While, therefore, we are thankful to God that he had called forth a Luther, a Zuingle, a Huss, upon the continent, to spread the light of a pure Christianity there; and had given an Edward and an Elizabeth to commence the same good work in our mother country; let us not forget to praise him, that in this hour of peril he raised up William, the true "Defender of the Faith," to sustain the cause on both sides of the German Ocean. The bulwarks thrown around it by his hand,

the courage inspired by his intrepid spirit, brought that cause through its last great fiery ordeal. For since that time, what with the unbroken succession of seven Protestant sovereigns of Great Britain, and the revival of evangelical piety in that country and others under the Wesleyan system; what with the establishment of a most powerful Protestant Republic in this New World, and the general distribution of the Bible among the nations, the Protestant cause has passed out of danger. Christian and Faithful have got beyond the Cave of Giant Pope. Israel has escaped out of Egypt; and if the Roman Pharoah attempt to come after us, it is too late. We are now beyond the Red Sea, and further pursuit will only bury him in its billows.

Art. IX.—THE BIBLE AND SLAVERY.

The Bible and Slavery: in which the Abrahamic and Mosaic Discipline is considered in Connection with the most Ancient Forms of Slavery; and the Pauline Code on Slavery, as related to Roman Slavery and the Discipline of the Apostolic Churches. By Rev. Charles Elliott, D. D. 8vo., pp. 354. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1857.

The Bible and Slavery! These are the two that are more recently confronted with each other in the great slavery controversy. It seems not now so much *slavery and profit*, or *slavery and republicanism*, or *slavery and emancipation;* but it is *slavery and the Bible.*

Slavery has been growing bold of late. As if encouraged and strengthened by legislative and partisan favor, it assumes to hold up its head, and its utterances are defiant and barefaced, and it has come to put on an unblushing front, and it makes no secret of intended advances and conquests, and has come to claim the whole nation and the nation's territory as its rightful domain, and proposes for itself the prominent place in the national affections and favors, and proclaims *monopoly or dissolution* as its watchword, and is challenging for itself a place amid the circles of respectability and goodness, and is presuming to lay its hand upon the Bible itself, and claims the religion of Heaven as its patron, guardian, and authority.

There is something curious, it must be confessed, in this decidedly aggressive and progressive movement. A strange anomaly, that of

the most stupendous slave interest on earth growing up, and towering in colossal dimensions, in the heart of the only great republic in the world, and wreathing itself intimately with the entire policy of that republic! Startling to the superficial eye is its victorious march upon freedom, and its repeated onslaughts and achievements. Years ago we saw it shoot up hundreds of miles amid the splendid domain of liberty, spreading itself thither, however, on the express condition that nowhere else, from ocean to ocean, should its presence be tolerated forever, above a certain figure of latitude. In our simplicity, we thought the so-called Missouri Compromise to have been a *bargain*. We supposed that that hideous projection of slavedom far up amid the heart of freedom was for value received; and that the arrangement challenged all the virtue, all the binding efficacy, of a perpetual contract. And what man, from the Penobscot to the Rio Grande, had any other thought for thirty years subsequent to 1820? Yet the morals of slavery were competent to sweep away that contract in an hour, and clear the way for its indefinite expansion in whatever direction. So in good old times we thought that this slavery was a thing of the South land exclusively, and that we of the North had but little responsibility connected with it; while our Southern neighbors went so far as to teach us that this slavery was none of our business. Yet in latter days we have come to ascertain that slavery is not merely *Southern*, but *American;* that it is not a sectional, but a national affair; that the circumference of its territory is identical with that of the national realm; there being not a square inch this way of the British and the Mexican possessions, and from the Eastern to the Western ocean, that is not colored with the slavery tinge, and held, as with clamps of steel, to the slavery monopoly. We are instructed that state rights, so called, are to crouch down beneath this great overshadowing and all-grasping interest; that states and individuals are to give in their allegiance to this god, and one and all see to it that it sustains no damage; that they repress all risings toward freedom on the part of the enslaved millions, and render no aid and comfort to fugitive bondmen; but lend their vigilance and energies rather to the work of hurling these fugitives back to bondage, and lashings, and unrequited toil. And finally, when the legislative and executive functions of the nation had done their sad work, and bidden slavery to run rampant at will, forth comes the voice of the supreme judiciary conferring everything, and announcing in hot haste, that the negro is no man in the sense of the Declaration of Independence.

Glance now a moment at that beautiful land whose pickets against the approach of slavery have lately been swept away. Behold the

strife, shaking the whole nation to its center, for pushing slavery at once up over all that fairy realm. Recall the fully and loudly-expressed purpose, the barefaced and violent efforts, the lawless and barbarous cruelties and murders involved in this grand crusade for the triumph, not of freedom, but of slavery. Review the spirit and bearing of the entire South as it contemplated this contest. Write down for long remembrance the sorrowful apprehensions, even of Gospel ministers, apprehensions that Kansas would be lost to slavery; and as we gaze we exclaim, in our utter amazement, Who would have thought it! And yet, perhaps, it is hardly a matter of wonder that ministers of the Gospel who presume to hold slaves themselves, wish the prosperity of slavery everywhere, and for its extension into lands pledged by a nation's honor to eternal freedom.

Nor is it so very wonderful that these, and such as these, should endeavor to soothe their own and others' consciences by searching out, if it were possible, some seeming sanction of slavery from the sacred pages of the Bible. Be it remembered, that all over that beautiful South there are men, slaveholding men, whose consciences are ill at ease in respect to this grave matter of holding in involuntary servitude their unoffending fellow-men. One of these, some years ago, as he sat down to the pages of the great Channing, "reasoning of righteousness" on this theme of slavery, trembled like Felix before another presence. Ever and anon he would start from his chair in terror, and as he walked to the window of the parlor for relief, he would wipe great sweat drops from his pale and anxious face. This poor man, it is to be presumed, was but a representative of a multitude; for the Jeffersonian sentiment has by no means died out, even amid all the recent triumphs of the system, that the great God has no attribute that can take sides with slavery.

Hence does it seem incumbent, of late, on not a few Southern divines, to fall to work and rectify this lingering and troublesome conscientiousness on the subject of slaveholding. It is deemed a vital matter that the fanaticism of doubting the righteousness of such slaveholding should be exterminated from the Southern mind. It is reasoned, and reasoned, too, with great truth, that the "institution" will never be firm unless the religious sentiment be harmonious with its claims; that all movements of conscience demurring at its entire rectitude can only operate as so many volcanic fires, which, though pent up for a little, are yet liable to burst forth at any moment, and put in jeopardy the great and paramount interest of the country.

These efforts, however, each and all of them, to uphold American slavery by Bible authority, are abortive, and ever must be. The difficulty is that our Bible and our Christianity belong not to that

side of this question. Alas, for the sad mental perversion under whose influence a man fails to discern that, in the presence of the precepts and spirit of the Holy Bible, American slavery would perish in an hour!

The volume we have announced at the head of this article, traverses the whole Bible ground, and seems to us a conclusive and triumphant argument, on Scriptural grounds, against slavery; while it completely vindicates the book of Revelation from the sad imputation of proffering any countenance to such slavery. Few men, it is presumed, could be found, in this or any other country, better qualified than Dr. Elliott for a service of this character. His mature age, his extensive and varied learning, and his long-continued and careful attention to the subject of American slavery, and its relations to the Scriptures and to the Church, all sufficiently designate him as emphatically the man to spread out before us, clearly, intelligibly, and forcibly, the truths in this great case.

The following comprehensive statements drawn from the Introduction, indicate what is learnedly elaborated and abundantly sustained by the volume:

"Slavery is condemned in various ways in the history of the patriarchs, in the code of Moses, by the prophets, by Christ and his apostles. Among the patriarchs it is condemned in the case of Joseph, and of the Israelites in Egypt, and in the principles of right delivered in those times in Genesis. The law of Moses makes slavery a capital crime, worthy of death to the enslaver. (Exodus xxi, 16.) The same law regulates service so that it must never, in a single instance, become slavery. The prophets denounce slavery in every case in which the Jews perverted service into slavery. One leading object in Christ's mission was, to proclaim liberty to the captives; and his doctrines of brotherhood, of reciprocal good acts, and of love to others, proscribe slavery as criminal; and man-stealing, by the apostle Paul, is ranked among the most odious vices. The relation of master and slave was never originally instituted by any law of God; and whenever induced by wrong human laws, it is to be dissolved with the least possible delay, in consistency with justice and humanity."

The author then examines the patriarchal *service* as distinguished from patriarchal *slavery*, and clearly shows this service to have been the sum and substance of the servitude existing in the families of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It is conclusively shown that this patriarchal service was founded on the conversion of servants to the true religion; that they were thoroughly instructed in the principles and practices of this religion; that no *force* was employed to subjugate the servants, that there were no patrols to guard them, no jails to confine them, no dogs to hunt them, and no chains to bind them. It is shown, further, that the patriarchs, though they bought servants, yet never sold them; that the tenure by which they were held, did

not transform them to property; that the service came to an end after a longer or shorter period; that there was no annulling of the fifth and seventh commandments; no withholding the laborer's hire, no binding of children to perpetual bondage, and no condemning them to follow the condition of the mother.

It requires only the most superficial glance to see that in all these important particulars, the patriarchal service was at a very long remove from the slavery of this country, and that the application of the leading features of the former would speedily overturn and uproot the latter. Says our author:

"Let no slaves be sold on any account; let schools of instruction be established; let religious institutions be maintained and supported by the slave code; let marriage be established; let no children be separated from their parents; let parental authority be respected; let no force of law, or police, or military be resorted to; let any leave their masters who will. These regulations, all of which are imbedded in patriarchal service, would annihilate slavery in America in about two generations, or even less. It is supremely absurd, then, to quote either the examples or principles of the patriarchs in favor of American or any other system of slavery."

Having thus disposed of the patriarchal *service*, Dr. Elliott advances to the subject of patriarchal *slavery;* and presents the case of Joseph as representative of this slavery, and with withering force and clearness, points him out as the type of our own national system of oppression. He shows that Joseph was seized by violence; seized, being free, and made a bondman; that he was sold; that he was, without his consent, converted into merchandise, exchanged for money, and doomed, in the intentions of his brethren, to interminable slavery.

Now these, all and severally, are the exact accidents of American slavery. This slavery, from Baltimore to San Antonio, is a stupendous system of violence and force.

This slavery clutches, every year, one hundred thousand little free children, and brands them with life-long bondage. Free? Yes, sir, free as the new-born heir in the palace of a British nobleman; free as Joseph, when his father said, "Go see thy brethren and bring me word." Slave laws, it is true, write these poor little children slaves by birth; but those laws are a great lie; and every such child is *enslaved*, enslaved after birth, and is a slave *by* birth not a whit more than he who assumes to own him. Then this American slavery, after it enslaves, transforms its victims into merchandise, like as Joseph was transformed, and this merchandise is sold, mortgaged, bequeathed, leased, and otherwise made use of, in precisely the same way, and fully to as wide an extent, as horses, oxen, sheep, mules, or dogs.

Here we have, then, the true parallel, and the only true one. Let Southern divines, who seek to find our slavery in the Bible—let them, like intelligent and honest men, see to it that they look in the right place. They will find it. The real, the unmistakable prototype is there. But hands off, gentlemen, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The servitude with which these holy men were concerned was no more your slavery, than was the dignified messenger negotiating at Padan Aram for a wife for Isaac, like your poor and crushed Sambo, sweltering in the cotton field, and smarting under the lash of the overseer. Off, off from Jacob and his ancestors, and go and pay your respects to Jacob's sons rather. To them belongs your hand of fellowship. They, and such as they, are the only models you can claim amid the Holy Scriptures. Theirs was the slavery of violence, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery involving the dehumanizing process, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery for gain, the slavery for *silver*, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery of wickedness, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery without jubilee and without hope, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery separating kindred souls, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery whereby a man "was stolen," so is yours. Theirs was the slavery where they "saw the anguish of the soul," and were they were "besought, but would not hear," so is yours. Theirs was the slavery from whose depths came up groans and requisition for blood, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery where were the archers and their piercing arrows, and where there were "feet hurt with fetters," and where the iron entered deeply, so is yours. Theirs was the slavery accursed by God and civilized man, so is yours.

Our author glances next at the Egyptian bondage, the slavery of the Hebrews; and having shown this bondage, hateful as it was in the sight of God, to have been, in several respects, more tolerable than ours, he comes to the examination of the Jewish Code and practice in reference to service. Here are considered: 1. The various classes of servants, and the different modes of becoming such. 2. The constitutional laws, principles, and wages of service among the Hebrews. 3. The rights and privileges of servants; and, 4. Comparison between service and slavery.

In his discussion of the first of these inquiries, it is shown, with great clearness and fullness, that no class of servants among the Hebrews at all answered, either in their *status* as servants, or in the mode of becoming servants, to the slaves of this country. It is made manifest that the lowest class, those approaching most nearly to the condition of American slaves, were yet far above them; that the stranger bought by the Hebrew, either *sold himself* or *consented*

to the sale, and consequently was not a *slave;* that those only sold themselves who were poor; that their term of service expired at the jubilee, by which the word *forever* is limited, when applied to individual cases. It is shown, further, that the laws protected these servants equally with their masters; that they had the benefit of the fugitive law, could flee to the city of refuge, could become naturalized and a part of the nation; were not subject to be sold, and were consequently not held as property, and their condition of bondage was not transferred to their posterity.

Having thus shown what was the Hebrew *practice* in relation to servitude, Dr. Elliott proceeds to illustrate that the Hebrew laws were correspondent with the view presented. His summary here we prefer to present in his own words:

"By the appointment of God Canaan was to be a free country, on whose soil no slave could tread and remain without becoming a freeman, and thus resume the exercise of his natural rights, of which, like our slaves, he had been feloniously and violently deprived in spite of justice. In this free country, it was provided that no such bondage as that of Egyptian bondage should ever be introduced. So that, in denouncing the bondage of Egypt, the system of slavery was condemned in the same sentence of prohibition. Hence the essential elements of slavery were condemned as capital offenses, and the punishment for this was death, equally with murder, or beating, or reviling a parent. (Exod. xxi, 16; Deut. xxiv, 7.) Thus there is the total absence of any law in the Mosaic code which tolerates, sanctions, approves, or establishes a slave system. And yet there is also the presence of many prohibitory laws, excluding all the leading characteristics of slavery. Therefore the eighth, ninth, and tenth commandments are indirectly at variance with it. And the two great commandments, love to God and love to man, are subversive of the system. The constant command in the exercise of human rights, *to avoid respect of persons*, condemns the system that reduces some to the lowest degradation, while it makes despots or tyrants of others. As God made of one blood all men, this respect of persons, as that which distinguishes the slave from the master, is clearly forbidden. The numerous rights and privileges, civil, religious, and social, cannot consist with slavery. And so alien is the system to the Hebrew nation, that their language never had a word exactly to correspond to slave, slavery, enslaver." "And they could be bought, not to enslave them, but to set them free. As there was no oppression allowed in Hebrew service, there was no need that the servant should leave his home to escape oppression. He had the civil law on his side just as much as the master had, and could sue for the fulfillment of the contract respecting his service. But the foreign slave, who fled to Judea for protection, became a freed man, and all Israel was bound to protect him at any cost. And there was the Sabbatic year, which released perhaps two thirds, or more, of all the Hebrew servants; while the jubilee proclaimed liberty to all the inhabitants of the land without distinction. As to the effect of these two institutions on slavery, it may be gathered from applying it to our own system. Had two thirds of all our slaves been set free septennially since 1776, the year 1853 would have been the witness of eleven seven-year releases. This would have left few slaves in our land. Then had there been a jubilee in 1826, and did we look forward to another in 1876, our slave system would have been far from needing a Nebraska bill, or from calling for the annullment of a national compromise in favor of slavery."

How is it possible that these considerations can fail of their real force? Review simply two commands of the Decalogue, commands which are confessedly of universal application, and for all time, namely, the fifth and seventh. Employ a Southern doctor, such, for example, as Fuller, Smith, or Ross, to unfold the fifth commandment; and would either of them dare to teach that the duty of the slave child here, was not co-extensive with that of the free child? And yet do not these doctors know that the full performance of this duty of honoring parents is impossible in American slavery, is stubbornly inconsistent with it, and would be subversive of it? Or let these doctors preach, if they dare, the fullness of the seventh commandment, and enjoin upon the poor slaves strict obedience to its letter and spirit. Are they not shrewd enough to know that all this would be tantamount to preaching abolitionism? Do not these men know that, in the operations of our slavery, a slave man cannot properly promise to be faithful to his slave wife, and she to her husband, "till death doth them part?" Is there not another power that can part them, another power that *does* part them every day? Is there not another power than her husband's, over that poor slave woman's body, a power, to be sure, unrecognized and forbidden by the great God, but still a power involved in American slavery, and essential to it, and abundantly and frightfully exercised under its hateful sanction? Nothing seems plainer than that a system of slavery such as ours could never have existed among the ancient Jews. The righteousness of the Mosaic code would have come into collision with it at every step, and would have infallibly consumed it to utter death.

These views are entirely corroborated and confirmed by the well-ascertained rights and privileges of Jewish servants. Our author finds these to be that such servants necessarily become proselytes, that they had the full right to contract; that a copy of the law was "for the stranger" as well as those born among them; that the servants were invited guests at all the national and family festivals; that they were released from labor nearly half the year; that they were protected by law equally with their masters; that the greatest affection and kindness were enjoined toward them; that they were not to be oppressed and vexed; that they had the right to hold property and receive wages; that in all civil and religious rights they were on a level with their masters; and that their treatment at the end of the sexennial term of service is incompatible with the laws and usages of slavery. It is shown that while in these important respects the Jewish service differed from American slavery, it differed further as to its origin, the one growing out of compassion

to the poor, the other from avarice; that the one was temporary, while the other is perpetual; that the one was generally voluntary, while the other is compulsory; that the Jewish servitude had no recognition of property in servants, while slavery recognizes it to all intents and purposes; that the former admitted the testimony of servants, while the latter refuses it; that the one provided for a release of the servant in the event of cruelty or oppression, while the other provides that the master use his discretion; and that the one guarded all the privileges of marriage in behalf of servants, while the other furnishes no such guarantee. It is further apparent that the Mosaic code made the same provisions for the education of the servant as for others, while the laws of slavery, as is well known, prohibit education to the slaves; and that under the Jewish servitude the servant might redeem himself, while slavery makes no such provision. Also, if a servant escaped to the land of Israel, he was free, but if a slave of the South flees to any region of the North, he is just as much a slave as before, and it is perfectly plain that "no two laws can be more at variance than the law of God and the fugitive slave law."

These and other points of difference specified by the author between the ancient Jewish servitude and our modern American slavery, illustrate, with the force of demonstration, the world-wide difference between the two, and the utter futility of all that reasoning which attempts to infer the righteousness of the latter from that of the former. Superior logic to this is that of the Mormons, whereby they think they deduce the propriety and innocence of polygamy from patriarchal and Jewish example.

The truth is, there is no more countenance for our slavery in the Jewish code and practice, than in the patriarchal servitude; while, if the Jewish sentiment, as it did always and everywhere, denounced the Egyptian bondage, much more would it discountenance and denounce the more oppressive slavery of our own country. We repeat it, there is no true type of American slavery in the Bible, save that of Joseph and similar oppressions; and never can this slavery be justified, except on grounds that would equally justify the sons of Jacob in the conception and execution of their abominable conspiracy against their brother.

Passing on to the New Testament, the clear summing up of Dr. Elliott on Christ in connection with slavery is, that nothing can be inferred from our Lord's alleged silence on the subject, in favor of slavery; that he never uttered anything favorable to it; that there are fundamental principles in his teachings which are opposed to the whole system; that he and his apostles expressly condemn the

practice of human slavery as a great sin; that the law of love is against slavery; that the golden rule prohibits it; that the brotherhood of man, as laid down in the New Testament, is against it; that such distinctions of inequality as slavery includes is forbidden in the New Testament; that the redemption of our race is antagonistic to slavery, and, finally, that Christ by his Gospel proclaims a general jubilee to man. Proceeding to the Epistles, the author examines carefully all the Pauline instructions bearing upon the subject of slavery. Here his finding is, that, according to Paul, masters were to render to their servants according to justice; that they were to render to them equity or reciprocal rights; that they were to disuse threatening or the use of the whip; and that they were to render to servants the privileges due them, such as not only justice, but kindness, remuneration, brotherhood, and other benefits; and in regard to the one matter of *justice*, as enjoined by Paul, the learned author concludes that this of itself "secures to the slave the rights of life, liberty, personal security, the ownership of the property secured by his skill and labor, the rights of marriage, of husbands and wives, of parents and children, and the rights of education and religion. It is *unjust* to withhold or wrest away any of these rights, according to Paul's teaching to masters and slaves. So the right to hold a slave is an *unjust, usurped* right, though established by law. The master is bound to relinquish at once the justice of his claim, and, till it is in his power to free him, render to the slave a *just equivalent* for his labors as to a hired servant, and never attempt by gift, will, sale, or otherwise, to transfer the servant, bound in chains, to any human being, whether son, daughter, or other person. Such is the amount of Paul's instruction to slaveholders."

Such is a meager glance at what we deem one of the very best and ablest books that has yet issued from the press on the relation of the Bible to slavery. As a literary performance, the work is not faultless. The principal defect the reader will find to be a tendency to repetition in the statement of the leading thoughts of the discussion. Yet all this is easily overlooked, if so be that it is the *truth* that is thus reiterated. And truth, we believe, is here, wholesome and weighty truth, worthy the most careful consideration of all; and we cannot doubt that its influence will be to aid essentially to divorce, in the minds of multitudes, the hateful slavery of this country from all connection with the Holy Scriptures. Such is the drift of the book, and yet, as we close these remarks, how astonishing is the thought that such an effort should be called for! How wonderful that men, claiming to be good men, and to have some knowledge of the letter and spirit of the Bible, and a knowledge of the

genius and practice of slavery, should ever presume to bring forward the former as Divine authority for the latter. This whole bad proceeding involves what would be termed in law a *non sequitur*.

Here runs the argument: "Whatever is countenanced by the authority of the Holy Scriptures is right. Slavery is thus countenanced. Therefore slavery is right." Now this argument will do, and we will yield to it, and forever after hold our peace, whenever you shall show us that the servitude countenanced by the Bible is identical with American slavery. Here turns all the force of this Bible argument in favor of slavery. But such an identity has never yet been shown, and never can be shown. On the other hand, the utter and hopeless discrepancy between the two is the clear and forcible showing of the book we have hereby noticed, while all the spirit of the Scriptures corroborates the showing.

Art. X.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AUSTRIA.

The Protestant Churches.—One of the most important ecclesiastical assemblies of Germany, the Conference of Representatives of the various German Church governments, met this year again, for the fourth time, at Eisenach, (from June 11 to June 18.) Twenty governments out of thirty-six had sent their representatives; among these Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, and Wirtemberg; but Bavaria and Hesse-Cassel refused their participation from fear of exciting resolutions, and the Danish Consistory of Lauenburg, from hostility to the United Churches of Germany. The conference desires the re-introduction of a stricter church discipline, but disclaims the expediency of invoking to this end the assistance of the secular arm. In the much agitated divorce question, the conference urges the necessity of a reform of the divorce laws, and lays down the general principle, that the admissibility of divorce ought to be judged of by the Holy Writ, and by the ecclesiastical marriage law, as far as the latter is not against the Scripture. In Prussia the clergy are no longer constrained by the civil law to remarry divorced persons in cases which are considered anti-scriptural. The approaching meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Berlin keeps awake the interest of all parties. The position of the Lutherans is decidedly hostile to it. Dr. Stahl has clearly intimated in the Berlin Pastoral Conference, which meets annually in June, and is presided over by him, that he prefers a coalition of the Lutherans with Rome against the Dissenters, to one with the Dissenters against Rome. Similar declarations have been given by all the leading men of the party, and the General Assembly of the Prussian Lutheran Associations at Wittenberg has *unanimously* passed the resolution that a participation in the endeavors and meetings of the Evangelical Alliance is inconsistent with the duty of a Lutheran toward his church. The necessity of re-introducing private confession, in which the minister *really imparts* the remission of sins, is more generally than ever urged by the associations of Lutheran clergymen, (during the last few months at Gnadau in Prussia, at Hanover, etc.,) but it is also acknowledged that the territory of the Lutheran Church has been to such a degree invaded by the prevailing ideas of the Reformed Church, and by the Democratic spirit of the times, as to make the accomplishment of their wish impossible for some time to come. Next to the confession question, it is the introduction of new hymn books which keeps up a

lively agitation in all German Churches. Those now in use, were mostly introduced at a time when Rationalism prevailed. The orthodox party, and in particular the clergy, are therefore desirous to have them replaced by better ones; but the means adopted for this purpose, are not rarely unjustifiable in a Protestant community. A deputation of Hungarian Protestants has submitted to the consideration of the emperor, the necessity of convoking a general synod, of having the necessary preparations for it made by the Church and not by the state, of restoring to the Church her former autonomy and her parochial schools. A new Protestant weekly has been commenced in Pesth, by Mr. Hornyanski, the editor of the *Protestantische Jahrbücher*, the most important organ of the Austrian Protestants.

The Roman Church.—In Prussia, as in many other countries, the Catholic nobility is very anxious to give proofs of a firm attachment to the doctrines of the Church, and the nobility of the Rhine-province availed itself therefore of the return of the Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne, from Rome, to wait upon him in a grand cavalcade, in order "to give to their archbishop, according to the example of their ancestors, a proof of their true Catholic sentiments." The King of Bavaria has granted several petitions of his bishops, but continues to offend the Catholic party by appointing Protestant Professors for Catholic Universities. The text of the concordat concluded between Wirtemberg and Rome, has been officially published, and is overwhelmed with the eulogies of the Catholic party, but will have to stand a hot trial in the next session of the legislature, before which it must be laid for ratification. The conclusion of the concordat between Baden and Rome has been announced, but the text of it has not yet been published. The Duke of Saxe Gotha has forced the Catholic hierarchy to an unconditional retreat, and the new Catholic pastor of the capital has refused to take an oath upon the constitution. In Austria the Catholic party is noiselessly making great progress under the continued patronage of the government, and not only colleges, but even the theological faculty of one state-university has been given over to the Jesuits.

ITALY.

The Roman Church.—The unsuccessfulness of the late Republican insurrections has again strengthened the good understanding between the Italian princes and the pope. Religious liberty being considered by the Roman Church, at least in Italy, as an ally of democracy and republicanism, the princes show less readiness than ever to grant a more extended religious toleration. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Dukes of Modena and Parma, (the latter a boy of nine years,) are eulogized by the Catholic press for the marks of respect which they showed to the pope on his journey through the States of the Church. Nevertheless the Grand Duke of Tuscany has not yet consented to dismiss his ministry, which is so obnoxious to the Catholic party. The King of Naples has made extraordinary concessions to the Roman Church, which in some instances grant even more than the Austrian concordat. The Jesuits have obtained a more extended influence on public affairs, although the periodical published by them in Rome, remains forbidden in Naples, as preaching doctrines dangerous to the state. Austria allows its Italian bishops to put on the concordat a construction which confers on them the censorship respecting all literary productions, and leaves to the secular government only the duty of executing the episcopal decrees. Thus the Bishop of Bergamo has issued a circular to his diocesans, forbidding them to write for the Gazetta di Bergamo, to print it, to read it, to subscribe for it, or to contribute in any way to its publication or propagation, and has appealed to the civil authorities to help him in the execution of this decree. The paper has been at once discontinued, and it is not known whether the government has done anything to correct the episcopal presumption. Sardinia has still a ministry and legislature which refuse obedience to papal decrees, but, in repeated instances, Protestants and Radicals have again been punished for being at variance with the *state*-religion. In Rome a young saint performing the most astounding miracles was found out to be an impostor. Similar investigations in other parts of Italy might have led to similar discoveries, for at about the same time, several Madonnas commenced again to wink with the eyes and to shed tears.

Protestantism.—The activity displayed by Protestant ministers and colporteurs in Sardinia, is as great as ever. Thousands of Bibles are distributed, and Bible depots established in almost every

town. The liberal press, even in the provinces, become more and more friendly to the cause of Protestantism. In several places, riots have again broken out against Protestants, and inferior civil magistrates have openly shown their sympathy with the outrages committed by the mobs. But on the whole, freedom of religion is still enjoyed by them, and their cause is hopefully progressing. In Tuscany a priest has attempted to prosecute a Protestant convert, but, as in former cases, the courts of Florence have protected the civil rights of Protestants. At the last meeting of the Waldensian Synod, the old administration, which had been in operation the last ten years, resigned, and were replaced by a new one, of which Mr. Malan, the pastor of Latoni, is president.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Romish Church.—The Spanish Cortes have formally repealed the law passed by a former legislature respecting the sale of church property, and restored amortization. Several other laws have been passed to please the Roman Church, although the ultra Catholic faction has had some bitter squabbles with the government and the now all-powerful party of the *Moderados*, because it does not wish to hear of *moderation* where the restoration of the privileges of the Roman Church is at stake. The concordat between the Portuguese government and Rome, respecting the Roman Church in India, has been brought to a conclusion, and has been ratified, with a few modifications, by the parliament.

SCANDINAVIA.

The Lutheran State Churches.—The strong Scandinavian movement in the politics of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, which aims at a closer union of the three countries so closely allied by common descent, customs, language, and church, (*i.e.* Lutheranism,) has given rise to a Scandinavian Church Assembly, which was held at Copenhagen on July 14, 15, and 16, and attended by about one hundred Danish clergymen, and sixty from Sweden and Norway. This is the first Church Assembly of its kind in Scandinavia, and as the idea originated with a party which advocates religious liberty, we expect good results from it, for the lethargic Lutheran Churches of the three kingdoms. The same we hope from the law respecting a more extended religious liberty, which King Oscar of Sweden, after announcing it on opening the Diet of last year, and then submitting it to the examination of the Supreme Court, has now laid before the Swedish Diet for discussion. The draft of the law has been altered and improved in some particulars, according to the suggestions of the Supreme Court; but its character on the whole remains unchanged. (See Meth. Quar. Rev., July, p. 505.) In Denmark, the Diocesan Conventions, of which there are seven, are discussing the draft of a new Church Constitution, proposed to them for ratification, according to the Constitution of 1831, by the Minister of Public Worship. The draft was originally made by the majority of a committee appointed in 1853, for reorganizing the Danish Church, and proposes the creation of a Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, consisting of the seven bishops of the kingdom, and the Bishop of Iceland, two members of the theological faculty, and one of the faculty of law at the University of Copenhagen, seventeen representatives chosen by the clergy, and twenty-six by the laity. Two of the diocesan conventions have already rejected the new constitution; but will not be wholly opposed to the introduction of lay representation into their meetings.

The other Churches.—In Denmark and Norway the non-Lutheran denominations are rapidly increasing in membership. According to the last census of Denmark, the total number of Dissenters amounted to 10,581, (among them 4,143 Jews, 2,044 Mormons, 1,151 Roman Catholics, and 1,548 Baptists,) which is an increase of 4,000 over the year 1850. The increase in the number of Roman Catholics is 400, of the Baptists 800, and of the Mormons, over 2,000. In Norway, it is especially the Free Church movement, headed by Pastor Lammers, which makes great progress; but also the influence of the Methodist mission is spreading among the masses of the people, and there are deep awakenings and sound conversions at almost every meeting. The mission has already one hundred and forty-nine members, twelve class leaders, four local preachers, and one colporteur.

RUSSIA.

The Greek Church.—While the condition of Protestants and Catholics has become considerably better under the reign of Alexander II., the rigor of the goverment and of the State Church against the schismatic Greek sects shows no abate-

ment. It seems even that more forcible measures than ever are adopted to convert them to the Orthodox (i. e., Russian) Church. On May 20th and 21st one of the most celebrated sanctuaries of the Dissenters, situated in the government of Olonetz, was taken possession of by the governor and the Archbishop of Olonetz, and consecrated as property of the Orthodox Church, because a few of the schismatics had declared a readiness to let themselves be converted. The departure of a company of Russian missionaries (one archimandrite, three monks, four students, one surgeon, and one painter) for Pekin, where descendants of Cossacks form two Greek congregations, which Russia supplies with priests according to a treaty of 1728, reminded the Christian world again of the sad fact that one of the three large divisions of Christianity, the Greek Church, sustains no foreign missions at all, but confines herself to providing for the ecclesiastical wants of those of her members who live in foreign countries. A sermon held in St. Petersburg at the anniversary of the accession of the emperor, promises the co-operation of the State Church with the endeavors of the government, to introduce political reforms as long as the tie connecting the church and the people will not be torn, but threatens with a "woe," if that should ever be the case.

The other Denominations. — In several governments (Vitepsk, Minks, Volhynia, etc.) of Western Russia, where the nobility are mostly Polish Catholics, while the majority of the people are Russian, and in the communion of one of the Greek Churches, the nobility have given a proof of strong attachment to the Roman Church in a petition to the emperor to order the restoration of decaying Catholic churches, and the erection of new churches and parishes according to the wants of the Catholic people. The emperor has given no definite answer to this part of the petition; another part of which, asking for some favors to the Polish nationality, (erection of a Polish university, etc.,) has been very severely rebuked. The Russian government watches with great satisfaction the bitter controversy carried on between the Russian and the Polish Catholics; Father Gagarin, a Russian Jesuit, charging the latter, in the name of the former, with making their Catholicism subservient to political ends, and wishing to convert the other Sclavonian tribes to the Catholic Church, by Polonizing them. Gagarin says, that as long as the Russians see the progress of the Roman Church among them identified with the progress of a foreign nationality, they will not cease to regard her as a foe of the greatness, the future and the historical mission of Russia. The manner in which the official press mentions this controversy, seems to indicate that the government means to make good use of it. In Finland, one of the Protestant provinces, the seven hundredth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity has been celebrated with great solemnities, and the emperor has availed himself of the occasion to eulogize the Lutheran clergy for its piety, and especially for its loyalty; and has bestowed on some of its members the title of Doctor of Divinity, and Russian orders. Even the Jews are not excluded from imperial favors, one of them having been made a nobleman. As in all the other European countries, they owe this progress of toleration to their money, for the new nobleman is a banker.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Established Church. — The Evangelical party has made several successful attempts to supplant some of the favorite High Church traditions by more evangelical innovations. In order to reach better the masses of the capital, among which irreligion and vice seem to spread with alarming rapidity, Exeter Hall, an unconsecrated place, and whose name even is in anything but good odor among High Churchmen, has been employed on Sunday evenings for Episcopal service. To an interrogation of the Tractarian Lord Dungannon, whether these meetings were in strict conformity with the practice and discipline of the Church, the archbishop has given the much promising reply that no greater reproach or disparagement could be cast upon the Church than to suppose it incapable of accommodating itself to the changing necessities of the age. As an equally important step in the same direction, we hail the meeting of Churchmen and Dissenters, held in the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to express their common assent to the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Berlin. A plan for an alteration and improvement of the Prayer Book is likewise being organized by the Evangelical party, under the sanction of some of the recently appointed bishops. A progress of the Church in this direction cannot fail to baptize it with the spirit of evangelicalism.

which will leave no room to the hopes of the Tractarians. The latter have availed themselves of the decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, in the case of the churches of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, (Meth. Quar. Rev., July, p. 502,) to introduce on Easter Sunday, even more of the Roman Catholic ceremonial into their churches than before, and, as the preaching of the Rev. F. D. Maurice in a Puseyite church indicates, seem not to be opposed to an alliance with the Broad Church party, in order to check the triumph of Low Church principles. Both houses of Parliament have decided the Jewish Oath Bill, and the Maynooth question, as in former years, and the House of Lords has introduced material changes into the present divorce law.

The other Protestant Denominations.—The one hundred and fourteenth Annual Conference of the Wesleyan Church had the joy of reporting a year of annual prosperity. Both ministers and members look upon the present epoch as a new era in the history of the Church. The statistics show a gain of 6,314 members, with 17,415 probationers on trial. The extraordinary number of seventy young men have been received as candidates for the ministry, and one hundred and fifty-five applications for either new chapels (sixty-one) or the relief of old ones have been conditionally granted by the Chapel Fund. Also the Methodist New Connection, whose sixtieth Annual Conference was held at Nottingham, and the Primitive Methodists, who held their thirty-eighth Annual Conference at Cambridge, have had an increase of membership, together of about 3,000. The pamphlet written by Dr. Davidson, of the Lancashire Independent College, to explain the incriminated passages of his works, has been considered unsatisfactory by the committee of investigation, which at a subsequent meeting adopted a resolution expressing a want of confidence in Dr. Davidson as tutor to the college, and virtually involving his retirement from that office.

The Roman Church.—On two occasions, at the discussion of the Jewish Oath Bill and of the Divorce question, the Catholic members of Parliament have tried to effect the organization of a Catholic party, in order to bring the interests of their Church to bear on parliamentary questions concerning the whole land. In neither case, however, were they sufficiently numerous to affect in any way the final decision. Parliamentary investigations, on some Irish elections, have brought to light that the most outrageous means have been used by not a few priests to intimidate the electors, and they have deprived one of the most fiery champions of the Roman Church, Moore, of his seat in the House of Commons, and Archbishop McHale, of Tuam, of his reputation and influence among a very large class of his Catholic fellow-citizens.

TURKEY.

The Greek Church.—New instances of outrages committed by Turkish magistrates and soldiers against the Christian population have again occurred; but no doubt is entertained concerning the good disposition of the sultan for his Christian subjects, and the Christians of Bosnia have received from their governor the favor that the fairs are no longer held on Sunday, but on Wednesday. The impression still prevails that, notwithstanding all the efforts made to prevent it, the Sclavonian Christians will soon separate themselves from the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, and establish their own Greek government. Russia is therefore again making great efforts to gain influence over them; but Austria also uses the high authority of its Greek Archbishop of Carlowitz, to gain a party among them.

The Roman Church.—Numerous Armenian families in Cilicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, have acknowledged the authority of the pope, and have joined the United Armenian Church, whose patriarch has been recently acknowledged by the Turkish government as primate of the Armenian Catholics. This official acknowledgment confers on the United Armenian Church the same political privileges which the other Christian denominations enjoy. An attempt of the pope to introduce the Gregorian Calendar in the United Greek Church, has met with a decided opposition. The Bishop of Beyrout, with his whole diocese and one hundred and fifty families in Alexandria, are reported to have broken off their connection with Rome, and the great majority of all church-members will follow their example if the pope refuses to give up the attempt to abolish the Greek Calendar. The eight bishops of the Church will meet in synod, in compliance with the wish of the people, and it has been decided to appoint a vicar in place of the patriarch.

Protestantism.—In Constantinople a sixth Protestant place of worship has lately been added by the American missionaries, for the preaching of the Gospel in the native languages; and already about fifty persons are present on the Sabbath, chiefly Armenians. The prospects for Protestantism continue to be very good. The Bible in the Mohammedan language is allowed to be publicly imported and sold, and has been accepted as a present by the sulan.

GREECE.

The Greek Church.—The convents and bishops have liberally contributed for the theological seminaries which the government resolved last year to erect. They are also willing to pledge annual contributions for the future. This enables the government to erect not only, as was at first intended, two of these seminaries, but several more in the various provinces.

FRANCE.

The Roman Church.—The Roman Church has passed three months of unusual quietness, nothing favorable or unfavorable of particular importance having occurred. Nothing has been heard concerning the case of the Bishop of Moulins, (see Meth. Quar. Rev., July, p. 504;) both the pope and the government apparently wish to hush it up. The amicable relation between Church and State remains, on the whole, unchanged, and the respect and obsequiousness shown by the prefects and other civil authorities to the bishops, make the Church contented with the present state of things. No Catholic party appeared, therefore, at the recent elections; the candidates of the government, although many of them were Protestants, Jews, and men of no religion, received in general the support of the votes which are controlled by the priests. Even Montalembert, in former days the great champion of the Catholic interests, has been deserted by scores of his former friends, and defeated, because he was this time not the candidate of the government, and a foe of the *Univers*. This journal, hitherto not at all a paying concern, although it passes for the first Catholic daily of the world, has passed into other hands, and some of its editors have been dismissed. The many religious associations which have displayed their usual activity, have been increased by a new one, whose object it is to prevent the alarming progress of Protestantism.

Protestantism.—The polemic articles of the whole Catholic press against the Protestant schools, and the above-mentioned foundation of a new anti-Protestant association, sufficiently prove that Protestantism is progressing, and not checked by the persecutions which still continue in the provinces. On the progress of the Evangelical party in the two Protestant State Churches, Dr. Baird remarks in a recent letter, that out of seventeen ministers in the Reformed Consistory of Paris, it is believed that eleven preach the Evangelical doctrines, and four more are far from being decidedly opposed; while in the two Lutheran Churches of Paris, all the four pastors are Evangelical.

BELGIUM.

The Roman Church.—A bill on Charitable Institutions, which was passed by the Catholic majority of the second chamber, and intended to give to bishops and priests a greater influence on the bequests made for charitable purposes, has given rise to deplorable outbreaks of the popular indignation at Brussels, Antwerp, and other towns. Several convents, monasteries, Episcopal palaces, and especially the colleges of the Jesuits, have been attacked. At the same time the voice of the people has made itself heard in a legal manner, in the remonstrances of a great majority of town councils against the new law, and the Catholic ministry as well as the Catholic majority of the second chamber has thought it safest to retreat for the present, and to desist from the carrying through of the bill. Other acts of priestly despotism have increased the excitement, and it is considered as certain that the next election will bring an anti-Catholic majority into the House of Representatives.

Art. XI.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES.

I.—*Foreign Reviews.*

I. The National Review, July, 1857.—1. Mr. Lever's Novels: 2. Recent Researches in Central Africa: 3. London Street Architecture: 4. The Alleged Non-existence of Shakspeare: 5. Critical Theories of Baur, and others, on the Fourth Gospel: 6. Miss Brontë: 7. Lord Brougham: 8. The Manchester Exhibition: 9. The University of London and Middle-class Education: 10. The New Parliament: 11. Books of the Quarter suitable for Reading Societies.

II. The Edinburgh Review, July, 1857.—1. The Confraternity of La Salette: 2. De la Rive on Electrical Science: 3. Marshal Marmont's Memoirs: 4. Social Progress of Ireland: 5. The License of Modern Novelists: 6. Merivale's Romans under the Empire: 7. Goethe's Character and Moral Influence: 8. Schœlcher's Life of Handel: 9. Representative Reform.

III. The Quarterly Review, July, 1857.—1. The French Constitutionalists: 2. Electioneering: 3. Ireland, Past and Present: 4. Internal Decoration and Arrangement of Churches; 5. Travels in China—Fortune and Huc: 6. Manchester Exhibition: 7. Homeric Characters in and out of Homer: 8. The Bill for Divorce.

IV. The Christian Remembrancer, July, 1857.—1. Cathedra Petri: 2. Fergusson's Illustrated Hand-book of Architecture: 3. Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel: 4. The Life of Charlotte Brontë: 5. St. John, Lord Bolingbroke: 6. Physical Geography of the Sea: 7. Theiner's New Annales Ecclesiastici.

V. The Journal of Sacred Literature, July, 1857.—1. Apocalyptic Literature: 2. The Relation of our Lord Jesus Christ, as well to Joseph as to Mary: 3. Jesus when Twelve Years Old, at Jerusalem, and in the Temple: 4. Egyptian Dynasties—No. II: 5. Brandis on the Assyrian Inscriptions and the mode of Interpreting them: 6. Does the Bible need Re-translating? 7. Recent Researches in Chaldea and Susiana: 8. Analysis of the Emblems of St. John, Rev. v, vi: 9. Correspondence—Remarks on Hebrews v, 7: Remarks on Hebrews ix, 16, 17; Revision of the English Bible; Biblical Chronology; Darius the Mede; Annotations on Certain Passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews; Xenophon as an Historian, and as the Writer of the Anabasis; On the Origin of the Word "Sabbath."

VI. The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, July, 1857.—1. Ranalli's Italian History, from 1846 to 1853: 2. Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton: 3. Ferrier's Demonstrative Idealism: 4. The Book of Job: 5. Liturgies and Free Prayer: 6. Rudloff's History of the Scottish Reformation: 7. Does the Bible need Re-translating? 8. Writings of Dr. Doddridge: 9. Dr. Hodge's Essays and Reviews: 10. Critical Notices.

VII. The London (Wesleyan) Quarterly Review, July, 1857.—1. Philosophy, Old and New: 2. Indian Missions—Martyn and Groves: 3. Cicero and his Cotemporaries: 4. Decimal Coinage: 5. The Christian Sabbath: its History and Authority: 6. Canadian Agriculture and Commerce: 7. The English Scriptures—Testament or Covenant: 8. Irish Orators—Curran: 9. Boswell's Letters: 10. Kansas.

The first article is an extended and elaborate essay, of nearly forty pages, upon the course of speculative philosophy prior to Christian Revelation, written in order to give a clear elucidation of the connection between the two; thence it traces the antagonisms and reconcilement of faith and philosophy in the Christian ages.

In the article on Kansas are given a prefatory view of the early history of Kansas, notices of several leading publications detailing its free-soil principles and trials, portraits of eminent border ruffians, descriptions of various pro-slavery outrages, and a succinct history of the course of the national government toward that ill-fated territory. It is needless to say that its sympathies are on the side of freedom.

VIII. The Westminster Review, July, 1857.—1. Ancient Political Economy: 2. English Courts of Law: 3. Suicide in Life and Literature: 4. French Politics, Past and Present: 5. The Sonnets of Shakspeare: 6. "Manifest Destiny" of the American Union: 7. The Testimony of the Rocks: 8. Naples and Diplomatic Intervention: 9. The Life of George Stephenson.

The sixth article is by Harriet Martineau, and while it gives a correct view of the facts in the present state of our country, we think it furnishes a false set of conjectures as to our future. We do not believe with Mr. Chambers, that we are on the inevitable inclined plane toward barbarism. We do not believe with the reviewer, that we are far gone in an actual revolution, of which disunion is the consummation. We do not believe that the alternative before us is a radical construction of our present national constitution or destruction. On the contrary, we believe that if every friend of freedom and eternal justice is alert, bold, and true, if our patriots continue fearless and faithful, if our Christian freemen shrink not from duty, we shall weather the storm, and guide the ship of state, freighted with the best destinies of humanity, into the quiet harbor.

The seventh article is a severe critique upon Hugh Miller's posthumous work, "The Testimony of the Rocks." It claims that Mr. Miller's perversions of the Bible are so obvious, that he did not dare to quote the sacred text; and his misrepresentation of geological facts too palpable not to be intentional!

IX. The North British Review, August, 1857.—1. Bacon's Essays—Whately: 2. Isaac Watts: 3. French Treatment of Criminals: 4. Interior China—Medhurst and Fortune: 5. Scottish Lunacy Commission: 6. English Metrical Critics: 7. The Marriage and Divorce Bill: 8. Early Christian Songs in the East and West: 9. Inspiration: 10. The Indian Crisis.

It is pleasant to greet the re-appearance of this lost pleiad among the Quarterlies. Originally established under the auspices of Chalmers, not as a purely theological Quarterly, but as a literary periodical, surveying all topics from a true Christian stand-point, it long held a position second to none of the race in excellence, and unsuspected in the purity of its religious tone. But under a late regime, articles of questionable orthodoxy began to alarm its patrons, and the evil culminated in the January number, in an article on Chalmers, which, while ostentatiously reiterating the profoundest reverence for Chalmers, attacked the main points of Chalmers's faith, and especially assailed the doctrine of Scripture inspiration. This was done under a very self-complacent assumption, that if Chalmers had lived to the writer's own time, he could not have failed to possess the writer's own enlightenment, and to adopt his own opinions; that is, adopt opinions in most respects akin to the loose rationalism which Chalmers renounced at his conversion to vital Christianity, and combated through his whole earnest career. It was sad enough to trace the degeneracy of Chalmers's own Quarterly, and still more sad to learn that the author of the latest offense

was no other than Isaac Taylor. The Quarterly has now, after a suspension for a single quarter, been placed in new editorial hands; its first prospectus has been significantly re-published, and though the mighty mind of Chalmers does not pour its products into its pages, the theology of Chalmers re-appears within its articles. The doctrine of predestination will undoubtedly again, in some degree, color its issues; but that evil can bear no comparison with the sickly hue of rationalism. The former, injurious as it is to true piety, does often co-exist with evangelical religion, in a high, even though in a stiff and severe form; the latter relaxes the power and weakens the life, if it does not destroy the existence of all vital Christianity whatever.

The article on Watts, though infected with some ambitious rhetoric, is very attractive, and presents the character of the greatest of Christian hymnologists in pleasant view.

The article on Inspiration presents the orthodox view of Inspiration, though with no remarkable degree of power.

X. The British Quarterly Review, July, 1857.—1. English and Normans—Sir Francis Palgrave: 2. The Chinese—their Rebellions and Civilization: 3. Bishop Berkeley—his Life and Writings: 4. French Romances of the Thirteenth Century: 5. Ages of Christendom before the Reformation: 6. Cotemporary Notices of Shakspeare: 7. Charles Spurgeon and the Pulpit: 8. The Life of Charlotte Brontë: 9. Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

The first article is very valuable indeed, if it be true, as it seems to us, "that the History of England after the Conquest can hardly be intelligible to the man who has not bestowed some attention on the history of Normandy in times preceding." It is both interesting and instructive, evincing great research and considerable ability. The author incidentally brings out one fact which contravenes the common opinion, namely, that trial by jury, instead of being an institution older than the conquest, was not known in England earlier than the reign of Henry II.

The second article is a very life-like picture of the character of the Celestials, and a very clear indication of their present social and religious status. The author claims for those of whom he writes the *right to rebel*—basing this claim upon their character and the constitution of their government. We cannot, however, endorse his sentiment, that Tai Ping Wang, the leader of the Chinese insurgents, is merely a designing impostor. We believe him a religious enthusiast, deluded indeed, but yet sincere. Hence we anticipate greater and better results from his labors than does the author of this article.

The third article is an elaborate and able article on Berkeley, as a thinker on ethics and politics, and a member of society, rather than as a metaphysician. We have a brief notice of his public life, and also of his writings, especially of his Alciphron and Querist, which are perhaps least known and popular. One certainly derives a higher appreciation of the man and of his labors from this masterly sketch.

Very effectually does the author of the sixth article explode the modern and absurd theory that Shakspeare was not a man, but a committee, and that the plays published as his, were prepared by a secret society of advanced intellects, in order to expound a philosophy of practical life. So many cotemporary notices of the great dramatist are furnished as to constitute a positive demonstration of his actual personality to such as chance to need it.

The seventh article we deem the fairest and the most correct critique of Spurgeon that we have yet seen in print. Asserting that neither his origin, his ecclesiastical relations, his culture, his presence, his thoughts, his taste, his voice, nor all these combined, will account for his almost unprecedented popularity and success, the reviewer finds the elements of the one and the other, in the absence of pulpit mannerism from his elocution, in his style, his pictorial power, his intense and manifested feeling, his doctrine, and the Divine influence which attends him. We anticipated, while reading his critique, his well-stated conclusion: "None need despair of making the Gospel, the good old Gospel, a power in the great heart of humanity."

XI. The Church of England Quarterly Review, July, 1857.—1. Egyptian Antiquities: 2. The Pulpit: 3. Liturgical Revision: 4. Church Extension: 5. Researches in Palestine: 6. Interpretations of the Apocalypse: 7. The Mediæval Popedom.

The second article is a timely, well-written essay, in regard to the nature, history, power, and influence of the pulpit. In alluding to the influence of impassioned pulpit eloquence upon the masses in the Reformation age, when the honest, earnest, uncompromising eloquence of Wicliff, Huss, Luther, Cranmer, Ridley, and the whole band of Reformers came home to the hearts of the uneducated masses, and roused them to virtuous life, the writer takes the right view of the subject. And when he comes down to later times; to a period which we may denominate the second reformation, the same ground is recognized; and to Wesley, Whitefield, Rowland Hill, and Legh Richmond he ascribes the instrumentality through which the relapsed Church of the Reformation was awakened to a purer life. Admitting, as the writer does, that evangelical pulpits are thickly planted over all the land, even to its remotest corners, he feels that he is met at the threshold of his inquiry with a difficulty. He asks very properly, Why is it that the Gospel, preached as it is to thousands of perishing sinners in all parts of the land, is attended with so little result? Two reasons are presented, and the strongest is first brought to notice, which lays the sin at the door of the clergy. The writer is aware that the Tractarians would join issue with him on this question, inasmuch as they have a great dislike to the pulpit, for with them a sermon from ten to twenty minutes long, delivered either in a monotone or so mumbled as to be nearly inaudible, is considered quite sufficient, regarding, as they do, preaching to be a mere system of man's creation. He is ready to admit that though the "fox-hunting clergy," as he calls them, are like the publican, and harlot, and felon on the cross, yet in the eyes of God they are not so bad as the pharisees, the blind guides leading the blind, because the known reprobate cannot do as much mischief as he who, while the outside of the sepulcher is whited, is within full of rottenness and dead men's bones.

Assuming that the pulpit is the God-appointed instrumentality for the conversion of sinners, and that the cause of so little result from the preaching of the Gospel is not to be attributed to any want on the part of Divine agency, the conclusion is inevitable that the difficulty lies in the pulpit. While it is not by might or by power, but by the foolishness of preaching it pleases God to save sinners, it is urged by the writer that there is a vast

difference in the instruments employed; between the foolishness of Paul's preaching and the foolish preaching of the modern pulpit, and that multitudes found in the ranks of the modern pulpit have mistaken their calling. So much for the character of the pulpit of the Established Church.

The reviewer next inquires into the case of dissenting ministers. He admits that the Dissenters, as preachers, are vastly superior to the established clergy, so far as pulpit efficiency is concerned; but then he says of them: "Preaching is too often almost the only thing cared for. If, in the case of the Church, prayers are unduly exalted and preaching culpably neglected; in the other, prayer is too often a mere pretense for the exhibition of the utterer's fluency, and a wordy sermon, smoothly and forcibly delivered, the only attraction." He concludes his remarks on this comparison by saying good-humoredly: "One thing is, however, quite clear, that we cannot throw stones at each other. What we really do want is a combination of good preaching and earnest prayer." A cause why the Dissenters can muster so many more superior preachers than the Church, is the training their candidates receive. The course of training required of the students of Dissenting theological seminaries is then presented, and a comparison is instituted between them and the schools of Oxford and Cambridge.

The reviewer treats another point, in which he contends earnestly, but not wisely or warrantably, not so much for an educated ministry as for a ministry educated at the universities; thereby imparting to it a qualification to minister successfully to the "gentry and aristocracy," a qualification which he affirms is absolutely unattainable except at one or the other of the three universities. All Dissenting theological institutions are thus ignored, and regarded as inadequate to produce a ministry whose qualifications are adapted to the "gentry and aristocracy." It may be that a certain kind of theological training may be necessary for the aristocracy which would not suit the masses, but we very much doubt it. The Gospel recognizes no distinctions but those comprehended in the terms sinners and saints, and its instructions, warnings, threatenings, and promises are univocal to all; hence the idea of a class of ministers adapted to one portion of the race and not another, is, at any rate, not derived from the Bible.

That the use of furnished skeletons and plans is of doubtful utility we believe as heartily as the reviewer, and we would drive every minister from all "crutches" to his Bible, aided by reference to the original and the best commentators, and to his own thoughts, that out of his own treasury he might bring forth things new and old. The writer is particularly severe on extempore preaching, believing it an incentive to idleness. In speaking of this class of preachers he says: "Their ideas are often worn threadbare; the same forms of expression and the same expressions are repeated over and over again; and the torrent of their eloquence having after a time worn a channel for itself in a given direction, is sure to find its way into it, no matter from what point it started." These remarks are worthy of consideration, especially by those who never write their sermons or habituate themselves to think with the pen.

Article III starts out broadly and squarely in favor of a revision of the Liturgy of the Church of England, and shows that the Tractarians are wholly justified in their doctrines and practices by the strict philological meaning of the Liturgy, and intimates that the prosecution of Archdeacon

Denison is unrighteous on that account, and that he has a better, because more legitimate, right to his opinions than his opposers. The writer shows conclusively that the doctrine of transubstantiation is clearly taught in the Liturgy, as also the dogmas of priestly absolution and baptismal regeneration.

II.—*American Quarterly Reviews.*

I. The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, July, 1857.—1. Moral Insanity: 2. New Edition of Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures: 3. The Historical Epoch of Abraham: 4. The Scope and Plan of the Book of Ecclesiastes: 5. The General Assembly of 1857: 6. The Action of our Church Courts in Judicial Cases: 7. The American Bible Society and its New Standard Edition of the English Version.

II. The Freewill Baptist Quarterly, July, 1857.—1. Radicalism versus Conservatism: 2. The Doctrine of Regeneration: 3. Idea or Doctrine of the Trinity in Unity of the Godhead: 4. Miller's Testimony of the Rocks: 5. Researches in Chaldea and Susiana: 6. The Christian Sentiment of Human Nature, and its Development: 7. True Greatness: 8. Cotemporary Literature.

III. The North American Review, July, 1857.—1. Life and Works of John Adams: 2. Mechanism of Vital Actions: 3. Present Geography of Palestine: 4. Sacred Latin Poetry: 5. Greek Proverbs: 6. Trees and their Uses: 7. Haven's Archæology of the United States: 8. The Imagination in Mathematics: 9. Turnbull's Life Pictures.

IV. The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register, July, 1857.—1. The English Reformation a Catholic Work: 2. Emerson's English Traits: 3. Salaries of the Clergy: 4. The Rev. Stephen R. Wright: 5. The Spirits in Prison: 6. Dissensions in the Apostolic Age—No. II. Gnosticism: 7. The Early History of Religion.

V. The Christian Review, July, 1857.—1. Nature of the Argument for the Divine Existence: 2. Society's Future: 3. The Immaculate Conception: 4. Thornwell on Inspiration: 5. Missionary Explorations in Central Africa: 6. "The Testimony of the Rocks."

VI. The Christian Examiner, September, 1857.—1. Recent Psychologists: 2. Bishop Hopkins on Slavery: 3. The Doctrine of Christ's Creatorship: 4. The Destiny of China: 5. The Holy Land: 6. Gurowski's America and Europe: 7. Life and Works of John Kitto: 8. Our First Fathers, and their First Children: 9. Review of Current Literature.

VII. The Mercersburgh Review, July, 1857.—1. Impressions of England: 2. Christian Architecture: 3. The Means of Grace: 4. Sketches of a Traveler from Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine—(VII) Travels in the Peloponnesus: 5. The Inner Life of the Christian: 6. Fancy, Wit, and Common Sense: 7. The Reformer John De Lasky: 8. The Life and Labors of Michael Schlatter.

VIII. The New-Englander, August, 1857.—1. Opinion of Judge Daniel, in the Case of Dred Scott: 2. The Congregational Ministry of the Future: 3. Glimpses of Universal History: 4. Norwich Free Academy: 5. Two Years Ago: 6. Paul on Politics: 7. Negro Citizenship.

IX. Bibliotheca Sacra and American Biblical Repository, July, 1857.—1. Science and the Bible: 2. Religious Sects of Syria: 3. Exposition of Romans vi, 2, 8, and 10, 11: 4. The Ottoman Empire: 5. The Life and Works of Jean Racine: 6. Africa and Colonization: 7. The Egyptian Year.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

It is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.—Milton.

I.—*Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

(1.) "*The Triumph of Truth*, and Continental Letters and Sketches from the Journal, Letters, and Sermons of the Rev. James Caughey, as Illustrated in two great Revivals in Nottingham and Lincoln, England. With an Introduction by Rev. Joseph Castle, A. M." (12mo., pp. 420. Philadelphia: Higgins & Perkinpine, 1857.) These pages are characterized by the usual traits of Mr. Caughey's productions, deep piety, rich illustration, and the great power to insinuate deep religious thought in attractive forms into the popular mind. We have heard that somewhere in his works the sharp eye-glasses of theological critics have detected some actual grains of heresy. It may be. We have not read all his pages, nor have we read those pages with our sharpest critical glasses on. Our impression is, that the damage of the heresy, if such there be, will not be the myriadth part of the good by the wide popular diffusion of the rich religious thought and feeling which impregnate the works of this earnest and eminent evangelist.

The introduction, by the Rev. Joseph Castle, is a graceful and thoughtful production. Yet to one of his conclusions we must enter a strong dissent. Comparing Mr. Caughey with our other great preachers, Mr. Castle inquires why Maffit, Bascom, and Summerfield, who were his equals or superiors in piety and eloquence, could not reckon hundreds of souls converted, perhaps not tens, to his thousands. To this question he settles upon the Calvinian answer, "*God wills it.*" Alas, my brother, does not God *always* will it? Is there not danger of charging our own remissness on God? Our solemn feeling is, that in most cases it is not God's will, but man's will, namely, the minister's own will often, that is wanting. Our solution is that Mr. Caughey, humanly speaking, converts souls because Mr. Caughey means to convert souls. That and nothing else is what Mr. Caughey aims at, prays for, works for, and, please God, *will have*; and pleasing God, he does have. This is a most momentous point.

There are preachers, by myriads and majorities, and deeply pious ones too, that never once in all their lives distinctly concentrated their purposes to the single point of converting men. Their efforts are to finish an eloquent sermon, to develop theological or Biblical truth, to thrill æsthetically an audience, to pour forth general religious emotion, to spread a popular fame, to gather crowds, to build a large church, etc. Verily these have often their reward, namely, success in their objects. But here is a lonesome preacher, who does not object to all these; but, with or without them, by study, by closet, by pulpit, by pastoral work, some or all, *he* means *to convert souls*, and just so many as he can. Where this is attained all the other success is well enough. Where this is not attained, all the other success does not comfort him a penny; he goes off crest-fallen and disappointed, indignant

at the devil and himself. He will not stay there where Satan has beaten him; but he will go where, please God, he can get some souls.

Is not this the secret of the success of Methodism? So long as our ministers go from their annual conference with a conscious, solemn feeling that their *business* is this year, through God's grace, to have a large number of souls truly converted; so long as they return to the annual account with the feeling that souls gained or not is the test of faithfulness and success; so long will the harvest of God continue, and the work of God, by Methodism, will swell like the swelling flood on the face of all the earth. When this ceases, and God's will is held responsible, God will not do the work.

Applying this solution to the three examples named by Mr. Castle, we are at no loss. Maffitt, in his golden days, did convert his thousands, surpassing Mr. Caughey in this respect, for that was his unerring aim. Bascom aimed to be the *pulpit orator;* his purpose terminated in the elaborate harangue, the thrilled audience, and the gathering crowd. He did not entertain the downright purpose of conversion. Summerfield terminated his effort with pouring his own rich religious emotions upon his melting congregation; but his emotion did not go forth into the sharp volition and the determined practical drudgery of action. And we think that this same analysis exercised upon every minister of strength and ability, would, in nearly every case, bring out the answer to the question, What prevents this able minister from converting souls? He does not, in the full force of the word, TRY.

(2.) "*Pulpit Eloquence of the Nineteenth Century;* being supplementary to the History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence of deceased Divines; and containing Discourses of Eminent Living Ministers in Europe and America, with Sketches Biographical and Descriptive, by Rev. HENRY C. FISH. With an Introductory Essay by EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., Abbott Professor in Andover Theological Seminary." (8vo., pp. 815. New-York: M. W. Dodd, 1857.) The work to which this is supplementary, noticed in the Quarterly for July, 1856, furnished a view of preaching and preachers from Tertullian and Chrysostom to the commencement of the present century. The present volume presents us sermons from fifty-eight of the more prominent evangelical ministers of the nineteenth century, all now living, with the single exception of Adolphe Monod, who has died since the preparation of the work was commenced. Accompanying the discourses are biographical sketches of their respective authors, introducing us to somewhat of an acquaintance with these great lights of Christendom, and enabling us to peruse the work with a more home-like and eager interest.

The Introductory Essay shows "The Influence of the Preacher" upon the intellect, taste, business, and moral and religious character of his hearers. That influence is further illustrated by the little time demanded for great results, as in a single discourse, and often in a single sentence; by the evil sometimes produced by a preacher in a very short time; and by the fact that it becomes greater and better as ability and faithfulness increase.

Then we have the sermons. First comes the German pulpit, with its array of nine noble names, of which those of the learned Tholuck, the profound Müller, and the eloquent Krummacher, especially excite our expectations. Among the eight selections from the French pulpit, we find the names

of D'Aubigné, Gaussen, and Malan; men who have dared and suffered for the name of the Master. The American department is fuller than any other, giving us eighteen sermons, and containing, among others, the names of Williams, Barnes, M'Clintock, Bethune, Potter, and Durbin. Of the selections from the English pulpit, we may mention Melville, James, and Bunting; and from the Scotch, Guthrie and Candlish, two of the four leaders in the institution of the Free Church in 1843. The Irish and Welsh pulpits follow in order. A large portion of these discourses appear in print for the first time, and the pleasure of the various authors has been in nearly every case consulted.

Mr. Fish applied himself to a very delicate task, when, from the multitude of genuine pulpit orators of this age, he undertook to select a limited number to serve as representatives in their profession. He has executed his task with considerable skill. Though we might not be disposed to make precisely the same choice, we accord him the praise of having furnished an interesting and valuable contribution to this department of literature. One third of the discourses are from foreign languages, and the entire volume abounds in the living, glowing truths of the Gospel. W.

(3.) "Die Lehre von der Person Christi, entwickelt aus dem Selbst bewusstsein Christi und aus dem Zeugnisse der Apostel, von Wolfgang Friedcrich Gess, Theologischem Lehrer an der Evangelischen Missionsschule zu Basel. Basel: Bahnmaier's Buchhandlung, 1856." (The Doctrine of the Person of Christ, Developed from out of the Self-consciousness of Christ and the Testimonies of his Apostles, by Wolfgang Fr. Gess, Theological Teacher in the Missionary School at Basle, 1856.) The God-man Jesus Christ is the foundation of his Church, the center of history, not so much by what he has taught, done, or suffered, as by what *he is*, and the Church knows him to be. This has come to be more and more understood by friends and enemies, all knowing, that as long as the center is safe, all attacks upon the periphery must be ineffectual; but also that as soon as the center is taken, the surrender of the rest follows as a matter of course. The enemies, especially the left wing of the Hegelian school, have, therefore, given up many of their less important positions, have adopted the phraseology of the most orthodox, in order to find access to the very heart of the Church, and, by plunging the dagger to the very hilt into her heart, to put a stop to her existence at once. The Church has had, in order to ward off the blows of such an insidious foe, to shift her position from time to time, and the glorious results of this protracted warfare are the classical Christological works of Dorner, Liebner, and others. Our author has gone beyond the consciousness of the Church to the very source, the self-consciousness of Christ himself concerning his person, and the result of his labors, forms thus the first link of that glorious chain that binds God and man together. He sets out with a mind as much as possible unbiased, taking but *one thing for granted*, namely, that the Bible is true; and asks: "What says Christ of himself? what say his apostles of him?" The work is divided into five sections. The first section treats of the direct testimonies of the Lord concerning himself, and of those of his apostles, especially Paul and John, on the same point. These testimonies are then compared with each other, and

thus their force brought out: Christ's teaching concerning the personality of the Holy Ghost is here interwoven. The second section treats of Christ's humanity, the incarnation, sinlessness, and the manifestation of God's glory through him while he was on earth. The third discusses the glory of the exalted Saviour, the participation of his human nature, of his glory, and the nature of his government. The fourth treats of the historical development of the Son of God, from the incarnation to the ascension and the glory of the Son. The fifth and last treats of the incarnation of the Son and of the Trinity, and is theosophic in the best sense of the term. We hail the publication of this work as well-timed, and wish that it may soon be made accessible in a good translation to the widest circle of American readers. R.

(4.) "*The City of Sin, and its Capture by Immanuel's Army.* An Allegory, by Rev. E. F. Remington, A. M., of the Protestant Episcopal Church; with an Introduction by Rev. George B. Cheever, D. D." (12mo., pp. 336. New-York: Carlton & Porter, 1857.) Mr. Sheridan in one of his plays makes Mrs. Malaprop, (the Mrs. Partington of the day, or rather of his drama,) among other happy blunders, exclaim, "O, he is as furious as *an allegory on the banks of the Nile!*" Whether Mr. Remington's allegory be "furious" or not, those who read it will agree that it is full of exuberant life and movement. The varied powers of vivid analogy, pictorial description, and of rapid, vehement, billowy declamation, are brought in full display. Mr. Remington's logic even is imaginative; he reasons as the Mexicans wrote, by rapid serial pictures. Thus in his preface, deprecating the being prevented by fear from attempting allegory after Bunyan, he argues thus:

"Many, influenced by fear or pride, refuse to shine as twinkling stars because they cannot flame as blazing suns. They will not pour the murmurs of the cascade around them, because they cannot rush and roar like Niagara. They will not fan the fevered brow of humanity with the light wing of zephyr, because they have not been permitted by nature and grace to career with the whirlwind. Now all such men should remember that gunboats are often more useful than three-deckers. The sun is useful, so is a torch carried to men lost in a cavern. A chariot of fire and horses of fire were sent to take Elijah to heaven, but the ravens were sent to feed him. John Bunyan in his Pilgrim's Progress has erected a Parthenon; Dr. Cheever in his Voyage to the Celestial Country has built a Theseum; but the writer has not been deterred on that account from rearing his humble cottage, hoping that its friendly roof will afford to some careworn traveler shelter and repose."

We recommend this book to all who desire to indulge or to cultivate the conceptive feelings and powers in the sphere of religious thought; to all who wish to enjoy a few hours of pleasant reading revery, without resorting to the secular romances of the day. The narrative, under a garb of fancy, is truthful; its lessons are obvious and valuable, and conveyed in a rich, eloquent, and impressive style.

(5.) "*Stockton's Periodical New Testament.* No. 1. September 1. Price 50 cents, post free. Matthew, with Index, Introduction, and Plates." (18mo., pp. 60. Philadelphia: T. H. Stockton, 1857.) Dr. Stockton is

here issuing the New Testament in a new and original mode. In curious accordance with modern notions he makes it *a periodical!* And so beautiful! If we lavish cost on what we value, can we lavish too much magnificence on the Divine Word? This unique periodical is bound in flexible cloth covers, gold-stamped, and gilt-edged, and can be sent by mail, unrolled, smooth, and post-paid, to any subscriber. The print is rarely choice, and we cannot peruse its pages, well arranged in paragraphs, without wishing that the sacred text might never again be shattered into the arbitrary fragments of the absurd verse system. The necessity of reference does, indeed, require that the chapter and verse figures should still maintain a place in the margin; but no necessity requires that the sacred text should be marred, and the meaning broken up, so as to make the most flowing narrative or the most consecutive argument look, and even impress the mind, like a series of independent maxims.

To the beautiful text is appended a fine "Literary Apparatus." That is, we have a copious index instead of the ordinary head lines; Horne and Tregelles' revised and improved Introduction, and Nelson's unsurpassed colored plates. The single number before us is a most choice pocket edition of Matthew's Gospel. The numbers, commencing with September 1st, will be issued every two weeks, and close with about the close of the present year.

Let us propose that the many thousands, in our various religious denominations, who have enjoyed the unpaid delight of listening to Dr. Stockton's rare pulpit eloquence, should send him a testimony of gratitude, as well as of esteem for his pure and lofty character, in the form of a subscription for his sacred *periodical*.

(6.) "*Minutes of Several Conversations* between the Ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, at their Thirty-Fourth Annual Conference; begun in the city of Toronto, on Wednesday, 3d, and concluded on Saturday, 13th of June, 1857." (18mo., pp. 94. Toronto: George R. Sanderson, Conference Office, 1857.) These Minutes furnish cheering evidence of the prosperity of our beloved brethren of the Canadian Wesleyan Church. They report an addition of two thousand members the past year. Besides the increase in numerical strength, the Pastoral-Address expresses the confidence that Christian holiness is not only becoming better understood as a doctrine, but more richly enjoyed in practice, resulting not only in a higher standard of Christian life, but in the conversion of sinners. Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes are multiplying in number and increasing in usefulness. Their Book Rooms at Toronto are successful in the work of diffusing a religious literature. Their periodical organ, the Christian Guardian, is richly supplying the wants of the adult Church; while their Sunday School Advocate is feeding the Church's nursery—the Sabbath school. Their young university, Victoria College, has never been so prosperous, either in literary or religious condition, as at the present time. The most cordial recognition of the delegates from our Church, Rev. Dr. Raymond and Rev. William Hamilton, is recorded. We notice these tokens of the prosperity of our Canadian brethren with hearty Christian thanksgiving. Never has a truer sympathy pervaded the great body of Methodism in different countries of the world, than at the present hour.

(7.) "*Universalism not of the Bible;* being an Examination of more than One Hundred and Twenty Texts of Scripture, in Controversy between Evangelical Christians and Universalists. Comprising a Refutation of Universalist Theology, and an Exposure of the Sophistical Arguments and other Means by which it is Propagated; with a General and Scriptural Index, by Rev. N. D. George." (12mo., pp. 420. New-York: Carlton & Porter.) To produce a controversial work upon a subject which has caused so much animosity, avoiding, on the one hand, bitterness of spirit and unjust crimination, and, on the other, too great leniency to the foibles or the vices of opponents, and to carefully scan every leading position, so that nothing of real importance shall be omitted, without at the same time burdening the work with unnecessary matter, is one of the most difficult achievements of authorship. Yet these conditions are met in the book before us, with an apparent *naturalness* of effort, which proves the writer well qualified for his task.

The work evinces in its author a keen power of analysis in his criticisms of Scripture texts, and a clear perception of logical relations in arguments; while the ease with which he shivers the sophistries of his foes, and turns them into instruments of the most withering sarcasm and rebuke, we have never seen excelled. No honest and unprejudiced man can read this Refutation and Exposure without being fully convinced of the hypocrisy, falsity, and rottenness of the system which it so ably condemns. Hence we say to all who may have occasion to inform themselves respecting this subject, get "Universalism not of the Bible."

Its General and Scriptural Index is one of its most valuable features. P.

(8.) "*The Wise Master Builder.* A Sermon by Rev. T. F. Randolph Mercein, A. M." (18mo., pp. 27. New-York: Printed for the New-York Conference, 200 Mulberry-street, 1857.) This is a final memento left by one of the most gifted minds of our American Methodist Church. Mr. Mercein united in no ordinary degree the fancy of the poet, the acumen of the metaphysician, and the eloquence of the orator. He departed too early for the general Church fully to realize her loss. The readers of our Quarterly have suffered, too, an unknown loss, for the present editor had expected from his pen a series of articles such as perhaps scarce a single survivor in the Church could surpass. This discourse was prepared for delivery at the session of the New-York Conference, June, 1857. Death snatched the author away, and the sermon having been read by another to the conference, was published by its request. Though evidently without the author's last touches, it is a production worthy his noble mind.

(9.) "*Modern Anglican Theology;* Chapters on Coleridge, Hare, Maurice, Kingsley, and Jowitt, and on the Doctrine of Sacrifice and Atonement, by the Rev. James H. Rigg." (12mo., pp. 392. London: Alexander Heylin, 1857.) We announced the approaching publication of this fine volume in the Synopsis of Quarterlies of our last number. With the ability of Mr. Rigg to handle the topics and the characters indicated in the title of his work, the past readers of our Quarterly are amply acquainted. The clear thought and nervous style of Mr. Rigg place him in the first rank of

our writers upon theological and metaphysical questions. The volume possesses rare attraction for the class of minds addicted to those high walks of thought.

(10.) "*The State of the Departed;* an Address delivered at the Funeral of the Rev. BENJAMIN MOORE, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York; and a Dissertation on the same Subject, by JOHN HENRY HOBART, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York." (12mo., pp. 94. New-York: Thomas N. Stanford, 1857.) Dr. Hobart has left a great and permanent reputation in the Church of which he was a pillar and an ornament, as an able prelate, scholar, and divine. The little work before us contains an eloquent tribute to the deceased bishop, and a brief argument on the subject named in the title. The dissertation has value at this time in opposition to the doctrine of annihilationism and kindred heresies.

(11.) "*Sermons on Special Occasions*, by Rev. JOHN HARRIS, D. D., Author of 'The Great Teacher.' First Series." (12mo., pp. 375. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1857.) These sermons are marked in an eminent degree by all the expansiveness of view, originality of conception, and poetic beauty of language which have characterized the former productions of the author. They are rich in the expression of deep religious emotions and the exposition of evangelical doctrine.

II.—*History, Biography, and Topography.*

(12.) "*History of Wesleyan Methodism:* Vol. I, Wesley and his Times, by GEORGE SMITH, F. A. S., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Royal Society of Literature, Fellow of the Genealogical and Historical Society, etc." (12mo., pp. 748. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, Paternoster Row, 1857.) Mr. Smith is a scholarly Christian layman, resident at Trevu, Camborne, England, who devotes his time and talents to investigation and publication in the attractive field of religious literature. His large and able volumes upon Sacred Annals have been republished at our American Book Rooms, and have become standard in their department. A new work from his pen, of special interest to the sacred scholar and the minister of the Divine word, entitled Harmony of the Divine Dispensations, will soon be put to press.

The work under our present notice aspires to be a standard history of the great Methodist Revival, commencing with a biographical account of the Wesleys, and tracing its progress, at any rate, down to the year 1815. To this point the second volume, to be published early in the ensuing year, will bring it. From various acknowledged sources, the author has brought fresh facts and illustrations, and the whole is expressed in the author's usual clear, manly, and sometimes eloquent style.

One of the most interesting points brought out by Mr. Smith is the final and conclusive proof that Mr. Southey was ultimately convinced that his celebrated biography of Mr. Wesley did not truly appreciate the character of

that great and holy man. Methodist writers have never represented that Mr. Southey was dishonest. They have candidly attributed to him the intention of doing Mr. Wesley impartial historical justice. But they have most firmly and most truly maintained that Mr. Southey viewed his illustrious subject from a false stand-point, and therefore falsely. Place Mr. Southey himself in the right position, and he will see Mr. Wesley aright. That Mr. Southey had found his right position, and at last had seen with clear vision the real MAN, has been often rumored, but is now clearly demonstrated. After narrating testimony to some verbal acknowledgments by Mr. Southey, which, however clear and well authenticated, are still liable to objection as being merely verbal, Mr. Smith furnishes the following letter of Mr. Southey addressed to James Nichols, Esq., in which the fact that Mr. Knox's arguments had changed his views, is placed upon imperishable record. Mr. Smith furnishes a fac-simile of Mr. Southey's autograph:

"KESWICK, *August 17th*, 1825.

"DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for your letter and for your kind offer to lend me such books as may render my Life of Wesley less incomplete.

"The edition of his works (1809–13) in seventeen volumes (that one containing only the Index included) I have. I will therefore only trouble you for those volumes of the new edition that contain Mr. Benson's Life, and the additional letters; and also for Beal's early History of the Wesleys, which I had never before heard of.

"Adam Clarke's Memoirs of the Family I have, and mean to make use of it. Indeed, if you tell me, when you have inspected his additional matter, that his second volume will, in your opinion, be worth waiting for, I shall much rather wait for it, than lose the opportunity of making my new edition as correct as I can.

"My intention is to incorporate in it whatever new information has been brought forward by subsequent biographers, and, of course, to correct every error that has been pointed out, or that I myself can discover. Mr. Alexander Knox has convinced me that I was mistaken in supposing ambition entered largely into Mr. Wesley's actuating impulses. Upon the subject he wrote a long and most admirable paper, and gave me permission to affix it to my own work, whenever it might be reprinted. This I shall do, and make such alterations in the book as are required in consequence.

"The Wesleyan leaders never committed a greater mistake than when they treated me as an enemy.

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"I shall be greatly obliged to you for any document with which you can supply me. I have some interesting matter (direct and collateral) to add; nothing, I think, material to alter, except on the one point upon which I had judged injuriously of Mr. Wesley. But my work will not be the more palatable on this account to those who have declared war against it.

"Farewell, dear sir, and believe me, with many thanks, and with sincere respect, yours very truly,

"ROBERT SOUTHEY.

"TO JAMES NICHOLS, ESQ., 46 Hoxton Square."

Many have accused our Methodist fathers here in America, of an inordinate reverence for Mr. Wesley. A servile self-subjection to his authority, and an overweening readiness to label his name upon every connectional object and institution, have been imputed to them. Now, we believe the personal temper of the writer of this notice has never been held as inclined to an over-ready submission to *mere* authority. Yet we are forced to recognize something true and magnanimous in this bravely raising the Wesleyan

name on our banner, when the world had as yet learned to pronounce it only with depreciation and slight. There was not, we are bold to say it, *servility*, but MANLINESS in this braving the world's scorn until the world had learned better. The calmest examination, the maturest reconsideration, emboldens us to say that we are not ashamed, or likely to be, of our founder. Let time test the genuineness of his pure greatness; let investigation search every secret of his history and every motive of his soul, and we will close the inquisition by asserting, we are no more ashamed of our reverence for Wesley than for Washington. We assert more. We believe his pure full greatness is yet to be measured and appreciated. Who has yet estimated not merely his purity of motive, his practical statesmanship, his mastery of human nature, but what we may call his moral prescience, by which all the great Christian enterprises and reforms of the nineteenth century seemed germing forth from his far-reaching mind, as the oak is outlined in the acorn whence it springs. How singularly have the Bible, missionary, tract, temperance, Sunday school, and anti-slavery movements, as they have successively risen in all the pride of originality, suddenly been surprised to find that his grand mind had already pre-occupied their ground and uttered brave, bold, piercing words, that sound like prophecy and cut like lightning.

(13.) "*Biography of Samuel Lewis*, First Superintendent of Common Schools for the State of Ohio, by WILLIAM G. W. LEWIS." (12mo., pp. 429. Cincinnati: Printed for the Author, 1857.) We have received, with much pleasure, from our Cincinnati Book Rooms, this fine volume, by Professor Lewis, being a noble memorial from a son to the character of a great, a good, a heroic man.

Samuel Lewis is a name well known to the people of Ohio. Its bearer had a main hand in founding and shaping her educational institutions. He has left behind him age-enduring monuments. He was a member, a local preacher, and a conspicuous ornament of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and did much toward securing the right moral position of Methodism in that state. He might have won the highest honors of state, but the bawbles that dazzle other's eyes had no fascinations for him.

"A great man!" exclaimed a candid *conservative* friend of ours, who took up this biography, "a truly great man was Samuel Lewis." It had never before come to our ears; but on further inquiry, we found that the friends of Mr. Lewis did not hesitate to name him in comparison with Webster or Benton. With powers that would have made him able to cope with such men, he possessed a moral elevation which made him decline to stoop to the base compliances by which men who are great by talent, are obliged to secure greatness by position. Mr. Lewis did not *fail* of their elevation, *but* refused it. Wherever work was to be done, sacrifices to be made, or obloquy to be borne, in the cause of human good, Mr. Lewis felt it to be his duty to be principal performer; but when the victory was to be shared, and the spoils to be divided, he considered himself justifiably absent.

Much interest is spread over the latter part of the volume, from the fact that Mr. Lewis was a leader of the heroic band of original Christian abolitionists. He was one of that class whose clear minds and penetrative moral

instincts clairvoyantly saw without the least fanaticism the gigantic proportions of the despotic power of American slavery. He saw with an almost prophetic intuition the stupendous atrocities which history has since proved that the monster is capable of perpetrating. He descried the appalling truth to which the great North was almost totally blind, that the matter at stake was not simply Southern slavery, but our own inherited liberties. He saw that the fetters which the black oligarchy were fastening on the Southern slave, had a curve which clamped around the Northern freeman. He saw that the Virginian negro was not more truly sold at the block, than were these free states bargained away at the political shambles by our political auctioneers. He recognized the complicity by which the North was involved in originating, encouraging, and maintaining the system. And knowing the Northern responsibility for the great crime, he asserted, in the most firm and conservative spirit, the right and the duty of the North to speak, to act, and to boldly strike for its limitation and cessation. These are principles that must be written on every heart in these free states. They have been heroically maintained in trying times; they are marching on in proud success; and as sure as a just God rules, they will triumph. Honor, then, to the clear heads, the noble hearts, the unshrinking hands, the martyr spirits, who, in the day of trial, stood at the gates of the moral Thermopylæ. Many a lip that once reviled the men will bless their memory; and many a hand that would have raised to defeat their measures, will take up their biography with the pensive confession, "He *was* a great man." The memory of Lewis has been most worthily honored in this tribute from a filial hand. And this is right;

> "For freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeath'd by bleeding SIRE to SON,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won."

(14.) "*Autobiography of a Pioneer;* or, the Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. JACOB YOUNG, with Incidents, Observations, and Reflections." (12mo., pp. 528. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Poe, 1857.) We imagine that the venerable subject of this memoir ought to have been named John. We should then have had the three great Western Apostles, namely, Peter, the bold, the brave, the impetuous, the unique; James, the man who did not esteem faith valid, unsustained by *works;* and John, the bland, the loving, whom nothing but the Divine unction and a conscious possession of a Divine mission could ever render a son of thunder. Our thanks are due to the venerable Father Young for this book, both as a memorial of himself and as a contribution to the history of the Church. It is furnished with an Introduction from the pen of BISHOP MORRIS.

(15.) "*Tent Life in the Holy Land,* by WILLIAM C. PRIME, Author of 'Boat Life in Nubia.'" (12mo., pp. 498. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.)

(16.) "*Boat Life in Egypt and Nubia,* by WILLIAM C. PRIME." (12mo., pp. 498. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Mr. Prime has hardly a superior in the description of the scenes of the Oriental traveler's life. The objects of interest have again and again been represented by successive

travelers. But Mr. Prime's forte seems to lie in imparting to the reader not only a view of the thing as it is, but the various phases of feeling through which the mind of a scholarly, Christian, refined, and truly genial traveler is made to pass. Hence, emphatically, he "carries his reader with him."

(17.) "*Virginia Illustrated*, containing a Visit to the Virginia Canaan, and the Adventures of Porte Crayon and his Cousins. Illustrated from drawings by Porte Crayon." (8vo., pp. 500. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Porte Crayon is a sunny humorist traveling through the delectable regions of the sunny South with pen and pencil in hand, taking sketches of folks and things, who and which, by previous conspiracy with the Harpers, are exposed to be pleasantly laughed at in the Monthly. Thence they have been transferred to this volume. If you cannot afford to go to Old Virginia, these pages will kindly bring Old Virginia to you.

(18.) "*Sights in Boston and Suburbs*; or, Guide to the Stranger, by R. L. Midgley. Illustrated." (18mo., pp. 225. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co., 1857.) A very interesting and useful volume. *Interesting*, because Boston abounds in pleasant sights; *useful*, because, unless the organ of locality constitute the principal part of your sinciput and occiput too, your cerebrals will be terribly ensnarled in threading the angularities and circumvolutions of Boston travel. We have faith that this little book would furnish much aid to the pilgrim's progress.

(19.) "*History of Rome from the Earliest Times to the Establishment of the Empire*, with Chapters on the History of Literature and Art, by Henry G. Liddell, D. D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. Illustrated by numerous wood-cuts." (12mo., pp. 768. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) This volume blends the scholarly and the popular with perfect success. It may be recommended without reserve to the young reader of history as a part of his studious course. Without being pictorial it is judiciously illustrated with maps and cuts presenting true outlines of ancient countries and objects.

(20.) "*Proceedings and Debates of the Methodist Episcopal General Conference*, held in Indianapolis, 1856." (12mo., pp. 280. Syracuse, N. Y.: H. B. Knight.) The official reporter of the last General Conference has, we believe, never issued any edition of his reports in book form, and this volume therefore contains the only convenient and procurable embodiment of the doings of that memorable session extant. It contains the notes of the regular reporter so far as they extend, with the additions of the voluntary. So far as we can see, it is done in a genial and truthful spirit.

(21.) "*Chile con Carne*; or, the Camp and the Field, by S. Compton Smith, M. D., Acting Surgeon with General Taylor's Division in Mexico." (12mo., pp. 404. New-York: Miller & Curtis, successors to Dix & Edwards, 1857.) A fine looking volume, descriptive of adventures and events in the Mexican War. Its style of narration is spirited, enlivened with lively description, animated dialogue, and stirring vicissitudes.

III.—*Politics, Law, and General Morals.*

(22.) "*Fashionable Amusements:* with a Review of Dr. Bellows's Lecture on the Theater, by Rev. D. R. Thomason," (12mo., pp. 230. New-York: M. W. Dodd.) This is the third edition of a book on a trite subject, yet of increasing interest. Whether this increasing interest is sustained by a laudable desire for the good, or is the result of restlessness under proper restraints, is somewhat doubtful. The book is divided into four chapters besides the Preliminary and Concluding one, on the Theater, Card Playing, Dancing, and Novel Reading. The point of special interest at the present time, is the chapter on the Theater. Dr. Bellows has certainly succeeded in calling general attention to the stage by his late advocacy of it. The only two aspects under which this subject can be advantageously discussed are, what the stage is at present, and what it can probably be made. It is not denied, even by Dr. Bellows, that, as it now is, it is deleterious. This point is well presented in the book, under this question, "What is the moral tendency of theatrical amusements as they are now conducted?" The other question, "What can they probably be made?" contains the only hope for the theater. Its beneficial result rests entirely upon its reformation. Dr. Bellows thinks that the presence of a corporal's guard of the good and the wise at each theater, would be quite sufficient to purify the fountain of corruption. Mr. Thomason replies to this scheme of reformation as follows:

> "The reverend lecturer knows little of the theater, if he supposes that its improprieties are mere accidents or the effect of simple causes—evils which have crept in inadvertently—that they lie lightly on the surface, and have only to be pointed out as exceptionable to be at once removed. On the contrary, these are corruptions which lie deeply buried. Disguise it as the advocates of the theater may, even from themselves, the fact is indisputable that the gratifications which are found within its walls not only minister, but are meant to minister to a corrupt heart and depraved taste. They are meant to lower the standard of virtue and to shift its land marks. They are covertly designed to blunt the religious sensibilities of the soul; to deaden the conscience; to rob modesty of its delicate sensitiveness; to move the grosser passions, and provoke sensuality."

This is well said, and in view of it to reform the theater would be to destroy it.

And yet Mr. Thomason has his theatrical theory as well as Dr. Bellows, which he fondly hopes "opens a vista, perhaps,(?) to the sober and practical eye." It is this; a people's theater, owned, controlled, endowed, and attended by Christian men. The scenery oriental, and the characters Scriptural. And to fill up the programme for such a theater, our Christian bishops and venerable fathers, and the young men and maidens of our Spiritual Israel, must tread the boards to represent Peter, and Paul, and Timothy, and Titus, and Saul, and David, and Solomon, and Miriam, and Deborah, and Queen Esther, and the Virgin Mary, etc.

But why did it not occur to Mr. Thomason that such theatrical experiments are historical; having been established and practiced under the sanction of Holy Mother Church, in all her infallibility? Yea, it is still practiced every Holy Week, in all papal countries. And these exhibitions are adapted, too, "to persons of an unintellectual character, of a phlegmatic habit, little accustomed to efforts of thought," the very persons Mr. Thomason hopes to benefit; but the advantages have never been developed; or why did not the

recent tragical representations of the "crucifixion of Christ" and the "Prodigal Son" by Keller's troop occur to him? The experiment has been made, and the tendency downward and debasing, and we doubt whether, with all the guards that could be thrown around theatrical amusements, it would not ever be so. And to the question of Mr. Thomason, "Would it be lawful and desirable to have such a theater?" all past history gives a negative answer.

The remaining chapters contain sound advice, which should be received and practiced by every Christian family. The important truth that the enjoyment of religion is incompatible with a love for worldly pleasure is pressed upon the conscience. Here is the danger of many Christian families and individuals at the present time; they love, they sanction worldly pleasures. They go just as far as they can without coming into open conflict with their religious obligations as Church-members.

Dr. Chalmers says, on this point of Christians sanctioning convivial and worldly assemblies:

"It is not for him to lend the sanction of his presence to a meeting with which he could not sit till its final termination. It is not for him to stand associated, for a single hour, with an assembly of men who begin with hypocrisy and end with downright blackguardism. It is not for him to watch the progress of coming ribaldry, and to hit the well-selected moment, when talk and turbulence and boisterous merriment are on the eve of bursting forth upon the company, and carrying them forward to the full acme and uproar of enjoyment. It is in vain to say he has sanctioned only a part of such an entertainment; he has as good as given his connivance to the whole of it; and left behind him a discharge in full of all its abominations, and therefore, be they who they may, it is his part to keep as purely and indignantly aloof from such society as this, as he would from the vilest and most debasing associations of profligacy."

A timely warning this, we think, to be sounded in the ears of church-members at the present day. L.

(23.) "*America and Europe*, by Adam G. De Gurowski." (12mo., pp. 411. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1857.) "To see ourselves as others see us," is often the object of individual desire; for, in spite of the authority claimed by metaphysicians for self-consciousness, others often know us better than we know ourselves. And since destiny is often done up in the character, we may trace the image of our future as well as our present in the mirror of other's true and just opinion. So we thank Mr. Gurowski for presenting this most calm, penetrative, and genial picture of our national being. Since the great work of De Tocqueville, we have received no analysis exhibiting on every page the keen-sighted observer whose mind submits itself to the just impression of things as they are, the true philosopher exhibiting no parade of philosophy. Comparative philology, comparative meteorology, comparative anatomy, are sciences which the new-born means of extensive observation have brought into existence with already brilliant results; and works like this on what may be called comparative demology, or *the science of peoples*, as compared with each other on a clear broad view, though less capable of absolute accuracy, cannot fail to evolve an immense number of valuable conclusions.

Mr. Gurowski opens with a chapter upon races, in which he maintains that far less of the progress and pre-eminence of a people depend upon the

race or the latitude than has been supposed. Great empires, like Egypt and Ethiopia, have existed in Africa; a rich literature flourishes in Iceland. The silken Italian, the offspring of the iron Roman and the conquering Goth, exists a slave on the very ground where his fathers ruled the world. Both the races and the localities of all the great ancient empires demonstrate by their present condition, as well as their past varieties, that empire does not depend upon blood or latitude.

In his second chapter he analyzes the characteristics of our nation, and finds a peculiar blending of feverish excitability with a phlegmatic immobility. Thence, in a third chapter, treating upon Democracy, he takes special pains to separate the partisan abuse from the philosophic use of the word, and traces a number of points in which our nation (the free states) realizes the high demands of self-government implied in the word.

His fifth chapter, of some sixty pages, is upon Slavery. It is well worthy the perusal of calm thinkers of all parties. He has derived none of his views from the publications of American abolitionists. He gives what may be considered the views of the enlightened Liberalists of Europe upon this subject. It is the voice of Democratic Europe to Democratic America.

Then follows a chapter on Manifest Destiny, in which he shows how cheaply and bloodlessly our institutions may be spread over our continent, and how unnecessary are fillibuster and maraud to the Anglo-Saxon predominance in America.

The remaining topics are Foreign Elements, Education of the People, The Press, The Pulpit, The American Mind, Customs, Country, and City.

On all these subjects Mr. Gurowski furnishes the views of a discriminative, independent, yet most friendly thinker. On some topics he is eminently shrewd and piquant. His book is a study well worthy to occupy a few hours of every thoughtful well wisher to his country and his kind.

(24.) "*Public Addresses, Collegiate and Popular*, by D. D. Whedon, D. D." (12mo., pp. 174. New-York: Carlton & Porter.) These addresses were printed, rather than published, some years ago, and the first attempt seems now to be made to circulate the small remainder of a single edition. The author never saw the proof sheets; the order of the addresses was consequently deranged, a publication correspondence is unsuitably inserted, and the whole is so incorrectly done that we would thank the reader who may find anything absurd, untrue, or heterodox, to charge it to the unknown printer.

We hope, however, for the sake of the principles contained, (having no pecuniary interest in the matter,) that the "Man-Republic" and the "Christian Citizen's Political Duties," will be very extensively read. They were written years ago; but time has only served to verify the truth of the earnest utterances therein expressed.

IV.—*Education and Juvenile.*

(25.) "*Brief Longhand*, a System of Longhand Contractions, by means of which the Principal Advantages of Shorthand are secured without Resort to Stenographic Characters, and with Perfect Legibility, by Andrew J.

Graham, Conductor of the Phonetic Academy, and Author of the Reporter's Manual and Handbook of Standard Phonography." (12mo., pp. 88. New-York: A. J. Graham, 1857.) Mr. Graham is an eminent practical reporter of this city, who, besides his labor in that profession, finds time for singularly keen investigations in the phonetic and graphic arts. His publications in phonography are remarkable for beauty, as well as originality in improvements, which, but for the inconveniences of change, may be valuable.

But here is a new thing, namely, a scheme for writing by skillfull abbreviations with nearly the rapidity of short hand. Those who have not the time to learn the beautiful art of phonography may acquire this method with very little difficulty. To those who have to write much it may save some hours a day, and it may be the means of introducing gradually into general use a few recognized abbreviations that may reduce the labor and time of writing.

Mr. Graham has invented three successive degrees of contraction. The first and least contracted style is intended for correspondence; but is, perhaps, as abbreviated a form as most persons will adopt for any purpose except reporting. Editors and authors may put this little volume into the hands of their compositors, and save perhaps a large amount of time, by a system of shortening thus mutually understood.

(26.) "*A New System of Shorthand, without Stenographic Characters.*" (18mo., pp. 8.) Since writing the above notice we have received this little primer, which bears the name neither of publisher nor author, but is really produced by a gentleman who, in more senses than one, wields the pen of a ready writer, Dr. Strickland. Without claiming to be founded in so deep a science as that of Mr. Graham, it is, perhaps, as easily learned and practically as advantageous.

(27.) "*The Orations of Demosthenes on the Crown and on the Embassy.* Translated with Notes, etc., by Charles Raun Kennedy, in two vols." (Vol. ii. 12mo., pp. 418. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1857.) Another Harper-Bohn. The last we noticed gave us the dramatist of the Athenian Democracy, this gives us the orator of the Democracy. The volume contains his two great struggles with Æschines, the Oration on the Crown, and the Oration on the Embassy. The former is the great masterpiece of ancient oratory. Mr. Kennedy has furnished ample prologemena, notes, and appendices, to render his translation the best Saxon substitute for the incomparable Greek.

(28.) "*The Polylingual Journal;* a Magazine in Five Languages, French, Spanish, Italian, German, and English. August, 1857. Hiram C. Sparks Editor and Proprietor, 335 Broadway, New-York." (4to., pp. 51. Published Quarterly.) A very handsome periodical, furnishing a very pleasant mode of exercise in modern languages to those learners who dislike the task of referring to the dictionary for every new word. A thorough training in the principles of the French is appended in the Supplement of the number.

(29.) "*Mercantile Library Association of the City of New-York: Thirty-sixth Annual Report.* With the Report of the Clinton Hall Association."

(12mo., pp. 48. New-York: Baker & Godwin, printers, 1857.) The report of this institution gives token of its abundant prosperity and usefulness. It has nearly forty-nine thousand well-selected volumes. More than fifteen hundred have been added the past year. To the library are attached an extensive reading room, cabinet, scholarships, lectureships, and classes of instruction. Its noble foundation, liberal arrangements, and judicious management, render it one of the ornaments and utilities of our metropolis.

(30.) "*A Manual of Ancient Geography*, by LEONARD SCHMITZ, F. R. S. E., Rector of the High School, Edinburgh." (12mo., pp. 428. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lee, 1857.) A handsome manual from the hand of a master, well executed by the publishers. We have expressed our earnest opinion of the importance of a proper course of ancient geography for all our scholars in the classical course. This manual is admirably adapted for the purpose of class instruction, and we recommend it to the attention of teachers and professors in the proper department.

ART. XIII.—LITERARY ITEMS.

Carlton & Porter have in press *The True Woman*, by Rev. J. T. Peck, D. D., a work for which we expect no ordinary success; and *The Harmony of the Divine Dispensations*, by George Smith, author of "*Sacred Annals*" and other able works. The present work possesses peculiar value from the skillful use which the author has made of the late discoveries of Oriental travelers and investigators.

Rev. J. B. Wakeley has a work ready for the press with this unique title, "*Lost Chapters Recovered in the Early History of American Methodism.*" This volume will throw light on the early history of Methodism in this country. We have seen the old lost volume which is the basis of the work, and the materials it contains are rich and rare. It introduces us to Philip Embury, Captain Webb, Joseph Pilmoor, and other distinguished men. Its records extend from 1768 to 1796. It corrects the error which many have fallen into, who have written of Methodism in New-York during the Revolution. We have been told that the old Church in John-street was closed and used for barracks during that period. This is an historical error. The old volume introduces us to their pastor, who was with them five years during the revolution. The new book will be splendidly illustrated. It will contain a new steel engraving of the old "Wesley Chapel" and parsonage; a likeness, from an original painting, of the old colored sexton, who was quite a character; also a view of Philip Embury's "own hired house," in which the first Methodist sermon in New-York was preached. A sketch of the old trustees, and a fac-simile of their handwriting, and of the handwriting of most of the preachers who laid the foundation of early Methodism in America, is given. Many original letters, throwing light on the subject, will be introduced.

Among the late publications we may note the following:

Three Introductory Lectures on the Study of Ecclesiastical History, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley.

Ezekiel's Temple; its Design Unfolded, its Architecture Displayed, and the Subjects connected with it Discussed, by Rev. H. S. Warleigh, Chaplain of Parkhurst Prison. Mr. Warleigh ably maintains that the details of Ezekiel's Temple were given for the literal rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, and he maintains that the plan given by the prophet was actually for a time followed.

The Song of Songs; translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary, Historical and Critical, by Christian D. Gengsburg. London: Longmans. This is said to be an able work. It supposes the purpose of the book to be "the re-

cording an example of virtue in a young woman who encountered and conquered the greatest temptation, and was eventually rewarded."

Christian Faith and the Atonement; Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in reference to the views of Mr. Jowett and others, by Dr. Pusey, the Bishop of Oxford, and others.

Prizes for essays on a Reform in the spelling of the English Language, two in number, of £100 and £40 respectively, are offered in England. The offer extends to America, and the essay must be sent, post paid, to Sir W. C. Trevelyan, Bart., Wallington, Newcastle-on-Tyne, by March, 1858. Adjudicators, A. J. Ellis, Esq., B. A., Edinburgh; Professors Gregory and Latham; Professor Max Muller, of Oxford; Isaac Pitman, the inventor of Phonography, and Sir W. C. Trevelyan.

English spelling seems to be retreating in England as well as in America into the category of "the lost arts." The board of Civil Service Examiners, whose business it is to examine candidates for official life, report that "out of sixty-six, sons of noblemen and gentlemen, who were rejected, forty-four were for incapacity to spell their own language." "Grievances" was spelled seven different ways without hitting the right one. "Mediterranean" was murdered fourteen ways.

The remedy proposed by the English papers is a more rigid drill in spelling, so as to reduce the brain of the English youth to the due degree of stultification required by the anomalies and absurdities of the English (so-called) orthography. Does not common sense hint that a better way would be to reduce the orthography itself to rationality? Would not a national evil justify some attempt toward a national remedy?

Art. XIV.—EDITORIAL NOTES.

Our Sabbath Schools, in which to a great degree is embraced "the Church of the future," find fitting advocate in the first article of our present number.

Our chapter of Foreign Religious Intelligence has (we think it generally allowed) assumed the material excellence of a cotemporaneous history in that department. It is right that the credit should be assigned to the true author, Professor Schem, of Dickinson College.

In our next number we shall furnish the first installment of a history of the Anti-slavery Contest in England, which resulted in the abolition of the slave-trade and the emancipation of the slaves of the West India Islands, and especially the share taken by Mr. Wesley, and the English Methodists, in that noble agitation. The articles are furnished by a writer whose name was conspicuous in some part of the transactions and in the parliamentary debates of the times.

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